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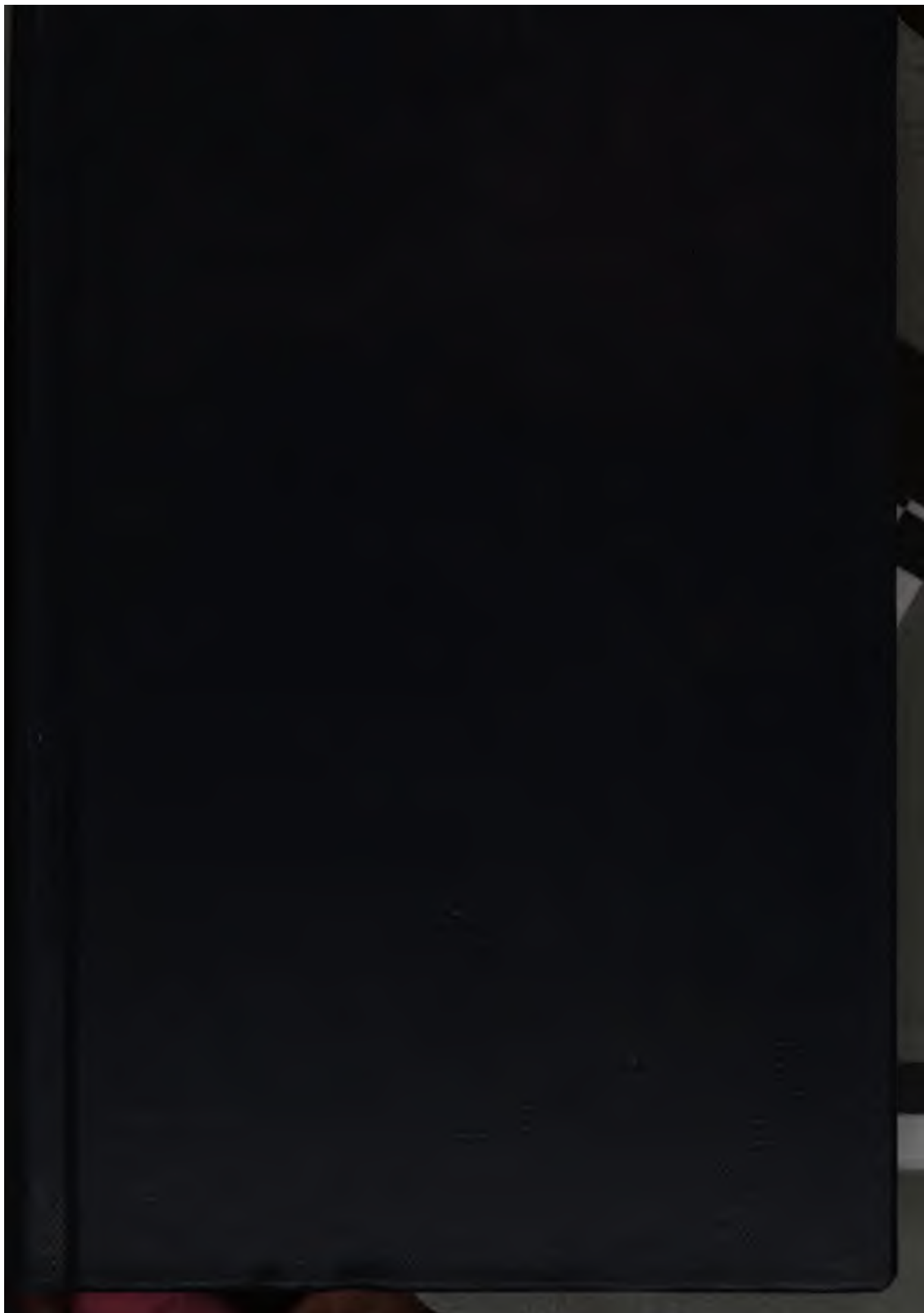
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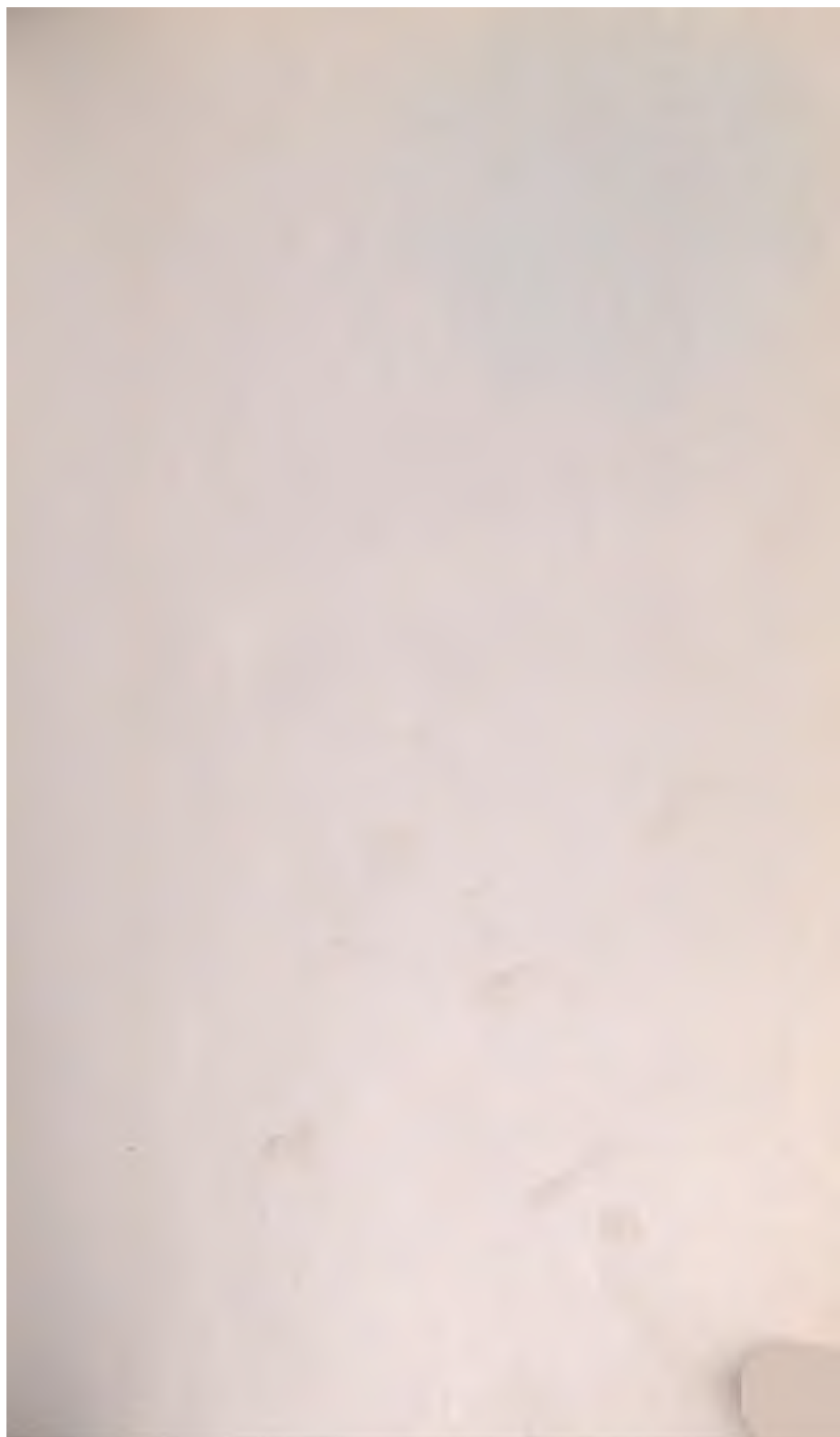
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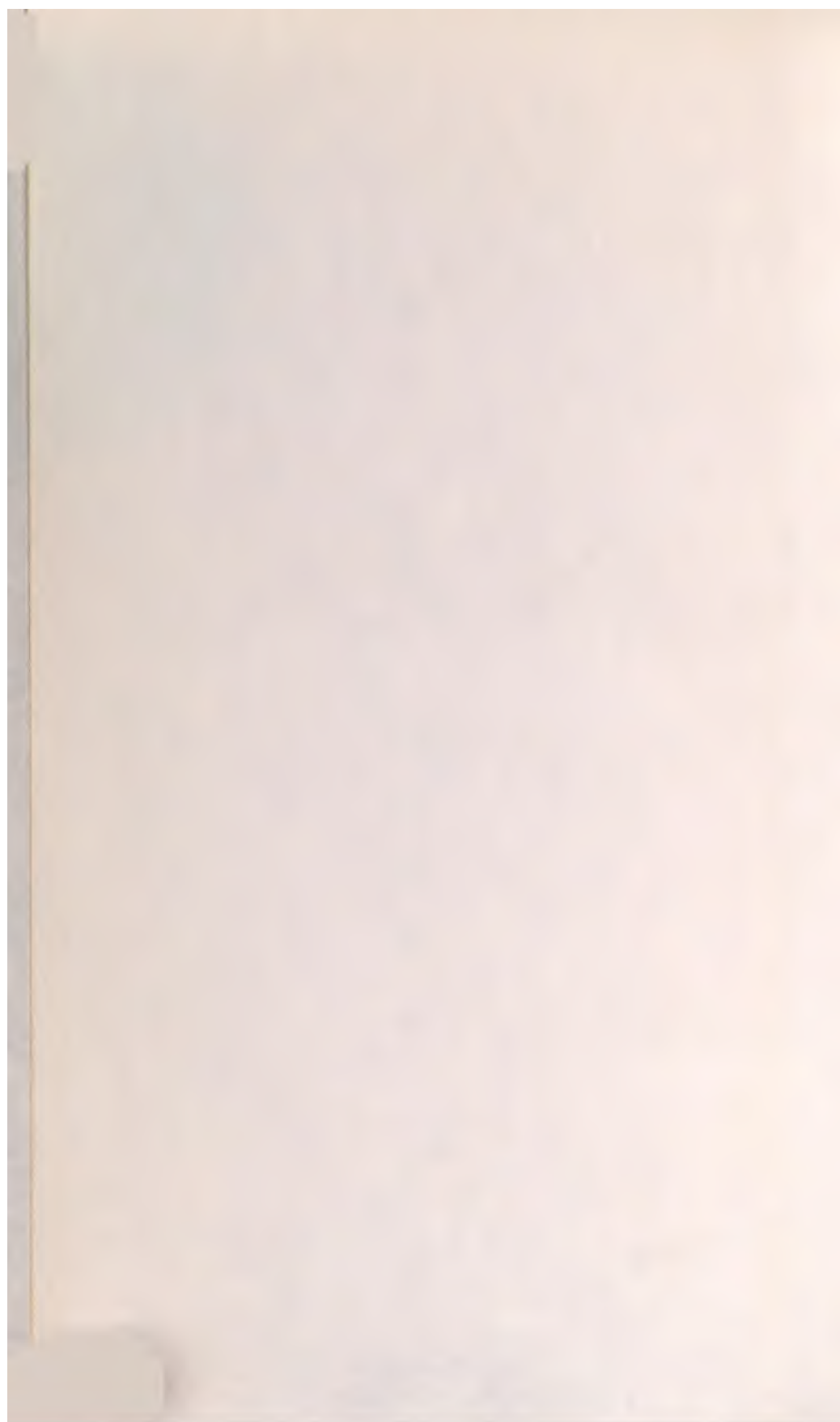
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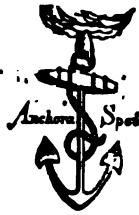






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THE GREATNESS OF ENGLAND.*

TWO large islands lie close to that Continent which has hitherto been selected by Nature as the chief seat of civilization. One island is much larger than the other, and the larger island lies between the smaller and the Continent. The larger island is so placed as to receive primæval immigration from three quarters—from France, from the coast of Northern Germany and the Low Countries, and from Scandinavia, the transit being rendered somewhat easier in the last case by the prevailing winds and by the little islands which Scotland throws out, as resting-places and guides for the primæval navigator, into the Northern Sea. The smaller island, on the other hand, can hardly receive immigration except through the larger, though its southern ports look out, somewhat ominously to the eye of history, towards Spain. The western and northern parts of the larger island are mountainous, and it is divided into two very unequal parts by the Cheviot Hills and the moorlands of the Border. In the larger island are extensive districts well suited for grain: the climate of most of the smaller island is too wet for grain and good only for pasture. The larger island is full of minerals and coal, of which the smaller island is almost destitute. These are the most salient features of the scene of English history, and, with a temperate climate, the chief physical determinants of English destiny.

What, politically speaking, are the special attributes of an island? In the first place, it is likely to be settled by a bold and enterprising race. Migration by land under the pressure of hunger or of a stronger tribe, or from the mere habit of wandering, calls for no special

* The writer some time ago gave a lecture before the Royal Institution on "The Influence of Geographical Circumstances on Political Character," using Rome and England as illustrations. It may perhaps be right to say that the present paper, which touches here and there on matters of political opinion, is not identical with the latter portion of that lecture.

effort of courage or intelligence on the part of the nomad. Migration by sea does: to go forth on a strange element at all, courage is required; but we can hardly realize the amount of courage required to go voluntarily out of sight of land. The first attempts at ship-building also imply superior intelligence, or an effort by which the intelligence will be raised. Of the two great races which make up the English nation, the Celtic had only to pass a channel which you can see across, which perhaps in the time of the earliest migration did not exist. But the Teutons, who are the dominant race and have supplied the basis of the English character and institutions, had to pass a wider sea. From Scandinavia especially, England received, under the form of freebooters who afterwards became conquerors and settlers, the very core and sinews of her maritime population, the progenitors of the Blakes and Nelsons. The Northman, like the Phœnician, had a country too narrow for him, and timber for ship-building at hand. But the land of the Phœnician was a lovely land, which bound him to itself; and wherever he roved his heart still turned to the pleasant abodes of Lebanon and the sunlit quays of Tyre. Thus he became a merchant, and the father of all who have made the estranging sea a highway and a bond between nations, more than atoning, by the service thus rendered to humanity, for his craft, his treachery, his cruelty, and his Moloch-worship. The land of the Scandinavian was not a lovely land, though it was a land suited to form strong arms, strong hearts, chaste natures, and, with purity, strength of domestic affection. He was glad to exchange it for a sunnier dwelling-place, and thus, instead of becoming a merchant, he became the founder of Norman dynasties in Italy, France, and England. We are tempted to linger over the story of these primæval mariners, for nothing equals it in romance. In our days science has gone before the most adventurous barque, limiting the possibilities of discovery, disenchanting the enchanted seas, and depriving us for ever of Sindbad and Ulysses. But the Phœnician and the Northman put forth into a really unknown world. The Northman, moreover, was so far as we know the first ocean sailor. If the story of the circumnavigation of Africa by the Phœnicians is true, it was an astonishing enterprise, and almost dwarfs modern voyages of discovery. Still it would be a coasting voyage, and the Phœnician seems generally to have hugged the land. But the Northman put freely out into the wide Atlantic, and even crossed it before Columbus, if we may believe a legend made specially dear to the Americans by the craving of a new country for antiquities. It has been truly said, that the feeling of the Greek, mariner as he was, towards the sea, remained rather one of fear and aversion, intensified perhaps by the treacherous character of the squally *Ægean*; but the Northman evidently felt perfectly at home on the ocean, and rode joyously, like a seabird, on the vast Atlantic waves.

THE GREATNESS OF ENGLAND.

3

Not only is a race which comes by sea likely to be peculiarly vigorous, self-reliant, and inclined, when settled, to political liberty, but the very process of maritime migration can scarcely fail to intensify the spirit of freedom and independence. Timon or Genghis Khan, sweeping on from land to land with the vast human herd under his sway, becomes more despotic as the herd grows larger by accretion, and the area of its conquests is increased. But a maritime migration is a number of little joint-stock enterprises implying limited leadership, common counsels, and a good deal of equality among the adventurers. We see in fact that the Saxon immigration resulted in the foundation of a number of small communities which, though they were afterwards fused into seven or eight petty kingdoms and ultimately into one large kingdom, must, while they existed, have fostered habits of local independence and self-government. Maritime migration would also facilitate the transition from the tribe to the nation, because the ships could hardly be manned on purely tribal principles: the early Saxon communities in England appear in fact to have been semi-tribal, the local bond predominating over the tribal, though a name with a tribal termination is retained. Room would scarcely be found in the ships for a full proportion of women; the want would be supplied by taking the women of the conquered country; and thus tribal rules of exclusive intermarriage, and all barriers connected with them, would be broken down.

Another obvious attribute of an island is freedom from invasion. The success of the Saxon invaders may be ascribed to the absence of strong resistance. The policy of Roman conquest, by disarming the natives, had destroyed their military character, as the policy of British conquest has done in India, where races which once fought hard against the invader under their native princes, such as the people of Mysore, are now wholly unwarlike. Anything like national unity, or power of co-operation against a foreign enemy, had at the same time been extirpated by a government which divided that it might command. The Northman in his turn owed his success partly to the want of unity among the Saxon principalities, partly and principally to the command of the sea which the Saxon usually abandoned to him, and which enabled him to choose his own point of attack, and to baffle the movements of the defenders. When Alfred built a fleet, the case was changed. William of Normandy would scarcely have succeeded, great as his armament was, had it not been for the diversion effected in his favour by the landing of the Scandinavian pretender in the North, and the failure of provisions in Harold's Channel fleet, which compelled the fleet to put into port. Louis of France was called in as a deliverer by the barons who were in arms against the tyranny of John; and it is not necessary to discuss the Tory description of the coming of William of Orange as a conquest of England by the Dutch. Bonaparte threatened invasion, but unhappily was unable

to invade : unhappily we say, because if he had landed in England he would assuredly have there met his doom ; the Russian campaign would have been antedated with a more complete result, and all the after-pages in the history of the Arch-Brigand would have been torn from the book of fate. England is indebted for her political liberties in great measure to the Teutonic character, but she is also in no small measure indebted to this immunity from invasion which has brought with it a comparative immunity from standing armies. In the middle ages the question between absolutism and that baronial liberty which was the germ and precursor of the popular liberty of after-times turned in great measure upon the relative strength of the national militia and of the bands of mercenaries kept in pay by over-reaching kings. The bands of mercenaries brought over by John proved too strong for the patriot barons, and would have annulled the Great Charter, had not national liberty found a timely and powerful, though sinister auxiliary in the ambition of the French Prince. Charles I. had no standing army : the troops taken into pay for the wars with Spain and France had been disbanded before the outbreak of the Revolution ; and on that occasion the nation was able to overthrow the tyranny without looking abroad for assistance. But Charles II. had learned wisdom from his father's fate ; he kept up a small standing army ; and the Whigs, though at the crisis of the Exclusion Bill they laid their hands upon their swords, never ventured to draw them, but allowed themselves to be proscribed, their adherents to be ejected from the corporations, and their leaders to be brought to the scaffold. Resistance was in the same way rendered hopeless by the standing army of James II., and the patriots were compelled to stretch their hands for aid to William of Orange. Even so, it might have gone hard with them if James's soldiers, and above all Churchill, had been true to their paymaster. Navies are not political ; they do not overthrow constitutions ; and in the time of Charles I. it appears that the leading seamen were Protestant, and inclined to the side of the Parliament. Perhaps Protestantism had been rendered fashionable in the navy by the naval wars with Spain.

A third consequence of insular position, especially in early times, is isolation. An extreme case of isolation is presented by Egypt, which is in fact a great island in the desert. The extraordinary fertility of the valley of the Nile produced an early development, which was afterwards arrested by its isolation ; the isolation being probably intensified by the jealous exclusiveness of a powerful priesthood which discouraged maritime pursuits. The isolation of England, though comparatively slight, has still been an important factor in her history. She underwent less than the Continental provinces the influence of Roman conquest. Scotland and Ireland escaped it altogether, for the tide of invasion, having flowed to the foot of the Grampians, soon ebbed to the line between the Solway and Tyne. Britain has no

monuments of Roman power and civilization like those which have been left in Gaul and Spain, and of British Christianity of the Roman period hardly a trace, monumental or historical, remains. By the Saxon conquest England was entirely severed for a time from the European system. The missionary of ecclesiastical Rome recovered what the legionary had lost. Of the main elements of English character political and general, five were brought together when Ethelbert and Augustine met on the coast of Kent. The king represented Teutonism; the missionary represented Judaism, Christianity, imperial and ecclesiastical Rome. We mention Judaism as a separate element, because, among other things, the image of the Hebrew monarchy has certainly entered largely into the political conceptions of Englishmen, perhaps at least as largely as the image of imperial Rome. A sixth element, classical Republicanism, came in with the Reformation, while the political and social influence of science is only just beginning to be felt. Still, after the conversion of England by Augustine, the Church, which was the main organ of civilization, and almost identical with it in the early middle ages, remained national; and to make it thoroughly Roman and Papal, in other words to assimilate it completely to the Church of the Continent, was the object of Hildebrand in promoting the enterprise of William. Roman and Papal the English Church was made, yet not so thoroughly so as completely to destroy its insular and Teutonic character. The Archbishop of Canterbury was still *Papa alterius orbis*; and the struggle for national independence of the Papacy commenced in England long before the struggle for doctrinal reform. The Reformation broke up the confederated Christendom of the middle ages, and England was then thrown back into an isolation very marked, though tempered by her sympathy with the Protestant party on the Continent. In later times the growth of European interests, of commerce, of international law, of international intercourse, of the community of intellect and science, has been gradually building again, on a sounder foundation than that of the Latin Church, the federation of Europe, or rather the federation of mankind. The political sympathy of England with Continental nations, especially with France, has been increasing of late in a very marked manner; the French Revolution of 1830 told at once upon the fortunes of English Reform, and the victory of the Republic over the reactionary attempt of May was profoundly felt by both parties in England. Placed too close to the Continent not to be essentially a part of the European system, England has yet been a peculiar and semi-independent part of it. In European progress she has often acted as a balancing and moderating power. She has been the asylum of vanquished ideas and parties. In the seventeenth century, when absolutism and the Catholic reaction prevailed on the Continent, she was the chief refuge of Protestantism and political liberty. When the French Revolution swept Europe, she threw herself into the anti-revolutionary

scale. The tricolor has gone nearly round the world, at least nearly round Europe; but on the flag of England still remains the religious symbol of the era before the Revolution.

The insular arrogance of the English character is a commonplace joke. It finds, perhaps, its strongest expression in the saying of Milton that the manner of God is to reveal things first to His Englishmen. It has made Englishmen odious even to those who, like the Spaniards, have received liberation or protection from English hands. It stimulated the desperate desire to see France rid of the "Goddams" which inspired Joan of Arc. For an imperial people it is a very unlucky peculiarity, since it precludes not only fusion but sympathy and almost intercourse with the subject races. The kind heart of Lord Elgin, when he was Governor-General of India, was shocked by the absolute want of sympathy or bond of any kind, except love of conquest, between the Anglo-Indian and the native; and the gulf apparently, instead of being filled up, now yawns wider than ever.

It is needless to dwell on anything so commonplace as the effect of an insular position in giving birth to commerce and developing the corresponding elements of political character. The British Islands are singularly well placed for trade with both hemispheres; in them, more than in any other point, may be placed the commercial centre of the world. It may be said that the nation looked out unconsciously from its cradle to an immense heritage beyond the Atlantic. France and Spain looked the same way, and became competitors with England for ascendancy in the New World; but England was more maritime, and the most maritime was sure to prevail. Canada was conquered by the British fleet. To the commerce and the maritime enterprise of former days, which were mainly the results of geographical position, has been added within the last century the vast development of manufactures produced by coal and steam, the parents of manufactures, as well as the expansion of the iron trade in close connection with manufactures. Nothing can be more marked than the effect of industry on political character in the case of England. From being the chief seat of reaction, the North has been converted by manufactures into the chief seat of progress. The Wars of the Roses were not a struggle of political principle; hardly even a dynastic struggle; they had their origin partly in a patriotic antagonism to the foreign queen and to her foreign councils; but they were in the main a vast faction-fight between two sections of an armed and turbulent nobility turned into buccaneers by the French wars, and, like their compeers all over Europe, bereft, by the decay of Catholicism, of the religious restraints with which their morality was bound up. But the Lancastrian party, or rather the party of Margaret of Anjou and her favourites, was the more reactionary, and it had the centre of its strength in the North, whence Margaret drew the plundering and devastating host which gained for her the second battle of St. Albans and paid the

penalty of its ravages in the merciless slaughter of Towton. The North had been kept back in the race of progress by agricultural inferiority, by the absence of commerce with the Continent, and by border wars with Scotland. In the South was the seat of prosperous industry, wealth, and comparative civilization; and the banners of the Southern cities were in the armies of the House of York. The South accepted the Reformation, while the North was the scene of the Pilgrimage of Grace. Coming down to the Civil War in the time of Charles I., we find the Parliament strong in the South and East, where are still the centres of commerce and manufactures, even the iron trade, which has its smelting works in Sussex. In the North the feudal tie between landlord and tenant, and the sentiment of the past, preserve much of their force; and the great power in those parts is the Marquis of Newcastle, at once great territorial lord of the middle ages and elegant *grand seigneur* of the Renaissance, who brings into the field a famous regiment of his own retainers. In certain towns, such as Bradford and Manchester there are germs of manufacturing industry, and these form the sinews of the Parliamentary party in the district which is headed by the Fairfaxes. But in the Reform movement which extended through the first half of the present century, the geographical position of parties was reversed; the swarming cities of the North were then the great centres of Liberalism and the motive power of reform; while the South, having by this time fallen into the hands of great landed proprietors, was Conservative. The stimulating effect of populous centres on opinion is a very familiar fact: even in the rural districts it is noticed by canvassers at elections that men who work in gangs are generally more inclined to the Liberal side than those who work separately.

In England, however, the agricultural element always has been and remains a full counterpoise to the manufacturing and commercial element. Agricultural England is not what Pericles called Attica, a mere suburban garden, the embellishment of a queenly city. It is a substantive interest and a political power. In the time of Charles I. it happened that, owing to the great quantity of land thrown into the market in consequence of the confiscation of the monastic estates, which had slipped through the fingers of the spendthrift courtiers to whom they were at first granted, small freeholders were very numerous in the South, and these men, like the middle class in the towns, being strong Protestants, went with the Parliament against the Laudian reaction in religion. But land in the hands of great proprietors is Conservative, especially when it is held under entails and connected with hereditary nobility; and into the hands of great proprietors the land of England has now entirely passed. The last remnant of the old yeomen freeholders departed in the Cumberland Statesmen, and the yeoman freeholder in England is now about as rare as the other. Commerce has itself assisted the process by giving birth to great fortunes, the owners of

which are led by social ambition to buy landed estates, because to land the odour of feudal superiority still clings, and it is almost the necessary qualification for a title. The land has also actually absorbed a large portion of the wealth produced by manufactures, and by the general development of industry; the estates of Northern landowners especially have enormously increased in value, through the increase of population, not to mention the not inconsiderable appropriation of commercial wealth by marriage. Thus the Conservative element retains its predominance, and it even seems as though the land of Milton, Vane, Cromwell, and the Reformers of 1832, might after all become, politically as well as territorially, the domain of a vast aristocracy of landowners, and the most reactionary instead of the most progressive country in Europe. Before the repeal of the Corn Laws there was a strong antagonism of interest between the landowning aristocracy and the manufacturers of the North: but that antagonism is now at an end; the sympathy of wealth has taken its place; the old aristocracy has veiled its social pride and learned to conciliate the new men, who on their part are more than willing to enter the privileged circle. This junction is at present the great fact of English politics, and was the main cause of the overthrow of the Liberal Government in 1874. The growth of the great cities itself seems likely, as the number of poor householders increases, to furnish Reaction with auxiliaries in the shape of political Lazzaroni capable of being organized by wealth in opposition to the higher order of workmen and the middle class. In Harrington's "*Oceania*," there is much nonsense; but it rises at least to the level of Montesquieu in tracing the intimate connection of political power, even under elective institutions, with wealth in land.

Hitherto, the result of the balance between the landowning and commercial elements has been steadiness of political progress, in contrast on the one hand to the commercial republics of Italy, whose political progress was precocious and rapid but shortlived, and on the other hand to great feudal kingdoms where commerce was comparatively weak. England, as yet, has taken but few steps backwards. It remains to be seen what the future may bring under the changed conditions which we have just described. English commerce, moreover, may have passed its acme. Her insular position gave Great Britain during the Napoleonic wars, with immunity from invasion, a monopoly of manufactures and of the carrying trade. This element of her commercial supremacy is transitory, though others, such as the possession of coal, are not.

Let us now consider the effects of the division between the two islands and of those between different parts of the larger island. The most obvious effect of these is tardy consolidation, which is still indicated by the absence of a collective name for the people of the three kingdoms. The writer was once rebuked by a Scotchman for saying

"England" and "English," instead of saying "Great Britain" and "British." He replied that the rebuke was just, but that we must say "British and Irish." The Scot had overlooked his poor relations.

We always speak of Anglo-Saxons and identify the extension of the Colonial Empire with that of the Anglo-Saxon race. But even if we assume that the Celts of England and of the Scotch Lowlands were exterminated by the Saxons, taking all the elements of Celtic population in the two islands together, they must bear a very considerable proportion to the Teutonic element. That large Irish settlements are being formed in the cities of Northern England is proved by election addresses coquetting with Home Rule. In the competition of the races on the American Continent the Irish more than holds its own. In the age of the steam-engine the Scotch Highlands, the mountains of Cumberland and Westmoreland, of Wales, of Devonshire, and Cornwall, are the asylum of natural beauty, of poetry and hearts which seek repose from the din and turmoil of commercial life. In the primæval age of conquest they, with sea-girt Ireland, were the asylum of the weaker race. There the Celt found refuge when Saxon invasion swept him from the open country of England and from the Scotch Lowlands. There he was preserved with his own language, indicating by its variety of dialects the rapid flux and change of unwritten speech; with his own form of Christianity, that of Apostolic Britain; with his un-Teutonic gifts and weaknesses, his lively, social, sympathetic nature, his religious enthusiasm, essentially the same in its Calvinistic as in its Catholic guise, his superstition, his clannishness, his devotion to chiefs and leaders, his comparative indifference to institutions, and lack of natural aptitude for self-government.

The further we go in these inquiries the more reason there seems to be for believing that the peculiarities of races are not congenital, but impressed by primæval circumstance. Not only the same moral and intellectual nature, but the same primitive institutions, are found in all the races that come under our view; they appear alike in Teuton, Celt, and Semite. That which is not congenital is probably not indelible, so that the less favoured races, placed under happier circumstances, may in time be brought to the level of the more favoured, and nothing warrants inhuman pride of race. But it is surely absurd to deny that peculiarities of race, when formed, are important factors in history. Mr. Buckle, who is most severe upon the extravagances of the race theory, himself runs into extravagances not less manifest in a different direction. He connects the religious character of the Spaniards with the influence of apocryphal volcanoes and earthquakes, whereas it palpably had its origin in the long struggle with the Moors. He in like manner connects the theological tendencies of the Scotch with the thunderstorms which he imagines (wrongly, if we may judge by our own experience) to be very frequent in the Highlands, whereas Scotch theology and the religious habits of the Scotch generally were

formed in the Lowlands and among the Teutons, not among the Celts.

The remnant of the Celtic race in Cornwall and West Devon was small, and was subdued and half incorporated by the Teutons at a comparatively early period; yet it played a distinct and a decidedly Celtic part in the Civil War of the seventeenth century. It played a more important part towards the close of the following century by giving itself almost in a mass to John Wesley. No doubt the neglect of the remote districts by the Bishops of Exeter and their clergy left Wesley a clear field; but the temperament of the people was also in his favour. Anything fervent takes with the Celt, while he cannot abide the religious compromise which commends itself to the practical Saxon.

In the Great Charter there is a provision in favour of the Welsh, who were allied with the Barons in insurrection against the Crown. The Barons were fighting for the Charter, the Welshmen only for their barbarous and predatory independence. But the struggle for Welsh independence helped those who were struggling for the Charter; and the remark may be extended in substance to the general influence of Wales on the political contest between the Crown and the Barons. Even under the House of Lancaster, Llewellyn was faintly reproduced in Owen Glendower. The powerful monarchy of the Tudors finally completed the annexation. But isolation survived independence. The Welshman remained a Celt, preserved his language and his clannish spirit, though local magnates, such as the family of Wynn, filled the place in his heart once occupied by the chief. Ecclesiastically he was annexed, but refused to be incorporated, never seeing the advantage of walking in the middle path which the State Church of England had traced between the extremes of Popery and Dissent. He took Methodism in a Calvinistic and almost wildly enthusiastic form. In this respect his isolation is likely to prove far more important than anything which Welsh patriotism strives to resuscitate by Eisteddfodds. In the struggle, apparently imminent, between the system of Church Establishments and religious equality, Wales furnishes a most favourable battle-ground to the party of Disestablishment.

The Teutonic realm of England was powerful enough to subdue, if not to assimilate, the remnants of the Celtic race in Wales and their other western hills of refuge. But the Teutonic realm of Scotland was not large or powerful enough to subdue the Celts of the Highlands, whose fastnesses constituted in geographical area the greater portion of the country. It seems that in the case of the Highlands, as in that of Ireland, Teutonic adventurers found their way into the domain of the Celts and became chieftains, but in becoming chieftains they became Celts. Down to the Hanoverian times the chain of the Grampians which from the Castle of Stirling is seen rising like a

wall over the rich plain, divided from each other two nationalities, differing totally in ideas, institutions, habits, and costume, as well as in speech, and the less civilized of which still regarded the more civilized as alien intruders, while the more civilized regarded the less civilized as robbers. Internally, the topographical character of the Highlands was favourable to the continuance of the clan system, because each clan having its own separate glen, fusion was precluded, and the progress towards union went no further than the domination of the more powerful clans over the less powerful. Mountains also preserve the general equality and brotherhood which are not less essential to the constitution of the clan than devotion to the chief, by preventing the use of that great minister of aristocracy, the horse. At Killiecrankie and Prestonpans the leaders of the clan and the humblest clansmen still charged on foot side by side. Macaulay is undoubtedly right in saying that the Highland risings against William III. and the first two Georges were not dynastic but clan movements. They were in fact the last raids of the Gael upon the country which had been wrested from him by the Sassenach. Little cared the clansman for the principles of Filmer or Locke, for the claims of the House of Stuart or for those of the House of Brunswick. Antipathy to the Clan Campbell was the nearest approach to a political motive. Chiefs alone, such as the unspeakable Lovat, had entered as political *condottieri* into the dynastic intrigues of the period, and brought the claymores of their clansmen to the standard of their patron, as Indian chiefs in the American wars brought the tomahawks of their tribes to the standard of France or England. Celtic independence greatly contributed to the general perpetuation of anarchy in Scotland, to the backwardness of Scotch civilization, and to the abortive weakness of the Parliamentary institutions. Union with the more powerful kingdom at last supplied the force requisite for the taming of the Celt. Highlanders, at the bidding of Chatham's genius, became the soldiers, and are now the pet soldiers, of the British monarchy. A Hanoverian tailor with improving hand shaped the Highland plaid, which had originally resembled the simple drapery of the Irish kern, into a garb of complex beauty and well suited for fancy balls. The power of the chiefs and the substance of the clan system were finally swept away, though the sentiment lingers, even in the Transatlantic abodes of the clansmen, and is prized, like the dress, as a remnant of social picturesqueness in a prosaic and levelling age. The hills and lakes—at the thought of which even Gibbon shuddered—are the favourite retreats of the luxury which seeks in wildness refreshment from civilization. After Culloden, Presbyterianism effectually made its way into the Highlands, of which a great part had up to that time been little better than heathen; but it did not fail to take a strong tinge of Celtic enthusiasm and superstition.

Of all the lines of division in Great Britain, however, the most

important politically has been that which is least clearly traced by the hand of nature. The natural barriers between England and Scotland were not sufficient to prevent the extension of the Saxon settlements and kingdoms across the border. In the name of the Scotch capital we have a monument of a union before that of 1603. That the Norman Conquest did not include the Saxons of the Scotch Lowlands was due chiefly to the menacing attitude of Danish pretenders, and the other military dangers which led the Conqueror to guard himself on the north by a broad belt of desolation. Edward I., in attempting to extend his feudal supremacy over Scotland, may well have seemed to himself to have been acting in the interest of both nations. Union would have put an end to border war, and it would have delivered the Scotch in the Lowlands from the extremity of feudal oppression, and the rest of the country from a savage anarchy, giving them in place of those curses by far the best government of the time. The resistance came partly from mere barbarism, partly from Norman adventurers, who were no more Scotch than English, whose aims were purely selfish, and who would gladly have accepted Scotland as a vassal kingdom from Edward's hand. But the annexation would no doubt have formidably increased the power of the Crown, not only by extending its dominions, but by removing that which was a support often of aristocratic anarchy in England, but sometimes of rudimentary freedom. Had the whole island fallen under one victorious sceptre, the next wielder of that sceptre, under the name of the great Edward's wittold son, would have been Piers Gaveston. But what no prescience on the part of any one in the time of Edward I. could possibly have foreseen was the inestimable benefit which disunion and even anarchy indirectly conferred on the whole island in the shape of a separate Scotch Reformation. Divines, when they have exhausted their reasonings about the rival forms of Church government, will probably find that the argument which had practically most effect in determining the question was that of the much decried but in his way sagacious James I., "No bishop, no king!" In England the Reformation was semi-Catholic; in Sweden it was Lutheran; but in both countries it was made by the kings, and in both Episcopacy was retained. Where the Reformation was the work of the people, more popular forms of Church government prevailed. In Scotland the monarchy, always weak, was at the time of the Reformation practically in abeyance, and the master of the movement was emphatically a man of the people. As to the nobles, they seem to have thought only of appropriating the Church lands, and to have been willing to leave to the nation the spiritual gratification of settling its own religion. Probably they also felt with regard to the disinherited proprietors of the Church lands that "stone dead had no fellow." The result was a democratic and thoroughly Protestant Church, which drew into itself the highest

energies, political as well as religious, of a strong and great-hearted people, and by which Laud and his confederates, when they had apparently overcome resistance in England, were, as Milton says, "more robustiously handled." If the Scotch auxiliaries did not win the decisive battle of Marston Moor, they enabled the English Parliamentarians to fight and win it. During the dark days of the Restoration English resistance to tyranny was strongly supported on the ecclesiastical side by the martyr steadfastness of the Scotch, till the joint effort triumphed in the Revolution. It is singular and sad to find Scotland afterwards becoming one vast rotten borough, managed in the time of Pitt by Dundas, who paid the boroughmongers by appointments in India, with calamitous consequences to the poor Hindoo. But the intensity of the local evil, perhaps, lent force to the revulsion, and Scotland has ever since been a distinctly Liberal element in British politics, and seems now likely to lead the way to a complete measure of religious freedom.

Nature, to a great extent, fore-ordained the high destiny of the larger island; to at least an equal extent she fore-ordained the sad destiny of the smaller island. Irish history, studied impartially, is a grand lesson in political charity; so clear is it that in these deplorable annals the more important part was played by adverse circumstance, the less important by the malignity of man. That the stronger nation is entitled by the law of force to conquer its weaker neighbour and to govern the conquered in its own interest is a doctrine which civilized morality abhors. But in the days before civilized morality, in the days when the only law was that of natural selection, to which philosophy by a strange counter-revolution seems now inclined to return, the smaller island was almost sure to be conquered by the possessors of the larger, more especially as the smaller, cut off from the Continent by the larger, lay completely within its grasp. The map, in short, tells us plainly that the destiny of Ireland was subordinated to that of Great Britain. At the same time, the smaller island being of considerable size and the channel of considerable breadth, it was likely that the resistance would be tough and the conquest slow. The unsettled state of Ireland, and the half-nomad condition in which at a comparatively late period its tribes remained, would also help to protract the bitter process of subjugation; and these again were the inevitable results of the rainy climate, which, while it clothed the island with green and made pasture abundant, forbade the cultivation of grain. Ireland and Wales alike appear to have been the scenes of a precocious civilization, merely intellectual and literary in its character, and closely connected with the Church, though including also a bardic element derived from the times before Christianity, the fruits of which were poetry, fantastic law-making, and probably the germs of scholastic theology, combined, in the case of Ireland, with missionary enterprise and such ecclesiastical architecture as the Round Towers. But cities

there were none, and it is evident that the native Church with difficulty sustained her higher life amidst the influences and encroachments of surrounding barbarism. The Anglo-Norman conquest of Ireland was a supplement to the Norman conquest of England; and, like the Norman conquest of England, it was a religious as well as a political enterprise. As Hildebrand had commissioned William to bring the national Church of England into complete submission to the See of Rome, so Adrian, by the Bull which is the stumblingblock of Irish Catholics, granted Ireland to Henry upon condition of his reforming, that is, Romanizing, its primitive and schismatic Church. Ecclesiastical intrigue had already been working in the same direction, and had in some measure prepared the way for the conqueror by disposing the heads of the Irish clergy to receive him as the emancipator of the Church from the secular oppression and imposts of the chiefs. But in the case of England, a settled and agricultural country, the conquest was complete and final; the conquerors became everywhere a new upper class which, though at first alien and oppressive, became in time a national nobility, and ultimately blended with the subject race. In the case of Ireland, though the septs were easily defeated by the Norman soldiery, and the formal submission of their chiefs was easily extorted, the conquest was neither complete nor final. In their hills and bogs the wandering septs easily evaded the Norman arms. The Irish Channel was wide. The road lay through North Wales, long unsubdued, and, even when subdued, mutinous, and presenting natural obstacles to the passage of heavy troops. The centre of Anglo-Norman power lay far away in the south-east of England, and the force of the monarchy was either attracted to Continental fields or absorbed by struggles with baronial factions. Richard II., coming to a throne which had been strengthened and exalted by the achievements of his grandfather, seems in one of his moods of fitful ambition to have conceived the design of completing the conquest of Ireland, and he passed over with a great power; but his fate showed that the arm of the monarchy was still too short to reach the dependency without losing hold upon the imperial country. As a rule, the subjugation of Ireland during the period before the Tudors was in effect left to private enterprise, which of course confined its efforts to objects of private gain, and never thought of undertaking the systematic subjugation of native fortresses in the interest of order and civilization. Instead of a national aristocracy the result was a military colony or Pale, between the inhabitants of which and the natives raged a perpetual border war, as savage as that between the settlers at the Cape and the Kaffirs, or that between the American frontier-man and the Red Indian. The religious quarrel was and has always been secondary in importance to the struggle of the races for the land. In the period following the conquest it was the Pale that was distinctively Romanist. But when at the Reformation the Pale became Protestant,

the natives, from antagonism of race, became more intensely Catholic, and were drawn into the league of Catholic powers on the Continent, in which they suffered the usual fate of the dwarf who goes to battle with the giant. By the strong monarchy of the Tudors the conquest of Ireland was completed with circumstances of cruelty sufficient to plant undying hatred in the breast of the people. But the struggle for the land did not end there; instead of the form of conquest it took that of confiscation, and was waged by the intruder with the arms of legal chicane. In the form of eviction it has lasted to the present hour; and eviction in Ireland is not like eviction in England, where great manufacturing cities receive and employ the evicted; it is starvation or exile. Into exile the Irish people have gone by millions, and thus, though neither maritime nor by nature colonists, they have had a great share in the peopling of the New World. The cities and railroads of the United States are to a great extent the monuments of their labour. In the political sphere they have retained the weakness produced by ages of political serfage, and are still the *débris* of broken clans, with little about them of the genuine republican, apt blindly to follow the leader who stands to them as a chief, while they are instinctively hostile to law and government as their immemorial oppressors in their native land. British statesmen, when they had conceded Catholic emancipation and afterwards disestablishment, may have fancied that they had removed the root of the evil. But the real root was not touched till Parliament took up the question of the land, and effected a compromise which may perhaps have to be again revised before complete pacification is attained.

In another way geography has exercised a sinister influence on the fortunes of Ireland. Closely approaching Scotland, the northern coast of Ireland in course of time invited Scotch immigration, which formed as it were a Presbyterian Pale. If the antagonism between the English Episcopalian and the Irish Catholic was strong, that between the Scotch Presbyterian and the Irish Catholic was stronger. To the English Episcopalian the Irish Catholic was a barbarian and a Romanist; to the Scotch Presbyterian he was a Canaanite and an idolater. Nothing in history is more hideous than the conflict in the North of Ireland in the time of Charles I. This is the feud which has been tenacious enough of its evil life to propagate itself even in the New World, and to renew in the streets of Canadian cities the brutal and scandalous conflicts which disgrace Belfast. On the other hand, through the Scotch colony, the larger island has a second hold upon the smaller. Of all political projects a federal union of England and Ireland with separate Parliaments under the same Crown seems the most hopeless, at least if government is to remain parliamentary; it may be safely said that the normal relation between the two Parliaments would be collision, and collision on a question of peace or war would be disruption. But an independent Ireland would be a feasible

as well as natural object of Irish aspiration if it were not for the strength, moral as well as numerical, of the two intrusive elements. How could the Catholic majority be restrained from legislation which the Protestant minority would deem oppressive? And how could the Protestant minority, being as it is more English or Scotch than Irish, be restrained from stretching its hands to England or Scotland for aid? It is true that if scepticism continues to advance at its present rate, the lines of religious separation may be obliterated or become too faint to exercise a great practical influence, and the bond of the soil may then prevail. But the feeling against England which is the strength of Irish Nationalism is likely to subside at the same time.

Speculation on unfulfilled contingencies is not invariably barren. It is interesting at all events to consider what would have been the consequences to the people of the two islands, and to humanity generally, if a Saxon England and a Celtic Ireland had been allowed to grow up and develop by the side of each other untouched by Norman conquest. In the case of Ireland we should have been spared centuries of oppression which has profoundly reacted, as oppression always does, on the character of the oppressor; and it is difficult to believe that the Isle of Saints and of primitive Universities would not have produced some good fruits of its own. In the Norman conquest of England historical optimism sees a great political and intellectual blessing beneath the disguise of barbarous havoc and alien tyranny. The Conquest was a continuation of the process of migratory invasions by which the nations of modern Europe were founded, from restless ambition and cupidity, when it had ceased to be beneficent. It was not the superposition of one primitive element of population on another, to the ultimate advantage, possibly, of the compound; but the destruction of a nationality, the nationality of Alfred and Harold, of Bede and Ælfric. The French were superior in military organization; that they had superior gifts of any kind, or that their promise was higher than that of the native English, it would not be easy to prove. The language, we are told, was enriched by the intrusion of the French element. If it was enriched it was shattered; and the result is a mixture so heterogeneous as to be hardly available for the purposes of exact thought, while the language of science is borrowed from the Greek, and as regards the unlearned mass of the people is hardly a medium of thought at all. There are great calamities in history, though their effects may in time be worked off, and they may be attended by some incidental good. Perhaps the greatest calamity in history were the wars of Napoleon, in which some incidental good may nevertheless be found.

To the influences of geographical position, soil, and race is to be added, to complete the account of the physical heritage, the influence of climate. But in the case of the British Islands we must speak not of climate, but of climates; for within the compass of one small realm are climates moist and comparatively dry, warm and cold, bracing

and enervating, the results of special influences the range of which is limited. Civilized man to a great extent makes a climate for himself; his life in the North is spent mainly indoors, where artificial heat replaces the sun. The idea which still haunts us, that formidable vigour and aptitude for conquest are the appanage of Northern races, is a survival from the state in which the rigour of nature selected and hardened the destined conquerors of the Roman Empire. The stoves of St. Petersburg are as enervating as the sun of Naples, and in the struggle between the Northern and Southern States of America not the least vigorous soldiers were those who came from Louisiana. In the barbarous state the action of a Northern climate as a force of natural selection must be tremendous. The most important of the races which peopled the British Islands had already undergone that action in their original abodes. They could, however, still feel the beneficent influence of a climate on the whole eminently favourable to health and to activity; bracing, yet not so rigorous as to kill those tender plants of humanity which often bear in them the most precious germs of civilization; neither confining the inhabitant too much to the shelter of his dwelling, nor, as the suns of the South are apt to do, drawing him too much from home. The climate and the soil together formed a good school for the character of the young nation, as they exacted the toil of the husbandman and rewarded it. Of the varieties of temperature and weather within the islands the national character still bears the impress, though in a degree always decreasing as the assimilating agencies of civilization make their way. Irrespectively of the influence of special employments, and perhaps even of peculiarity of race, mental vigour, independence, and reasoning power are always ascribed to the people of the North. Variety, in this as in other respects, would naturally produce a balance of tendencies in the nation conducive to moderation and evenness of progress.

The islands are now the centre of an Empire which to some minds seems more important than the islands themselves. An Empire it is called, but the name is really applicable only to India. The relation of England to her free colonies is not in the proper sense of the term imperial; while her relation to such dependencies as Gibraltar and Malta is military alone. Colonization is the natural and entirely beneficent result of general causes, obvious enough and already mentioned, including the power of self-government, fostered by the circumstances of the colonizing country, which made the character and destiny of New England so different from those of New France. Equally natural was the choice of the situation for the original colonies on the shore of the New World. The foundation of the Australian Colonies, on the other hand, was determined by political accident, compensation for the loss of the American Colonies being sought on the other side of the globe. It will perhaps be thought

hereafter that the quarrel with New England was calamitous in its consequences as well as in itself, since it led to the diversion of British emigration from America, where it supplied the necessary element of guidance and control to a democracy of mixed but not uncongenial races, to Australia, where, as there must be a limit to its own multiplication, it may hereafter have to struggle for mastery with swarming multitudes of Chinese, almost as incapable of incorporation with it as the negro. India and the other conquered dependencies are the fruits of strength as a war power at sea combined with weakness on land. Though not so generally noticed, the second of these two factors has not been less operative than the first. Chatham attacked France in her distant dependencies when he had failed to make any impression on her own coasts. Still more clearly was Chatham's son, the most incapable of war ministers, driven to the capture of sugar islands by his inability to take part, otherwise than by subsidies, in the decisive struggle on the Continental fields. This may deserve the attention of those who do not think it criminal to examine the policy of Empire. Outlying pawns picked up by a feeble chessplayer merely because he could not mate the king do not at first sight necessarily commend themselves as invaluable possessions. Carthage and Venice were merely great commercial cities, which, when they entered on a career of conquest, were compelled at once to form armies of mercenaries, and to incur all the evil consequences by which the employment of those vile and fatal instruments of ambition is attended. England being, not a commercial city, but a nation, and a nation endowed with the highest military qualities, has escaped the fell necessity except in the case of India; and India, under the reign of the Company, and even for some time after its legal annexation to the Crown, was regarded and treated almost as a realm in another planet, with an army, a political system, and a morality of its own. But now it appears that the wrongs of the Hindoo are going to be avenged, as the wrongs of the conquered have often been, by their moral effect upon the conqueror. A body of barbarian mercenaries has appeared upon the European scene as an integral part of the British army, while the reflex influence of Indian Empire upon the political character and tendencies of the imperial nation is too manifest to be any longer overlooked. England now stands where the paths divide, the one leading by industrial and commercial progress to increase of political liberty; the other, by a career of conquest, to the political results in which such a career has never yet failed to end. At present the influences in favour of taking the path of conquest seem to preponderate, and the probability seems to be that the leadership of political progress, which has hitherto belonged to England and has constituted the special interest of her history, will, in the near future, pass into other hands.

GOLDWIN SMITH.

PROGRESS OF INDIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

PART II.

IN the preceding paper I traced the progress of Indian religious thought through what may be called its three principal stages, of childhood, manhood, and dotage.

The Hindū religion, be it observed, has no one prominent, concrete impersonation. It might, I think, not unfairly be described as the natural religion of humanity; or as the collective outcome of man's devotional instincts, unguided by direct revelation. In other words, all the religious ideas which the human mind is capable of elaborating for itself are in that religion collected and comprehended.

It is, perhaps, for this very reason that Hindūism has no one central personality like Christianity, Buddhism, and Muhammadanism. No one person was its special founder. No one typical name can be specially connected with either its first rise or subsequent development. But the gradual corruption of religion in India led to the springing up of various reformers and revivalist leaders; and to some of the systems established by them I propose now to invite attention.

Such a subject opens out an unbounded field of inquiry. I can, of course, only notice briefly a few of the principal sectarian divisions thus originated. And at the outset it becomes necessary to define exactly what is meant by the expression "sect." The term is sometimes applied in a general way to five chief classes of Indian religionists, namely, worshippers (1) of Vishnu, (2) of S'iva, (3) of their consorts, the divine mothers (*s'akti*), (4) of the Sun, and (5) of the lord of S'iva's demon hosts (*Gana-pati* or *Ganes'a*). But the worship of the first three of these—to wit, of Vishnu, S'iva, and the divine mothers—constitutes, as we have endeavoured to show, the very pith and marrow of ordinary Hindūism. We must also bear in mind that Sun-

worship (originally another form of Vishnu-worship) is still universal throughout India; while adoration of the lord of mischievous and destructive demons is equally general, and falls under S'aivism.

Evidently, therefore, it must lead to confusion of thought if the five principal constituents of Hindū belief are regarded as sectarian. It is true that the worshippers of Vishnu, of S'iva, and of the divine mothers offend against orthodoxy when they exalt any one of these to the position of the Supreme Being instead of giving them a secondary place as mere manifestations of Brahmā. It may be said, too, that all true V'aishnavas, S'aivas, and S'aktas do this. Yet it will be better, I think, to employ the term "sect" to designate the followers of particular teachers within the general pale of Hindūism. The traditionary doctrine promulgated by such teachers and handed down from generation to generation is called Sampradāya.

Of course it is a mere trite observation that a tendency to break up into sects has characterized all religious systems throughout the world from the earliest times. The Hindū religion has always been peculiarly exposed to divisions of this kind, which from one point of view are certainly sources of weakness. It is common, indeed, to hear it asserted that Hindūism is fast disappearing. The usual reason given for the doom supposed to be impending over its future is, that it is not a proselyting religion. And it must be admitted that pure Brāhmanism neither makes nor accepts proselytes. No power can convert a man into a Brāhman. Nor can any one, in theory, be admitted as a convert to the Hindū religion. The only acknowledged mode of admission is by birth. To become a Hindū one must be born a Hindū.

Yet Hindūism is continually growing within itself. In its tenacity of life and power of expansion, it may be compared to the sacred fig-tree of India, whose thousand ramifications, often issuing from apparently lifeless stems, find their way into walls, undermine old buildings, or themselves take root and form fresh centres of growth and vitality. It admits, in fact, of every form of internal growth and development. It has no organized hierarchy under one supreme head, but it has an infinite number of separate associations of priests, who band themselves together for the extension of spiritual supremacy over ever-increasing masses of the population. It has no one formal confession of faith, but it has an elastic pantheistic creed capable of adaptation to all varieties of opinion and practice. It has no one bible—no one collection of writings in one compact volume, like our own Holy Bible, with lines of teaching converging towards one great central truth; but it has a long series of sacred books, some of which profess to be direct revelations from the Supreme Being, and each of which may be used independently as an authority for the establishment of any kind of doctrine, deistic, theistic, polytheistic, or pantheistic.

Nay, it is quite possible, and by no means unusual, for any bold adherent of Hindūism to proclaim himself, and even believe himself to

be, an incarnation of the deity—I mean, of course, in the true sense of the term *avatāra*,* a descent of a portion of the divine essence.

Not long since, during my second visit to Gujarāt, a man named Kuvera (vulgarly Kuber) was living in a village called Sārasā (Sārsā) near Anand on the Bombay and Baroda Railway. He is of the Koli caste and very old (if still alive). As a youth he was remarkable for rather more than ordinary energy of mind and much singularity of character. One day, after a long course of introspection and abstract meditation, he took it into his head to announce that a portion of the Supreme Being had descended in his person. His next idea was to proclaim that he had a direct mission from God to make a new revelation of the truth. Very soon he attracted a number of admiring hearers, who in due course of time proceeded to worship him, and present him with daily offerings. His followers, who call themselves Hari-jana and are known by the name of Kuber-bhaktas, now amount to about twenty thousand. They are regularly divided into clergy (*sādhu*) and laity (*grihastha*). The former either itinerate as missionaries, or preside over the temples of the sect, many of which are found in the villages around Neriād in Gujarāt. Each temple has two teachers who every day collect a certain number of disciples and read to them extracts from the Purānas or other writings prescribed by their leader. The doctrine they inculcate is, I believe, a purified form of the Vaishnava creed.

Again, it has often happened that saints, sages, and poets, who have themselves laid no claim to divine inspiration during their own lifetime, have been worshipped after death as incarnations of one of the deities by their followers. A celebrated Brāhmanical ascetic named Dattātreyā—supposed by some to have lived in Central India about the tenth century of our era—is believed to have been a manifestation of the Hindū trinity in human form. Portions of the essences of Brahmā, Vishnu, and S'iva are alleged to have united for the purpose of descending in his person.† Many temples dedicated to his honour are scattered over the Marātha country. I saw one much frequented by pilgrims at Waie, on the way to Mahābales'var. It contained the image of a man with three heads. Many persons were worshipping with apparent earnestness at the shrine.

Other bodies of schismatics exist who are unable to hold together as a distinct sect for any considerable time after the death of their leaders. I saw the shrine of a man named Parināma at Kaira. It

* This kind of hallucination, however, is not confined to the inhabitants of Asia. In the *Times* of August the 24th and 27th there is a curious account of a man named David Lazzaretti, lately killed in an encounter with the Italian police. He lived in Tuscany, and was called by his followers "David the Saint." This man gave himself out to be a new Christ, descended upon earth. He chose twelve apostles, and surrounded himself by a large number of disciples, who built for him a kind of half-hermitage, half-church, on the summit of Monte Labro. His followers are called Lazzarists.

† The sage Dattātreyā is often mentioned in Sanskrit writings. Some account of the stories connected with him will be found in Dr. Muir's texts.

contained no image, but simply his couch or seat, and portions of his vestments. Only a few hundred of his followers remain, and these are gradually being reabsorbed into the vortex of Hindūism. The same may be said of the disciples of a man named Hari-krishna, who was accredited with great sanctity of character, and died not long ago in Gujarāt. He was known to have attracted a large number of adherents during his lifetime, but I could find no traces of them in the places I visited.

In fact, any new doctrine, or new view of old doctrines, may be in this way promulgated by any man of originality and ability, with an almost certain prospect of success. Such men, are, of course, not common in India. Few in that country venture to leave the beaten path. Few think for themselves. Old creeds, old customs, and old thoughts exert a despotic sway. Men only act in castes, classes, or corporate communities. Yet they show little desire for national union. Patriotic combination is as rare as individuality of character. Nor is the standard of intellectual activity generally high. The masses of the population present a dead level of mental stagnation and indifference. Only one subject has power to rouse them from their normal condition of serene apathy. That subject is religion.

Religion of some kind is ever present to a Hindū's mind. It colours all his ideas. It runs through every fibre of his being. It is the very Alpha and Omega of his whole earthly career. It attends him in antenatal ceremonies even before birth, and follows him in endless offerings for the good of his soul long after death. Let any one appear as an earnest preacher of religion in any assembly of ordinary Hindūs—let him even denounce old creeds, however venerated, and he is sure of a hearing. And if to his other qualifications as a religious teacher he adds a character for self-denial and asceticism he cannot fail to attract disciples. Nowhere in the world are family ties so universally binding, but nowhere is such homage paid to their abandonment. The influence of any new religious leader (*āchārya*) who is known to live a life of abstinence, bodily mortification, and suppression of the passions, is sure to become unbounded, either for good or evil.

Probably, during the leader's lifetime he is able to restrain the enthusiasm of his converts within reasonable limits. It is only when he dies that they are apt to push his opinions to extremes never intended by himself. Eventually they develop his teaching into an overgrown unhealthy system, the internal rottenness of which disgusts all sensible thinking men, even among its own adherents. Then some new teacher arises to re-establish purity of doctrine. He is, of course, in his turn a man of earnestness and energy, with a strong will, and great powers of persuasion. He collects around him with equal facility a number of followers, and these in their turn carry his teaching to preposterous lengths.

Hence the condition of Hindūism is one of perpetual decay and revival, collapse and recovery. Its fluctuations may be compared to those of a vast ocean heaving this way and that in continual flux and reflux. It is true, of course, that no human systems are exempt from similar alternations. But in India every tendency of humanity seems intensified and exaggerated. No country in the world is so conservative in its customs and traditions. Yet no country has had so many religious revivals, and revivalist preachers—so many religious reformations and reformers.

The first and most important of such reformations was that commonly called Buddhism, which took place, as most people know, about five centuries B.C. The Brāhmins had carried their sacerdotalism and ritualism to an extravagant pitch. They had cumbered their whole sacrificial system with an intolerable burden of caste observances and social prohibitions. A reaction was inevitable.

The great leader and instigator of the Buddhist reaction was the well-known Gautama of the S'ākya * tribe, whose father was king of the district round Kapilavastu,—a town situated under the mountains of Nepāl about one hundred and fifty miles north-east of Patna. The history of Buddhism is now a hackneyed subject. Yet the true character of Gautama's reforming movement is scarcely yet well understood. His biography, as might be expected, is overlaid with sensational legends, some of which, no doubt, rest on a basis of fact. The most noteworthy points are that, soon after his marriage and the birth of a son, he is said to have become impressed with the vanity of all human aims and occupations; that he decided on devoting himself to self-mortification and philosophy in the hope of acquiring perfect knowledge; that he tore himself away from his wife and child, and from all other domestic ties, and from all prospect of advancement in the world; that he withdrew to the forests, and continued practising severe bodily mortification for six years; that when wasted and debilitated by long fasting he sat down to meditate under a Pipal tree; † that there he was assailed by the great Spirit of Evil and by all the powers of darkness, who tempted him to renounce his fixed resolution, and held out to him the prospect of complete deliverance from all suffering of mind and body if he would consent to return to the pleasures and glories of the world. The Buddha is said to have wrestled long and manfully in agonizing conflict with his spiritual foe, and for a long time the issue of the

* This tribe was possibly of aboriginal extraction. It is certainly remarkable that the images of Buddha generally represent him with features and hair of an Egyptian or Ethiopian type, and with the curly hair of a Negro. I still think that the features of certain aborigines in India suggest a Negritic origin, Professor Huxley's remarks at the last meeting of the British Association notwithstanding.

† He is supposed to have meditated under a Pipal-tree near Gayā, at a place called Bodh-Gayā, until this highest knowledge was attained. The tree is familiarly called the Bo tree (for *bodhi-vriksha*), and is as sacred a symbol with the Buddhists as the Cross is with Christians. (See Mr. Rhys Davids' *Buddhism*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.) I visited the place in the beginning of 1876.

struggle appeared to be doubtful. At length his strength seemed to be giving way. All was on the point of being lost. But at that supreme moment his indomitable will triumphed, and the light of true knowledge burst upon his mind.

From that time forward he became a new man. Self-discipline had done its work. He had at last attained to perfect knowledge. He had grasped the four truths: that all existence involves suffering, that all suffering is caused by desire, that relief from desire and suffering is only effected by extinction of existence, and that extinction of existence is only effected by following the middle path, which consists in right mental vision, right thoughts, right words, right actions, right means of living, right application, right memory, right meditation. The day on which this remarkable struggle terminated was the birthday of Buddhism. Then, and not till then, did Gautama assume the title of Buddha, "the Enlightened." But in the humility of mind which was one of his chief characteristics, he always declared that Buddhahood had been attained by many others before himself, and would be attainable by many others after himself.

The early history of Buddha has many points of resemblance to that of Muhammad. Their characters and aims had much in common. The Buddha, like Muhammad, mistook his own ecstatic visions, brought on by long abstinence, for supernatural revelations. Like Muhammad, he began by being a sincere believer in himself, and in the reality of his own mission, and like Muhammad he never claimed to be the founder of a new religion. Of course the parallel cannot be continued. Buddhism must be read in the light of the system whence it sprang. In its first origin it was a simple reconstruction and remodelling of Brāhmanism on what the Buddha conceived to be its true lines. It was no violently antagonistic system. The attainment of perfect knowledge was equally the aim of both the Brāhmans and the Buddha.

For the better accomplishment of this object the Brāhmans, like the Buddha, attached great weight to self-mortification,* temperance, abstinence from animal food, avoidance of injury to all living things, and abstract meditation. Furthermore, like the Buddha, they asserted that every man must suffer for his own acts through innumerable existences.

But the Buddha in much of his teaching was a most uncompromising Reformer and Dissenter. He allowed no animal to be killed, even for religious purposes. He rejected all sacrifices, sacrificing priests, and caste-distinctions. He repudiated the authority of the Veda, and acknowledged no infallible guide. In some respects his teaching was a decided descent from Brāhmanism. He denied the eternal existence of the human soul. He maintained that the

* The Buddha, however, taught that there was no actual merit in self-mortification, it was merely the most effective method of attaining the desired end.

only positive deity was man himself, when brought to a condition of Buddhahood or perfect enlightenment, and he made extinction (*nirvāna*) of all individual being take the place of identification (*sāyujya*) with the One Sole Being of the universe, as the great end of all human effort.

In one other matter a difference arose between Brāhmanism and Buddhism. The former insisted on the duty of worshipping the spirits of departed relatives, while it held material relics or remains of the dead to be impure. Buddhism, on the other hand, forbade all adoration of departed spirits, while it encouraged veneration of the relics and remains of deceased persons.

It is remarkable that Buddhism, as a protesting antagonistic system, should have co-existed with Brāhmanism for more than a thousand years, and still more remarkable that it should have met with little persecution, except in certain strongholds of the ancient faith.* Yet, after all, it could not in the end escape the usual fate of other reforming movements which aim at the purification of corruptions, and the rectification of abuses. Its influence weakened more and more, as the impulse it received from its great leader grew fainter with the lapse of years. The deteriorating tendencies inherent in everything human were at last too strong for it. The old inveterate propensities gradually regained their hold on men's minds. Sacerdotalism, priestcraft, and every form of superstition were too firmly established on Indian soil to be driven entirely off the field. Brāhmanism in the end reasserted its supremacy.

Nor did Brāhmanism, except in certain isolated instances, declare a war of extermination against the Buddhistic system. It rather sidled up insidiously to its rival, and drew the heat out of its body by close contact, and even by actual embraces. Buddhism pined away and died in the very arms of Brāhmanism. Brāhmanism was its birth-place, and Brāhmanism became its grave.

Yet Buddhism never really died. Its name perished in India, but its spirit survived; and that, too, not only in the kindred system Jainism (which contrived to maintain its ground, though never commending itself to large masses of the people), but in the very Brāhmanism into which it became merged. It was, indeed, to its power of co-existing with pre-existing religious creeds, that Buddhism owed its actual permanence for so long a period in India, and its present prevalence among nearly five hundred millions of the human race. Everywhere in India, Ceylon, and Burmah, and in every other country to which it spread, it became associated and interpenetrated with local cults and superstitions. In China it is still held in conjunction with at least two other systems. Nor is this peculiarity in its character difficult of explanation.

* In the cloister which surrounds the S'aiva temple of Tanjore I observed a remarkable picture of some Buddhists undergoing the punishment of impalement.

Buddhism had no rigid religious system of its own to oppose to that of others. It was rather the expression of a desire to be set free from all religious dogmas, forms, and observances. It was the natural expression of man's craving after the attainment of perfect knowledge and perfect righteousness by his own unassisted efforts. Its only worship was reverence for the memory of an alleged perfect sage; its only prayer the adoration of his relics; its only praise the glorification of his excellence; its only ritual the presentation of flowers before his images; its only aim deliverance from the troubles of life by the same absolute extinction which he—the perfect Buddha—had achieved. But on this very account Buddhism was indifferent to the influence exercised by other systems. Its followers were even willing to pay a kind of homage to the Hindū gods as to powerful beings who were able to deliver them from the malignity of evil demons. Brāhmanism, too, was as tolerant of Buddhistic free-thinkers as it was of its own sceptical philosophers.

Hence Brāhmanism was easily infected and, so to speak, adulterated with Buddhism, and Buddhism with Brāhmanism. Not that any really strict Brāhmans acquiesced in this process of mutual assimilation. Two eminent South Indian controversialists, Kumārila and S'ankara, who succeeded one another about the seventh and eighth centuries of our era, were well-known denouncers of Buddhistic ideas. Kumārila was the upholder of *S'rauta-karman*, or the observance of Vedic ritual and sacrifices. S'ankara was the advocate of *Jñāna*, or true knowledge, and abstract meditation as the pathway to salvation. Both Kumārila and S'ankara were the avowed enemies of all compromise with Buddhistic ideas.

Yet S'ankara himself—the great Vedāntist and bitter opponent of Buddhism—was in some respects half a Buddhist. He magnified self-mortification as the road to true knowledge, and he involuntarily derived much of his own asceticism from Gautama's example. Furthermore his philosophical teaching, like that of Gautama, tended to make light of devotion to particular gods. If the knowledge of the identity of the whole universe with God was the one thing needful, devotion to Vishnu became useless, and faith as an element of religion was likely to disappear.

It is probable, too, that for many centuries after the death of S'ankara, his followers—though they called themselves Smārtas, or orthodox adherents of the Brāhmanical system—really exhibited a certain amount of sympathy with the Buddha and his doctrines. One proof of this is that they often converted the images of Gautama into representations of their own model ascetic—the god S'iva. It is even probable that Tāntrism, or the worship of the female principle identified with S'iva's consort, had common ground with Buddhism. Possibly its doctrine of Prakriti had in it something which harmonized with the Buddhist theory of the origin of the universe.

It had at least one point of contact in its rejection of caste-distinctions. It is said that evidence exists of its having actually associated itself with Buddhism in certain districts.

This interaction between Brāhmanism, S'iva-worship, S'akti-worship, and Buddhism, might have imperilled the existence of Hindūism as a distinct religious system, had it not led to a strong counteracting movement in favour of Vaishnavism. A new teacher named S'āndilya arose, who insisted on faith (*bhakti*) as the most effectual means of salvation.* This was a development of the doctrine of devotion (*upāsana*) already inculcated in portions of the Brāhmanas and Upanishads. It was the expansion of a principle which had existed in Hindūism from the earliest times. But towards whom was this faith and devotion to be exhibited? S'iva was the god of destruction and reproduction, the lord of demoniacal agencies, the great ascetic, the perfect contemplative sage, philosopher, and grammarian. In all these characters he could have earnest votaries. But in none of them could he be the popular object of faith and love.

The only god whose character was capable of engaging the affections of the people was the god who interested himself most in their affairs—who condescended to take the form of men and even of animals, that he might deliver men and even animals from the power of evil, and from the destructive agencies by which they were surrounded. This was the god Vishnu—the god who was originally a form of the Sun, and whose incarnations became afterwards the theme of the Purānas. The worship of such a god had attractions for all religious men—even for the followers of true Brāhmanism and the adherents of other systems. It was of the very essence of Vaishnavism that it could, like Buddhism, accommodate itself to other creeds, and to none more than to Buddhism itself. It could advocate universal toleration, benevolence, and abstinence from injury. It could preach equality, fraternity, and the abolition of caste-distinctions. It could proclaim Buddha or any other great man to be an incarnation of Vishnu. It had even common ground with S'aivism in its adoration of the reproductive principle of nature. No wonder then that the worship of Vishnu became the popular worship of India. No wonder that it continues to this day the great conservative element of Hindūism.

One curious effect of the growth of Vaishnavism has been that the working of the law of antagonism which once had full play in the opposition between Brāhmans, Buddhists, S'aivas, and Vaishnavas is now principally displayed within the pale of Vaishnavism. S'aivas, and Vaishnavas are reciprocally tolerant. But the Vaishnavas themselves are split into sects and subsects which oppose each other with bitter animosity. Probably antagonism of this kind is a necessary

* His aphorisms have just been translated by Professor E. B. Cowell, and published for the *Bibliotheca Indica* by Messrs. Trübner & Co. They have an important bearing on the present condition of Hindūism.

condition of vigorous vitality, and in all likelihood Vaishnavism owes its continued activity to its own internal contentions.

A great many sects of Vaishnavas might be enumerated. I have only space in the present paper to sketch roughly the distinctive features of three of the most important, namely: (1), that founded by Rāmānuja; (2), by Madhva; (3), by Vallabha. But the outline I propose giving of the third will involve a brief account of one minor modern sect, that of the Svāmi-Nārāyanas.

It should be premised that all true Vaishnavas of whatever sect (as distinguished from Smārtas or orthodox followers of Smṛiti) agree in identifying Vishnu with the Supreme Being, instead of assigning him a secondary position as a mere manifestation of the Param Brahmā. They also agree in believing that every faithful worshipper of Vishnu is transported to the heaven of Vishnu called Vaikuntha (instead of to the temporary Svarga, or paradise of orthodox Brāhmanism), and that when once admitted there he is not liable to be born again on earth. It may also be noted that the several sects are distinguished externally by different marks (called *pundra*) made on the forehead with coloured earths or pigments—red, white, and black, especially with a white earth called *gopī-chandana*. All Vaishnava marks are perpendicular (the S'aiva marks being horizontal). They are generally made every day between the eyes, after the morning ablution. They are supposed to denote the impress of Vishnu's foot, and are believed to be of great efficacy and significance. They are the mark of a man's faith in his own peculiar deity or creed, and indicate that he carries that faith with him to his daily work. It is even said that no sin can exist in those who regularly employ these marks. In the south of India they are called *Nāma*, "name" or "designation."

1. To begin with the followers of the celebrated Vaishnava Reformer, Rāmānuja. He was born at Strī (S'rī) Parambattūr, a town about twenty-six miles west of Madras. He is known to have studied and taught at Kānchī-puram (Conjivaram), and to have resided towards the end of his life at S'rī-Rangam on the River Kaverī, near Trichinopoly, where for many years he worshipped Vishnu in his character of S'rīranga-nāth. Rāmānuja probably flourished about the middle or latter part of the twelfth century. The chief doctrine he propounded according to the *Sarva-dars'ana Sangraha* (translated by Professors Cowell and Gough), was that "the Supreme Being (*is'vara*), soul, (*chūt*), and not-soul (*a-chūt*), are the triad of principles (*padārtha-tritayam*). Vishnu is the Supreme Being; individual spirits are souls; the visible world is not-soul."

This doctrine was in some respects antagonistic to that of the Brāhmanical revivalist S'ankara who lived three or four centuries before. That great teacher was, as we have seen, a strict spiritual Pantheist in asserting that the Supreme Spirit (Brahma) is the only real existing essence, the universe proceeding from that one essence as the hair

from a living man, as the web from a spider, as foam and bubbles from the sea. Rāmānuja, on the other hand, contended that the external world has a real separate existence, and that the souls of men as long as they reside in the body are really different from the Supreme Soul. In support of his doctrine of the diversity of souls he appealed to a passage in the Mundaka Upanishad which rests on a well-known text of the Rig-veda (i. 164. 20):

“Two birds—the Supreme and Individual Souls—always united, of the same name, occupy the same tree (abide in the same body). One of them (the Individual Soul) enjoys the fruit of the fig (or consequence of acts), the other looks on as a witness.”

Nevertheless Rāmānuja admitted the dependence of the human soul on the divine, and the ultimate oneness of God (Vishnu), man, and the universe. He, therefore, urged the duty of striving after final union with the Supreme. “Cut is the knot of man’s heart, solved are all his doubts, ended are all his works, when he sees the Supreme Being.” He held, in fact, the non-duality (*a-dvaita*) doctrine of the Vedānta philosophy, but gave it a special interpretation of his own, calling it, “qualified non-duality” (*vis’ishtādvaita*).

After Rāmānuja’s death, his numerous followers, as usual, corrupted his teaching, introducing unauthorized doctrines and practices. Then, about six hundred years ago, a learned Brāhman of Conjivaram, named Vedāntāchārya, put himself forward as a reformer, giving out that he was commissioned by the god Vishnu himself to purify the faith and restore the doctrines of the northern Brāhmins. This led to irreconcilable differences of opinion between the Rāmānujas. Two great antagonistic parties resulted—one called the northern school (Vada-galai or Vada-kalai, Sanskrit *kalā*), the other the southern school (Ten-galai).^{*} They are far more opposed to each other than both parties are to S’aivas. The northern school appeal to the Sanskrit Veda. The southern have compiled a Veda of their own, called “the four thousand verses” (*Nālāyira*), written in Tamil, and held to be older than the Sanskrit Veda, but really based on its Upanishad portion. In all their worship they repeat selections from these Tamil verses.

An important difference of doctrine, caused by different views of the nature of the soul’s dependence on Vishnu, separates the two parties. The view taken by the Vada-galais corresponds, in a manner, to the Arminian doctrine of “freewill.” The soul, say they, requires to lay hold of the Supreme Being by its own will, act, and effort, just as the young monkey clings to its mother (*markata-nyāyena*). The view of the Ten-galais is paralleled by that of the Calvinists. It is technically styled “the cat-hold argument” (*mārjāra-nyāya*). The human

^{*} The Sātāni branch of the Rāmānujas is not a separate school. It consists of a body of S’ūdras who are opposed to Brahmanical usages. It represents, in fact, the low-caste or out-caste converts to Vaishnavism. It is among the Rāmānuja Vaishnavas what the Lingait sect is among S’aivas.

soul, they argue, remains passive until acted on by the Supreme Spirit, just as the kitten remains passive when seized and transported, *nolens volens*, from place to place by the mother-cat.

No Arminians and Calvinists have ever fought more rancorously over their attempts to solve insoluble difficulties than have Vada-galais and Ten-galais over their struggles to secure the ascendancy of their own theological opinions. The fight has ended in a drawn battle. The two opposite parties, exhausted with their profitless logomachy and useless strivings after an impossible unity of opinion, have agreed to acquiesce in differences of doctrine.

Their disputes are now chiefly confined to the most insignificant questions. It is the old story repeated. The Sibboleths are intolerant of the Shibboleths. The Vada-galais contend that the frontal mark of the sect ought to represent the impress of the right foot of Vishnu (the supposed source of the divine Ganges), while the Ten-galais maintain that equal reverence is due to both the god's feet. It is certainly convenient from a social point of view that a man's theological idiosyncrasies should be stamped upon his forehead. Accordingly, the two religious parties are most particular about their frontal emblems, the Vada-galais making a simple white line between the eyes, curved to represent the sole of one foot, with a central red mark emblematical of Lakshmī; while the Ten-galais employ a more complicated device symbolical of both feet, which are supposed to rest on a lotus throne, denoted by a white line drawn half down the nose. The complete Ten-galai symbol has the appearance of a trident, the two outer prongs (painted with white earth) standing for Vishnu's two feet, the middle (painted red or yellow) for his consort, Lakshmī, and the handle (or white line down the nose) representing the lotus throne. The worst quarrels between the two divisions of the sect arise from disputes as to which mark is to be impressed on the images worshipped in the Vaishnava temples, to which all Rāmānujas resort indifferently. Law-suits are often the result. Both parties profess a reverence for Vishnu's consort, but the Ten-galai doctrine is, that the power of saving the soul is confined to Vishnu alone, and needs no intervening channel of operation. I heard it remarked by a learned Ten-galai Brāhman that no educated men believe Vishnu to be really married. What most Ten-galais hold is that Lakshmī is an ideal personification of the deity's more feminine attributes, such as those of mercy, love, and compassion; while some philosophers among them contend that the Hindū gods are only represented with wives to typify the mystical union of two great principles, spirit and matter, for the creation and regeneration of the universe. The central red mark, therefore, is in the one case the mere expression of trust in God's mercy; in the other, of belief in the great mystery of creation and re-creation.

Another point which distinguishes the Ten-galais is that they pro-

hibit their widows from shaving their heads. Every married woman in India rejoices in long, fine hair, which she is careful to preserve intact. In the case of men, regular shaving is not only a universal custom, it is a religious duty. But for women to be deprived of any portion of their hair is a shame. A shorn female head is throughout India the chief mark of widowhood. Every widow, though a mere child, is compelled to submit her growing locks periodically to the family barber. It is, therefore, a singular circumstance—quite unique in India—that the Ten-galai widows are exempted from all obligation to dishonour their heads in this manner* (compare 1 Cor. xi. 5).

Again, a peculiarity common to both Rāmānuja sects is the strict privacy with which they eat and even prepare their meals. No Indians like to be looked at while eating. They are firm believers in the evil influence of the human eye (*drishti-dosha*). The preparation of food is with high-caste natives an affair of equal secrecy. The mere glance of a man of inferior caste makes the greatest delicacies uneatable, and if such a glance happens to fall on the family supplies during the cooking operations, when the ceremonial purity of the water used† is a matter of almost life or death to every member of the household, the whole repast has to be thrown away as if poisoned. The family is for that day dinnerless. Food thus contaminated would, if eaten, communicate a taint to the souls as well as bodies of the eaters—a taint which could only be removed by long and painful expiation. In travelling over every part of India, and diligently striving to note the habits of the natives in every circumstance of their daily life, I never once saw a single Hindū, except of the lowest caste, either preparing or eating cooked food of any kind. The Rāmānujas carry these ideas to an extravagant extreme. They carefully lock the doors of their kitchens and protect their culinary and prandial operations from the gaze of even high-caste Brāhmans of tribes and sects different from their own.

Each of the present leaders (*āchāryas*) of the two Rāmānuja sects lays claim to be the true descendant of the founder himself in regular, unbroken succession. The Vada-galai successor (named Ahobala) lives at a monastery (*Matha*) in the Kurnool district. The Ten-galai successor (named Vānamāmala) lives in the Tinnevely district. Though they preside over monasteries, they are both married; whereas the successors of the orthodox Brāhman S'ankara, who live at S'ringeri in Mysore, are always celibates. The two Rāmānuja Āchāryas, however, are strict Ayengār Brāhmans, and will probably in

* The Ten-galais quote a verse of Vriddha Manu, which declares that if any woman, whether unmarried or widowed, shave her head, she will be condemned to dwell in the hell called Raurava, for one thousand times ten million ages.

† Caste-rules are now an essential part of religion, but there is reason to believe that they were once merely matters of social convenience. Many of them probably originated in the need of sanitary precautions. Nothing is so necessary for the preservation of health in India as attention to the purity of water.

their old age become Sannyāsis, according to the teaching of the ancient lawgiver, Manu, who ordained that the attainment of great nearness to the Supreme Being is incompatible with the discharge of household duties, and that every Brāhman as he advances in life is bound to abandon his wife and give up all family ties.

Each Āchārya makes a periodical visitation of his diocese, and holds a kind of confirmation in every large town. That is to say, every child or young person who has been regenerated by investiture with the sacred thread is brought before him to be branded or stamped as a true follower of Vishnu. A sacred fire is kindled, two golden instruments are heated, and the symbols of the discus and shield of Vishnu (used by the god in his conflicts with his demon-foes) are impressed on different parts of the body. This, in my opinion, symbolizes the doctrine that every faithful Vaishnava must take part in the daily warfare between the powers of good and the powers of evil—the everlasting struggle for supremacy between gods and demons. Those who can afford it present the Āchārya with a fee of five rupees in return for the impressed marks.

Let me conclude what is necessarily an imperfect sketch of an important section of the Hindū community by a brief account of my visit to the celebrated Ten-galai Vishnu Pagoda, near Trichinopoly.

This remarkable structure, or rather collection of structures, contains in one of its courts a shrine of Rāmānuja himself, who is supposed to have lived here for a considerable time before his death. S'ri-rangam is, indeed, rather a sacred city than a temple. Hundreds of Brāhmans reside within its precincts, thousands of pious pilgrims throng its streets, myriads of worshippers crowd its corridors, and press towards its sanctuary. No sight is to be seen in any part of India that can at all compare with the unique effect produced by its series of seven quadrangular enclosures formed by seven squares of massive walls, one within the other—every square pierced by four lofty gateways, and each gateway surmounted by pyramidal towers rivalling in altitude the adjacent rock of Trichinopoly.

The idea is that each investing square of walls shall form courts of increasing sanctity which shall conduct the worshipper by regular gradations to a central holy of holies of unique shape and proportions. In fact, the entire fabric of shrines, edifices, towers, and enclosures is supposed to be a terrestrial counterpart of Vishnu's heaven (Vai-kuntha), to which his votaries are destined to be transported.

Millions of rupees have been spent upon its construction. Kings have given up their revenues for its maintenance and enlargement; princes have emptied their coffers for the completion of its many-storied towers; rich men of every rank have parted with their treasures for the adding of column after column to its thousand-pillared courts; misers have yielded up their hoards for the decoration of its jewelled images; capitalists have bequeathed vast benefactions for

the support of its priests; architects and artists have exhausted all their resources for the production of a perfect shrine, the worthy receptacle of an idol of transcendent sanctity.

The idol itself is recumbent, and its legendary history is curious. When Rāma dismissed his ally Vibhishana—the brother of the conquered demon Rāvana, who had carried off Sītā to Ceylon—he gave him, out of gratitude for his services, a golden idol of Vishnu, with instructions not to lay it down till he had reached home. Vibhishana accordingly set out on his return to Ceylon, taking the precious image with him. Passing near S'ri-rangam, and wishing to bathe in the sacred tank, he gave the image to one of his followers, charging him to hold it upright, and on no account to let it pass out of his hands. But Vibhishana was so long over his ablutions, that the holder of the image, finding its weight insupportable, deposited it on the ground, intending to take it up again before Vibhishana's return. The dismay of all parties concerned was great when they discovered that the idol obstinately declined to be removed from its comfortable position. It had, therefore, to be left in a recumbent attitude, and a shrine was built over it, shaped like the sacred monosyllable Om, supposed to be a combination of the three letters A, U, M, mystically significant of the Supreme Being, combining within himself his three manifestations of Brahmā, Vishnu, and S'iva. On the summit of the shrine were placed four pinnacles to denote the four Vedas, and around it were constructed seven walls built in squares, one within the other, and forming seven quadrangular courts, figuring the seven divisions or degrees of bliss in Vishnu's heaven.

Of course the original idol of Vishnu is supposed to be still immovable; but another image has been consecrated (called the *utsavavighraha*) which is carried about in processions on certain anniversaries—such, for example, as the car-festival, when the enormous car, attached to every Vaishnava temple in southern India, is dragged through the streets of the town by thousands of men. At other times the image is borne on a square platform, and taken to an open hall, supported by a thousand columns within the precincts of the temple.

The dress, decorations, and jewelry belonging to this portable idol were all exhibited to me. I saw the idol-crown covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies, worth at least eighty thousand rupees, with a breastplate, ornaments for the feet, and necklace, worth at least eighty thousand rupees more.

In the centre of the inner wall of the temple, near the interior shrine on the north side, is a narrow door called heaven's gate. I happened to visit S'ri-rangam at the time of the great festival celebrated on the 27th of December. This is the one day in the year on which the gate is opened, and on the occasion of my visit the opening took place at four o'clock in the morning. First the idol—bedecked and bejewelled to the full—was borne through the narrow portal, followed by

eighteen images of Vaishnava, saints, and devotees; then came innumerable priests chanting Vedic hymns or the thousand names of Vishnu; then dancing girls and bands of musicians—the invariable attendants upon idol-shrines in the south of India. Finally more than fifty thousand people crowded for hours through the contracted passage, amid deafening shouts and vociferations, beating of drums, and discordant sounds of all kinds of music.

Not a single human being passed through that strait and narrow portal without presenting offerings to the idol, and gifts to the priests. Many, doubtless, joined the surging throng from a vague sense of duty, or because their fathers and grandfathers had joined it from time immemorial; but the motive which actuated the majority was a firm conviction that the passage of the earthly Heaven's gate, kept by the priests and unlocked at their bidding, would be a sure passport to Vishnu's heaven after death.

2. The next most important of the Vaishnava sects is that of the Mādhvas. They were founded by a Kanarese Brāhman named Madhva—otherwise called *Ananda-tīrtha* and *Pūrṇa-prajna*—who is said to have been born about the year 1200, at a place called Udupī, on the western coast (sixty miles north of Mangalore), and to have been educated in a convent at Anantes'var. He was to a certain extent an opponent of Rāmānuja's views, but the chief aim and object of his teaching was opposition to the pantheistic A-dvaita (non-duality) doctrine of S'ankarāchārya, the great Vedāntist. The one taught the personality, the other the impersonality of God.

In fact the teaching of Madhva is thought to owe something to the influence of Christianity, which had made itself felt in the south of India before the thirteenth century. The exact drift of his doctrines is, perhaps, not yet thoroughly understood, but it is certain that they have much common ground with Christian teaching.

Madhva taught that the one God (identified with Vishnu) is supreme, that the Supreme Soul is essentially different from the human soul and from the material world, and that all three have a real and eternally distinct existence and will remain eternally distinct. Yet the elements of the world, though existing from all eternity, were shaped, ordered, and arranged by the power of the Supreme.

"The Supreme Lord," said Madhva (*Sarva-dars'ana-sangraha* V.), "differs from the individual soul because he is the object of its obedience. A subject who obeys a king differs from that king. In their eager desire to be one with the Supreme Being, the followers of Sankara lay claim to the glory of his excellence. This is a mere mirage. A man with his tongue cut off might as well attempt to enjoy a large plantain."

This statement of the eternal distinction of God and the human soul is called Madhva's Dvaita (duality) doctrine. The duality of other systems consists in the alleged eternal difference between spirit and matter.

According to Madhva the Supreme Being is to be honoured in three ways—by naming, by worship, and by branding.

The act of naming (*nāma-karana*) is performed by giving a child one of the thousand names of Vishnu—such as Kes'ava—as a memorial of his dedication to the service of the god.

The act of worship is threefold :—(1) With the voice—by veracity, right conversation, kind words, and repetition of the Veda; (2) with the body—by giving alms to the poor, by defending and protecting them; (3) with the heart—by mercy, love, and faith. This is a mere repetition of the old triple division of duties, according to thought, word, and deed.

With regard to the rite of branding (called *ankana*), the Madhva sect, like the Rāmānujas and other Vaishnavas, lay great stress on marking the body indelibly with the circular discus and shell of Vishnu. The idea probably is that the trust of the god's followers in his power to deliver them from the malignity of evil demons ought to be denoted by some outward and visible sign. "On his right arm let the Brāhman wear the discus, on his left the conch shell!" When I was at Tanjore I found that one of the successors of Madhva had lately arrived on his branding-visitation. He was engaged throughout the entire day in stamping his disciples and receiving fees from all according to their means. I found, too, that no less than eight Āchāryas, each of whom is established with his disciples in different monasteries with temples attached, claim to be successors of Madhva Āchārya. There are, however, only two principal parties of Mādhvas. In all probability these quarrel over their shibboleths, but not, I believe, with as much bitterness as the two divisions of Rāmānujas.

The frontal mark of all the Mādhvas is the same, consisting of two thin vertical lines meeting below in a curve, like that of the Vada-galai Rāmānujas. But a central black line is generally made with charcoal taken from incense burnt before the idols of Vishnu.

3. The third great Vaishnava sect is that founded by Vallabha, or as he is commonly called Vallabhāchārya, said to have been born in the forest of Champāranya, about the year 1479. He was believed to have been an embodiment of a portion of Krishna's essence, and various miraculous stories are fabled about him. For instance, his intelligence is alleged to have been so great that when he commenced learning at seven years of age, he mastered the four Vedas, the six systems of Philosophy, and the eighteen Purānas in four months.

After precocity so prodigious he was able at the age of twelve to formulate a new view of the Vaishnava creed, but one which was to a certain extent derived from a previous teacher named Vishnu-svāmī. Soon he commenced travelling to propagate his doctrines. When he reached the court of Krishnadeva, King of Vijaya-nagar, he was invited to engage in a public disputation with a number of Smārta Brāhmans. In this he succeeded so well that he was elected chief

Āchārya of the Vaishnavas. He then travelled for nine years through different parts of India, and finally settled in Benares, where he composed seventeen works, among which was a commentary on the Bhāgavata-purāna. This last work, especially its tenth book—descriptive of the early life of Krishna—is the chief authoritative source of the doctrines of the sect. In philosophy Vallabha maintained Vedāntist doctrines, and called his system “pure non-dualism” (*Suddhāvaita*), to distinguish it from the “qualified non-dualism” (*Viśiṣṭādvaita*) of Rāmānuja. Vallabhāchārya died at Benares, or, according to his followers, was transported to heaven while performing his ablutions in the Ganges.

His followers are very numerous in Bombay, Gujarāt, and Central India, particularly among the merchants and traders called Baniyas and Bhātiyas. He left behind him eighty-four principal disciples, who disseminated his doctrines in various directions. But the real successor to his Gādī or chair was his second son, Vitthalnāth, sometimes called Gosāinji from his having settled at Gokul, near Muttra. This Vitthalnāth had seven sons, each of whom established a Gādī in different districts, especially in Bombay, Kutch, Kāthiāwār, and Malwa. The influence of Vallabhāchārya's successors became so great that they received the title Mahārāja, “great king,” the name Gosāin (for Gosvāmin—lord of cows—an epithet of Krishna) being sometimes added.

Vallabhāchārya's view of the Vaishnava creed has been called *Pushti-mārga*, the way of eating, drinking, and enjoying oneself. He maintained, in fact, that the Deity ought to be worshipped not with fasting, self-mortification, and suppression of the passions, but with indulgence of the natural appetites, and enjoyment of the good things of the world. His followers are the Epicureans of India, and his successors, the Mahārājas, dress in the costliest raiment, feed on the daintiest viands, and abandon themselves to every form of sensuality and luxury. The god worshipped is the Krishna incarnation of Vishnu, as he appeared in his boyhood, when, as a mere child, he gave himself up to childish mirth, and condescended to sport with the Gopis or cowherdesses of Mathurā (Muttra). I was present at a kind of revivalist camp-meeting near Allahābād, where a celebrated Hindū preacher addressed a large assemblage of people and magnified this condescension as a proof of Krishna's superiority to all other gods.

The children of the Vallabhāchāryans are admitted to membership at the age of two, three, or four years. A rosary, or necklace (*kanthi*) of one hundred and eight beads,* made of tulsī wood, is passed round their necks by the Mahārāja, and they are taught the use of the eight-syllabled prayer, “Great Krishna is my soul's refuge.”

* This is because 108 names are given to Vallabhāchārya and his successors, which are similar to the 108 chief names of Krishna as the Supreme Being.

The images used in the temples of the sect represent Krishna in the boyish period of his life (in the form called *Bāla-Krishna*), supposed to extend to his twelfth year. According to the higher Vaishnava creed, Krishna's love for the *Gopīs*—themselves the wives of the cowherds—and the passion of the *Gopīs* for him, are to be explained allegorically, and symbolize the longing of the human soul for union with the Supreme. When I have asked strict Vaishnavas for an explanation of Krishna's alleged adulteries, I have always been told that his attachment to the *Gopīs* was purely spiritual, and that, in fact, he was only a child at the time of his association with them.

But the Vallabhāchāryans interpreted that attachment in a gross and material sense. Hence their devotion to Krishna has degenerated into the most corrupt practices, and their whole system has become rotten to the core. Their men have brought themselves to believe that to win the favour of their god, they must assimilate themselves to females. Even the *Mahārājas*, or spiritual chiefs, the successors of Vallabhāchārya, are accustomed to dress like women when they lead the worship of their followers.

But the real blot, or rather foul stain, which defaces and defiles the system, remains to be described. These *Mahārājas* have come to be regarded as representatives of Krishna upon earth. It is even believed by many that they are actual incarnations or impersonations of the god. So that in the temples where the *Mahārājas* do homage to the idols, men and women do homage to the *Mahārājas*, prostrating themselves at their feet, offering them incense, fruits and flowers, and waving lights before them, as the *Mahārājas* themselves do before the images of the gods. One mode of worshipping the boyish Krishna is by swinging his images in swings. Hence, in every district presided over by a *Mahārāja*, the women are accustomed to worship not Krishna but the *Mahārāja* by swinging him in pendent seats. The *Pān-supāri* ejected from his mouth, the leavings of his food, and the very dust on which he has walked, are eagerly devoured by his devotees, while they also drink the water rinsed from his garments, and that used in the washing of his feet, which they call *Charanāmrita*, "feet nectar." Others, again, worship his wooden shoes, or prostrate themselves before his seat (*gādī*) and his painted portraits. But infinitely worse than all this : it is believed that the best mode of propitiating the god Krishna in heaven is by ministering to the sensual appetites of his successors and vicars upon earth. Body, soul, and property (*tan, man, dhan*) are to be wholly made over to them, in a peculiar rite called Self-devotion (*samarpana*), and women are taught to believe that highest bliss will be secured to themselves and their families by the caresses of Krishna's representatives.*

* The profligacy of the *Mahārājas* was exposed in the celebrated trial of the *Mahārāja* libel case, which came before the Supreme Court of Bombay on the 26th of January, 1862. The evidence given, and the judgment of the judges, have acted as some check on the licentious practices of the sect.

No wonder that a corruption of the Vaishnava faith, so abominable, should have led to the modern Puritan movement, under the reformer Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa. This remarkable man, whose proper name was Sahajānanda, was a high-caste Brāhman. He was born at Chapāi, a village one hundred and twenty miles to the north-west of Lucknow, about the year 1780. Disgusted with the manner of life of the Vaishnava Brāhmans of his own time and neighbourhood, whose precepts and practice were utterly at variance, and especially with the licentious habits of the Vallabhāchāryans, he determined to denounce their irregularities and expose their vices. He himself was a celibate, virtuous, self-controlled, austere, ascetical, yet withal large-hearted and philanthropic, and with a great aptitude for learning. He left his home about the year 1800, and took up his abode at a village within the jurisdiction of the Junagarh Nawāb. There he placed himself under the protection of the chief guru named Rāmānanda Svāmi. When that holy man removed to Ahmedābād, in 1804, Sahajānanda followed him.

In a large and populous city a man of evident ability and professed sanctity could not fail to attract attention. Soon Sahajānanda collected about his own person a little band of disciples, which rapidly multiplied into an army of devoted adherents. Some attribute his influence to a power of mesmerizing his followers, but he probably owed his success to a remarkable fascination of manner combined with consistency of moral character, and other qualities which singled him out for a leader. His disciples increased so rapidly that the Brāhmans and magnates of Ahmedābād began to be jealous of his popularity. He was obliged to fly, and sought refuge at Jetalpur, twelve miles south of Ahmedābād. There he invited all the Brāhmans of the neighbourhood to the performance of a great sacrifice. The native officials no sooner heard of the proposed assemblage than, fearing a collision between his followers and other religious parties, they had him arrested on some frivolous pretext and thrown into prison. Such an act of tyranny defeated its own object. It excited universal sympathy, and increased his influence. He was soon released. Hymns were composed in which his merits were extolled. Verses were written descriptive of his sufferings. Curses were launched against the heads of his persecutors.

Jetalpur then became the focus of a great religious gathering. Thousands flocked to the town and enrolled themselves as the followers of Sahajānanda, who took the name of Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa.

Bishop Heber, in his Indian journal, gives the following interesting account of an interview with him at this period of his career:—

“About eleven o'clock I had the expected visit from Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa. The holy man was a middle-sized, thin, plain-looking person, about my own age, with a mild and diffident expression of countenance, but nothing about him indicative of any extraordinary talent. He came in somewhat different style

from all I had expected, having with him nearly two hundred horsemen. When I considered that I had myself an escort of more than fifty horse I could not help smiling, though my sensations were in some degree painful and humiliating at the idea of two religious teachers meeting at the head of little armies, and filling the city which was the scene of their interview with the rattling of quivers, the clash of shields, and the tramp of the war-horse. Had our troops been opposed to each other, mine, though less numerous, would have been doubtless far more effective, from the superiority of arms and discipline. But in moral grandeur what a difference was there between his troop and mine! Mine neither knew me nor cared for me, though they escorted me faithfully. The guards of Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa were his own disciples and enthusiastic admirers, men who had voluntarily repaired to hear his lessons, who now took a pride in doing him honour, and who would cheerfully fight to the last drop of blood rather than suffer a fringe of his garment to be handled roughly. In my own parish of Hodnet there were once, perhaps, a few honest countrymen who felt something like this for me, but how long a time must elapse before a Christian minister in India can hope to be thus loved and honoured!—Chap. xxv.

It soon became clear to Sahajānanda that the success of his future operations would depend on the consolidation of his party. He therefore retired with his followers to the secluded village of Wartāl, where he erected a temple to Nārāyaṇa (otherwise Krishna, or Vishnu, as the Supreme Being) associated with the goddess Lakshmi. It was from this central locality that his crusade against the Vallabhāchāryans was principally carried on. His watchword seems to have been "devotion to Krishna (as the Supreme Being) with observance of duty and purity of life."

He was in the habit of making periodical tours in Gujarāt like a bishop visiting his diocese. It was in one of these that Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa was struck down by fever at Gadadā in Kāthiāwār, where he died.

His disciples now number more than 200,000 persons. They are divided into two great classes—Sādhus, "holy men," and Grihasthas, "householders." These correspond to clergy and laity, the former, who are all celibates, being supported by the latter. Those Sādhus who are Brāhmans are called Brahma-chāris. Of these there are about 300 at Wartāl, the whole body of Sādhus, or holy men, numbering about 1,000. A still lower order is called Pāla. Of these there are about 500.

The two principal temples of the sect are at Wartāl (for Sanskrit *Vratālaya*, abode of religious observances), about four miles to the west of the Baroda railway, and Ahmedabad. The former is the most important and best endowed, but both are presided over by Mahārājas, neither of whom is willing to yield the precedence to the other. Jealousies are already springing up between them. Probably, in process of time, a schism will take place, and perhaps two antagonistic parties be formed, as in other Vaishnava sects.

In company with the Collector of Kāira I visited the Wartāl temple on the day of the Pūrnimā, or full moon of the month Kārtik—the

most popular festival of the whole year. The Mahārāja greeted us at the Boeravi station of the Baroda railway with a choice of conveyances—an elephant, a bullock-carriage shaped like a pagoda, a palanquin and four horses, with a mounted guard. I chose the palanquin and found myself moving comfortably forward, while my companion's vehicle oscillated violently in response to the inequalities of the road. The Svāmi-Nārāyanas are a wealthy community, but clearly object to spend their money on improving the access to their chief temple. One reason for this may be that a shrine's inaccessibility enhances the merit of pilgrimage.

We were met at the entrance to the court of the temple (*mandir*) by the Mahārāja himself, attended by his minister—an old Brahmachārī, or unmarried Brāhman. The temple dedicated to Lakshmi-Nārāyana, erected about sixty years ago, is a handsome structure. It has the usual lofty cupolas, and stands in the centre of a courtyard, formed by the residences of the Mahārāja and his attendants, the great hall of assembly, and other buildings.

We were conducted by the Mahārāja through a crowd of at least ten thousand persons, who thronged the quadrangle and all the approaches to the temple. They were waiting to be admitted to the one ceremony of the day, and the one object that had drawn so many people to one spot—the privilege of *Dars'ana*, or a sight of the principal idol. It was a moment of intense excitement. Let a man but catch a glimpse of the jewelled image on this anniversary of its manifestation to the multitude, and the blessing of the god attends him for the whole year. The vast concourse swayed to and fro like the waves of a troubled sea, each man vociferating to his neighbours in a manner quite appalling. I could not help thinking of our apparent helplessness in the surging crowd, and asking myself how two solitary Europeans would be likely to fare, if, from some accidental circumstance, the religious fanaticism of a myriad excited Hindūs were to break loose and vent itself upon us.

But the ten thousand people were docile as children. At a signal from the Mahārāja they made a lane for us to pass, and we entered the temple by a handsome flight of steps. The interior is surrounded by idol shrines. On the occasion of the present festival the principal images were almost concealed from view by rich vestments and jewelry.

One of the two principal shrines has three figures; that on the left of the spectator is an idol of Krishna in his character of Ran-chor "sin-deliverer,"—a form of Krishna specially worshipped at Dvārakā, and throughout Gujarāt.* An image of Nārāyana (Vishnu as the Supreme Being) is in the middle; and Lakshmi, consort of Vishnu, is on

* So the name was interpreted to me, but I suspect it properly means "fight-quitter," and rather refers to Krishna's declining to take part in the great war of the Mahābhārata, between the sons of Pāndu and Dhritu-rāshtra.

the right. A gong to be struck in the performance of worship (*pūjā*) hangs suspended before the shrine. The other principal sanctuary has Krishna in the middle, his favourite Rādhā on the right, and Svāmi-Nārāyan, the founder of the sect, on the left. The latter is here worshipped, like other great religious leaders, as an incarnation of a portion of Vishnu—that is, he is held to be one of the numerous Nārāvatāras or descents of parts of the god's essence in the bodies of men. In an adjacent shrine are his bed and clothes, the print of his foot, and his wooden slippers.

We were next conducted to the Sabhā-mandapa, or great hall of assembly, on one side of the quadrangle. Here about three thousand of the chief members of the sect, including a number of the Sādhus or clergy, were waiting to receive us. Chairs were placed for us in the centre of the hall, and before us, seated on the ground, with their legs folded under them in the usual Indian attitude, were two rows of about thirty of the oldest Sādhus, three or four of whom had been actually contemporaries of Svāmi-Nārāyan. These old men were delighted when we questioned them as to their personal knowledge of their founder. The only inconvenience was that they all wanted to talk together. I felt indisposed to check their garrulity, but the Mahārāja interposed and invited us to another spacious hall in the story above (*upari-bhūmi*), where a select number of their best Pandits were assembled to greet us. The regular Darbār or formal reception took place in this room. Here we were garlanded with flowers, besprinkled with rosewater, and presented with fruits, sweetmeats, and pān-supārī, in the usual manner. I found the Pandits well versed in Sanskrit. One or two astonished me by the fluency with which they spoke it, and by their readiness in answering the difficult questions with which I tested their knowledge.

The Mahārāja's last act was to conduct us to an adjacent building, used as a lodging-house or asylum (*dharma-s'ālā*) for the clergy. On the present anniversary at least six hundred of these good men were collected in long spacious galleries called Āś'ramas (places of retreat). They were all dressed alike in plain salmon-coloured clothes, each man being located in a small separated space not more than seven feet long, by three or four broad. Above his head, neatly arranged in racks, were his spare clothes, water-jar, &c. When we were introduced to the six hundred Sādhus they were all standing upright, motionless, and silent. At night they lie down on the hard ground in the same narrow space. These holy men are supposed to have abandoned all worldly ties, that they may go forth unencumbered to disseminate the doctrines of their founder. They itinerate in pairs, to cheer, support, and keep watch on each other. They travel on foot, undergoing many privations and hardships, and taking with them nothing but a staff, the clothes on their back, their daily food, their water-jar, and their book of instructions. They may be seen here and

there in the ordinary coarse salmon-coloured dress of ascetics, striving to win disciples by personal example and persuasion, rather than by controversy. Surely other proselyting societies might learn something by a study of their method.

What I saw of their whole system convinced me that the Svāmi-Nārāyanas are an energetic body of men, and their sect an advancing one. Notwithstanding the asceticism of their clergy, the leading members of the community have a keen eye to the acquisition of money and lands, and are perhaps not over scrupulous in carrying out their plans of aggrandisement. Without doubt the tendency of their doctrines is towards purity of life, which is supposed to be effected by suppression of the passions (*udāsa*), and complete devotion to the Supreme Being in his names of Nārāyana, Vishnu, and Krishna. In an honest desire to purify the Vaishnava faith the sect has done and is doing much good; but there can be no question that its doctrines, like its gods, its idols, and its sectarian marks, are part and parcel of genuine Hinduism.

I ought to state, in conclusion, that after my discussion with the Pandits I was presented with their S'ikshā-patrī, or manual of instructions, written in Sanskrit (with a long commentary), and constituting the religious directory of the sect. It was compiled by their Founder, with the aid of a learned Brāhman named Dinanāth, and is a collection of two hundred and twelve precepts—some original, some extracted from Manu and other sacred S'āstras, and many of them containing high moral sentiments worthy of Christianity itself. Every educated member of the sect appeared to know the whole collection by heart.

Specimens of the verses were recited to me by the Pandits, with the correct intonation, in the original Sanskrit. As they are calculated to give a just idea of the purer side of modern Vaishnavism—the most popular form of religion now existing throughout our Indian Empire—I conclude my present paper by translating a selection into English. I have arranged the examples in an order less confused than that of the original. The figures in parentheses refer to the number of the verses in the S'ikshā-patrī.

"I, Sahajananda Svāmi, living at Vratālaya, write this letter of instructions to all my followers scattered in different countries (2).

"No disciples of mine must ever intentionally kill any living thing whatever, not even a flea or the most minute insect (11).

"The killing of any animal for the purpose of sacrifice to the gods is forbidden by me. Abstaining from injury is the highest of all duties (12).

"Suicide at a sacred place of pilgrimage, from religious motives or from passion, is prohibited (14).

"No flesh meat must ever be eaten, no spirituous or vinous liquor must ever be drunk, not even as medicine (15).

"All theft is prohibited, even under pretence of contributing to religious objects (17).

"No male or female followers of mine must ever commit adultery (18).

"No false accusation must be laid against any one from motives of self-interest (20).

"Profane language against the gods, sacred places, Brahmins, holy men and women, and the Vedas, must never be used (21).

"A truth which causes serious injury to one's self or others need not be told. Wicked men, ungrateful people, and persons in love are to be avoided. A bribe must never be accepted (26).

"A trust must never be betrayed. Confidence must never be violated. Praise of one's self with one's own lips is prohibited (37).

"Holy men should patiently bear abusive language, or even beating, from evil-minded persons, and wish good to them (201).

"They should not play at any games of chance, nor act as informers or spies; they should never show love of self, or undue partiality for their relations (202).

"Wives should serve their husbands as gods, and never offend them with improper language, though they be diseased, indigent, or imbecile (159).

"Widows should serve the god Krishna, regarding him as their only husband (163).

"They should only eat one meal a day, and should sleep on the ground (168).

"Every day let a man awake before sunrise, and, after calling on the name of Krishna, proceed to perform the rites of bodily purification (49).

"Having seated himself in some place apart, let him cleanse his teeth, and then, having bathed with pure water, put on two well-washed garments, one an under garment and the other an upper (50).

"My male followers should then make the vertical mark (emblematical of the footprint of Vishnu or Krishna) with the round spot inside it (symbolical of Lakshmi) on their foreheads. Their wives should only make the circular mark with red powder of saffron (52).

"Those who are initiated into the proper worship of Krishna should always wear on their necks two rosaries made of Tulsi wood,* one for Krishna and the other for Rādhā (4).

"After engaging in mental worship, let them reverently bow down before the pictures of Rādhā and Krishna,† and repeat the eight-syllabled prayer to Krishna (that is *S'rī Krishnah s'aranam mama*, "Great Krishna is my soul's refuge") as many times as possible. Then let them apply themselves to secular affairs (54).

"Devotion to Krishna unattended by the performance of duties must on no account be practised (39).

"The duties of one's own class and order must never be abandoned, nor the duties of others meddled with (24).

"Nowhere, except in Jagan-nāth-purī, must cooked food or water be accepted from a person of low caste, though it be the remains of an offering to Krishna (19).

"Duty (*dharma*) is that good practice which is enjoined both by the Veda (*S'ruti*) and by the law (*Smṛiti*), which is founded on the Veda. Devotion (*bhakti*) is intense love for Krishna accompanied with a due sense of his glory (103).

"An act promising good reward, but involving departure from proper duties, must never be committed (73).

"If by the great men of former days anything unbecoming has been done, their faults must not be imitated, but only their good deeds (74).

"If knowingly or unintentionally any sin, great or small, be committed, the proper penance must be performed according to ability (92).

* The Tulsi or Tulsi plant (holy basil) is found in almost every Hindu's house in India. It is held sacred to Vishnu, and is supposed to be pervaded with the essence of his consort. Once every year, in every Marāṭha family, the idol of the youthful Krishna is married to this holy basil, with great rejoicings. Colonel Yule tells me that this plant is also venerated by the people of Sicily, probably for its sanitary properties.

† It is a remarkable characteristic of the Svāmi-Nārāyaṇa sect that pictures, instead of images, are used in some of their temples.

"Every day all my followers should go to the Temple of God, and there repeat the names of Krishna (63).

"The story of his life should be listened to with the greatest reverence, and hymns in his praise should be sung on festive days (64).

"All males and females who go to Krishna's temple should keep separate and not touch each other (40).

"Vishnu, S'iva, Gana-pati (or Ganes'a), Pārvati, and the Sun; these five deities should be honoured with worship (84).

"Nārāyana and S'iva should be equally regarded as part of one and the same Supreme Spirit, since both have been declared in the Vedas to be forms of Brahmā (47).

"On no account let it be supposed that difference in forms (or names) makes any difference in the identity of the deity (112).

"That which abides within the soul in the character of its internal regulator (*antaryāmitayā*) should be regarded as the self-existent Supreme Being who assigns a recompense to every act (107).

"That Being, known by various names—such as the glorious Krishna, Param Brahma, Bhagavān, Purushottama—the cause of all manifestations, is to be adored by us as our one chosen deity (108).

"Having perceived, by abstract meditation, that the soul is distinct from its three bodies (viz. the gross, subtle, and causal bodies) and that it is a portion of the Supreme Soul of the Universe (*Brahmā*) every man ought to worship Krishna by means of that soul at all times (116).

"Towards him alone ought all worship to be directed by every human being on the earth in every possible manner. Nothing else except faith (*bhakti*) in him can procure salvation (113).

"The twice-born should perform at the proper seasons, and according to their means, the twelve purificatory rites * (*sanskāra*), the (six) daily duties,† and the S'rāddha offerings to the spirits of departed ancestors (91).

"The eleventh day of the waxing and waning moon should be observed as fasts, also the birthday of Krishna; also the night of S'iva (*S'iva-rātri*) with rejoicings during the day (79).

"A pilgrimage to the Tirthas, or holy places, of which Dvārakā (Krishna's city in Gujarāt) is the chief, should be performed according to rule. Alms-giving and kind acts towards the poor should always be performed (83).

"A tithe of one's income should be assigned to Krishna; the poor should give a twentieth part (147).

"Those males and females of my followers who will act according to these directions shall certainly obtain the four great objects of all human desires—religious merit, wealth, pleasure, and beatitude (206)."

My next paper will treat of one other important Vaishnava sect founded by Chaitanya and some remaining phases of Indian religious thought, including the chief doctrines of the Kabīr-panthis, Sikhs, Jains, and Indo-Zoroastrians or Pārsīs of the Bombay Presidency.

MONIER WILLIAMS.

* Of these only six are now generally performed, viz.:—1, the birth-ceremony, or touching the tongue of a new born infant with clarified butter, &c.; 2, the name-giving ceremony on the 10th day; 3, tonsure; 4, induction into the privileges of the twice-born, by investiture with the sacred thread; 5, solemn return home from the house of a preceptor after completing the prescribed course of study; 6, marriage.

† The six daily duties (called *Nitya-karman*) according to *Parāśara* are:—1, Ablution; 2, morning and evening prayer (*sandhyā*); 3, offerings to fire (*homa*); 4, repetition of the Veda; 5, worship of ancestors; 6, worship of the gods.

THE RESCUE OF EPPING FOREST

THE Session of 1878, if little remarkable for the attention given to domestic legislation, will be gratefully remembered by the people of London for having brought to a final settlement the litigation and official inquiries, which for more than fifteen years have held in suspense the fate of Epping Forest. This forest consisted, in 1851, of not less than six thousand acres, and extended over a length of thirteen miles, from within two miles of London, to the village of Epping, with a varying breadth of from one to two miles. Of this area rather more than the half was ruthlessly and illegally enclosed, between the years 1850 and 1870, by persons having limited rights in the soil. The effect of the settlement is to restore nearly the whole of these acres to the forest, to abate the fences which shut out the public from their former haunts, and to reinstate nature in its sylvan throne. So great a recovery of stolen property has never been effected, whether having regard to the extent and intrinsic value of the land, the magnitude of the interests involved, or the number of persons implicated. Nor were the means by which this restitution was effected less curious and interesting; they supply an illustration of the illogical and pedantic methods of English procedure, whether in the Law Courts or in the Legislature. In any other country in Europe the subject would have been taken in hand by the Executive Government; illegalities would have been repressed with a strong hand; and the forest would have been preserved for the use of the public by simply maintaining the *status quo*. In England the rescue of the forest has been due to private agencies, to voluntary societies, and to the happy chance that the Corporation of London was possessed of a Cemetery to which rights of common were attached, and which gave it a legal standpoint for resisting and abating enclosures in the forest.

Epping Forest was in bygone times a part of the much wider range of Waltham Forest, a district extending over sixty thousand acres, to which Manwood's definition of a royal forest applied, "a territory of woody grounds and fruitful pastures, privileged for wild beasts and fowls of forest chase and warren to rest and abide there in the safe protection of the king, for his delight and pleasure." This district was not all woodland or waste; probably not more than one-fifth of its area, even in early times, was in this condition. The remainder was cultivated and enclosed land; but it was forest in the sense that the forest laws applied to the whole of its area. These laws were framed with a view to maintain the right of the sovereign to sport over the district. No fences could be maintained high enough to keep out a doe with her fawn. No buildings could be erected without the consent of the authorities. No woods could be cut down. No change could be made in the cultivation of the land without consent of the forest authorities. Game, great and small, and especially deer, was protected by most severe laws, enforced in courts peculiar to the forest, by officers responsible to the sovereign. Such forests answered to the *Capitaineries* in France, vast districts over which the sovereign or feudal lords had rights of sporting irrespective of the ownership of the soil, and where game was maintained without regard to the interests of the owners and occupiers; numerous cases of this kind existed up to the time of the Revolution of 1789, when they were swept away with other feudal privileges.

What was strictly forest in the district of Waltham was confined to two wide ranges, the one known as Epping Forest which consisted of about six thousand acres, the other Hainault Forest of four thousand acres. There nature was allowed an undisputed sway; the forest trees existed much as they had from before the time of Edward the Confessor; the deer roamed freely, and were not even confined by fence or wall; the public had everywhere access to them; and the only right conflicting or concurrent with that of the Crown was the right of all the freeholders and occupiers within the range of Waltham Forest, by way of compensation for their subjection to Forest Law, to turn out their cattle (not offensive to the deer) in the waste and woodland. The Crown, beyond its forestal rights, had little property within the limits of Waltham Forest; before the Reformation the greater number of the manors were in the possession of the wealthy Abbeys of Waltham, Stratford, and Barking; but on the dissolution of the monasteries, in the reign of Henry VIII., most of these manors came into the possession of the Crown, and were subsequently regranted to private individuals, favourites of the sovereign, from whom they have descended to their present owners. The extensive waste belonging to the Abbey of Barking, constituting the greater part of what has been popularly known as Hainault Forest, was retained by the Crown, and the forest was preserved till 1851,

when it was disafforested, enclosed, and converted into arable lands and farms.*

The motive which induced the destruction of this forest was the improvement of the revenues of the Crown lands; and probably the same fate would have overtaken the Forest of Epping, at a time when the value of such a district from an æsthetic and sanitary point of view was not as yet recognized, had the Crown been the owner of its soil. Fortunately, however, the interest of the Crown in Epping consisted only in its forestal rights. The ownership of the soil was vested in the lords of eighteen different Manors within the area of the Forest of Waltham. This ownership was little more than a barren and valueless right, for it was subject in the first place to the forestal rights of the Crown, which forbade the cutting down of any trees in the forest, and ousted them from the privilege of other lords of manors, that of sporting over the waste; and secondly, to the rights of the commoners of turning out cattle on the waste.

The law of the forest was maintained and put in force by special courts, and by an elaborate machinery, intended to preserve the rights of the Crown, and to prevent enclosure or trespass. Four verderers, elected by the freeholders within the forest, assisted in this duty, and the whole was under the authority of an hereditary lord warden, responsible to the Crown. At the commencement of this century these courts appear to have fallen into disuse. The growth of London, and the immediate proximity of a large population, made it more difficult to maintain the forest laws; and the sovereign ceased to visit the district for sporting purposes. The old use of the forest came therefore to be disregarded, while its new value in relation to the great population of London was as yet scarcely perceived or appreciated. It is only within recent years that this has been recognized; and till then public opinion was decidedly adverse to the continued existence of such forests, mindful rather of the vices and hardships of the forest laws, sympathizing rather with the owners of property against the claims of the Crown, and looking with utilitarian views to the greater return which might be obtained from so much waste land, if enclosed and cultivated. So late as 1848 a Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Lord Duncan, took this view of the forest, and recommended that the Crown should sell its forestal rights to the lords of manors within the forest, a course which was unfortunately adopted by the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. The Crown rights over about half the forest were thus parted with to those Lords of Manors who would buy them, at the rate of £6 per acre. The deer were killed down; and no effort was made to maintain the Crown rights over the remainder of the forest.

Even before this, the Earl of Mornington, a dissolute spendthrift,

* For an interesting account of the early history of the Forest, see Mr. Robert Hunter's *Treatise on the Epping Forest Act*, 1878: Davis & Son.

who through his wife had become hereditary lord warden of the forest, and owner of four of the manors within its range, had done his best to ruin the forest. He reduced the Verderers' Court to impotence by appointing his own solicitor to be its steward, and, in lieu of maintaining the forest, as he was bound in duty to do, led the way himself to its destruction, by enclosing and appropriating a great part of its waste within his own manors. His example was followed by many others. In 1863 public attention was attracted to these illegalities. A Committee of the House of Commons reported that the forest was being destroyed without regard to the rights of the Crown; they recommended that the Crown should enforce its forestal rights with a view to prevent and abate enclosures; but with a strange inconsistency they advised that a scheme should be prepared for enclosing legally the remaining part of the forest, reserving only a part of it "for the purpose of health and recreation, which had from time immemorial been enjoyed by the inhabitants of London."

Two years later public opinion more emphatically declared itself. Another Committee of the House of Commons investigated generally the condition of the Commons and open spaces in the neighbourhood of London, including Epping Forest. Their report was the turning point of a new policy. It fully recognized that the public interest required the maintenance of these open spaces in their integrity. It showed that the area of such commons within twelve miles of the centre of the metropolis, including six thousand acres of Epping Forest, consisted of not less than fourteen thousand acres; but that, large as this area was, it was so valuable, immediately and prospectively, to the population of London for health and recreation, that it could not safely be reduced; and that every means should be taken to prevent the enclosure of any part of it.

Two opposite views were maintained before the Committee as to the legal position of these Commons, and as to the best mode of preventing their enclosure. According to the one view, that of the lords of manors and their legal agents, the Commons, including Epping, were practically their private property, free from any right of or obligation to the public or the commoners. It was contended that the public by immemorial user had acquired no right; that the rights of the commoners had vanished by non-user; and that under the Common Law and by the Statute of Merton, the lords were justified in enclosing and appropriating these open spaces. On the other hand, it was maintained that whatever might be the right of the public, the Commons were practically protected from enclosure by the common rights still existing and vested in the owners and occupiers of adjoining property; that these rights, though little used in consequence of the growth of population, were dormant, not extinct, and could be maintained for the purpose of abating enclosures; and that all the experience of the past, as represented in the thousands of private Enclosure Acts, and

the General Enclosure Act of 1845, showed that enclosure, whether by Common Law or under the pretence of the Statute of Merton, however theoretically possible, was practically impossible and illegal unless sanctioned by Parliament. The Committee, taking this last view of the subject, advised against a scheme, propounded by the Metropolitan Board, for the compulsory purchase of the forest and commons, which would have resulted in a vast expenditure of the ratepayers' money, to secure that which had always *de facto* been enjoyed. They recommended a scheme for placing these spaces under proper regulation and management, so as to prevent nuisances and to preserve order, leaving all existing rights untouched. This suggestion was adopted by the Government of the day, and was embodied in the Metropolitan Commons Act. The Act, however, did not extend to Epping; with respect to this Forest, the Committee recommended that the Crown should put in force its forestal rights for the abatement of enclosures.

The Report of this Committee was followed by important consequences, and led to a course of litigation without parallel for its duration, the importance of its issues, and its historical interest. Each party to the great controversy before the Committee proceeded to act upon its views. The lords of manors of numerous Commons round London, and especially of the eighteen manors of Epping Forest, commenced a wholesale course of enclosure, which put in issue their contention as to their rights, in the most practical manner, and which, if uncontested, would have speedily led to the disappearance, not only of the forest, but of all the most valued commons near London. Within a short time, nearly three thousand acres of the forest were abstracted from it, and enclosed with fences. The Commons of Berkhamstead, Plumstead, Tooting, and Bostall, were wholly, or in great part, enclosed; Hampstead Heath, and many others, were threatened, and would doubtless soon have been engulfed.

The opponents to this view of the right to enclose were not idle; they formed a Society for the purpose of resisting, or advising and assisting in resistance to, these encroachments. What the Committee had predicted came to pass; as each common was enclosed or menaced, local opposition was aroused, which only needed advice to commence active proceedings against the wrong-doers. In most cases, wealthy villa-holders formed committees and raised funds to oppose the aggressors in the law courts, or public-spirited men took upon themselves the burthen of resistance. In the case of Berkhamstead, where six hundred acres were enclosed by the late Earl Brownlow and added to his park, Mr. Augustus Smith, well known as the Lord of Scilly, vindicated his right as a commoner, after the manner well recognized by the law as a legitimate method of dealing with an illegal encroachment; he sent down two hundred men to Berkhamstead, who in one night removed the iron fences which engirdled the

stolen common. At Plumstead, Sir Julian Goldsmid took the leading part against the enclosure. At Hampstead the late Mr. Gurney Hoare joined with his neighbours in organizing resistance. At Tooting, Wimbledon, Wandsworth, and other suburban places, committees were formed for protecting their Commons.

In Epping, where the enclosures were on the largest and most threatening scale, great difficulty was found in making effective resistance. The local landowners who had common rights, were as a rule more in favour of enclosure than opposed to it; they were not unwilling to share in the spoil, and many of them received allotments of the forest. There was wanting the class of resident villa-holders, such as generally own the property adjoining other Commons, who are more personally interested in keeping them open than in dividing them when enclosed. The Buxton family, almost alone among the larger landowners of that part of Essex, stood firm in their opposition to the enclosure of the forest, and were ready to support measures for resisting it.

The contention of the lords of manors was that the Forest consisted of a number of distinct and separate manors, and was not a common waste over which all the landowners of the forestal district of Waltham had rights. In this view they had each to deal only with the comparatively few tenants of their own manors, and could disregard the great body of commoners over the wider district. The contention had no historical or legal justification. But the prize within their grasp was enormous. The forest land was worth £300 to £1,000 per acre for building purposes. It was scarcely to be wondered at that greedy hands were laid upon this tempting prey, and that difficulty was found in rousing any action among the local landowners against the spoliation.

Impunity in the earlier cases begat recklessness. Enclosures were made wholesale, and in a short time the whole forest would have disappeared. In one of the largest manors of the forest, that of Loughton, the lord, who was also Rector of the parish, enclosed in one swoop thirteen hundred acres, and commenced to fell the trees. Three hundred of these acres he was good enough to divide among those of his neighbours whose common rights he recognized. A pitiful plot of twelve acres was set apart for the school-children and the public, but not a rood of land for garden allotments for the labouring poor. The magnitude of this transaction, the scandal it created, and the alarm it gave rise to as to the remainder of the forest, assisted in working its own retribution; and the first attempt, therefore, to deal with the Epping enclosures arose out of this Loughton case.

In this manor the inhabitants had, from time immemorial, claimed and exercised the right of lopping the trees for firewood, during the winter months. The tradition was that the right had been granted by Queen Elizabeth to the poor of the parish, with the condition that

on the 11th of November of each year they should perambulate the Forest, and that the eldest of them should strike an axe into one of the trees. Certain it is that this custom had been maintained for many generations, and the labouring poor derived great advantage from this privilege, though of late years it had been somewhat abused by the sale of firewood and by the intrusion of persons from a distance. In defiance of the enclosure, an old labouring man named Willingale, whose name is now associated with the preservation of the forest, persisted with his two sons in exercising this right. They were summoned by the lord of the manor before the local Justices and were sent to prison with hard labour, although they protested their right, which should have ousted the jurisdiction of the Justices, of whom one, at least, had received a share of the stolen forest.

These high-handed proceedings roused public attention, and Willingale was advised to commence legal proceedings in support of the right of the inhabitants to lop the forest trees, a right which, if sustained at law, would have preserved and kept open the forest. He was sustained in this course by the Society I have alluded to, and to a great extent by the aid of Sir T. Fowell Buxton. Another suit was also commenced in the name of a small freeholder. These proceedings restrained the lord of the manor, pending the determination of rights, from felling the forest trees, and cutting up into building plots the one thousand acres he had enclosed. A thorough investigation was then made of the court rolls of the manor, and of the legal position of the forest; and although Willingale died before his suit could be decided, the proceedings in his case, extending over four years, during which the forest was practically protected from further devastation, were greatly instrumental in saving it.

In the meantime the other great suits respecting the London commons were proceeded with. It resulted from the movement and from the exertions and assistance of the parent Society, that a community of interest was established between them; the important suits, eight or nine in number, were conducted by the same solicitor, which gave a great advantage in the general direction of the proceedings. The law involved in the maintenance of common rights was intricate and almost obsolete. Much of the older law had seldom come under the attention of lawyers of the present day. It was necessary to be very careful not to force decisions upon the Courts with undue haste. Even the highest tribunals of the country are not impervious to public opinion representing the general tone and sentiment of the community. The insistence of a technical right, for the purpose of keeping open a common for a totally different object, might at one time be considered as scarcely worthy of the aid of the courts of law; whereas at another time, and with an universal desire to save the commons, it would be grasped at and welcomed as a most timely and efficient weapon for the purpose.

In this view, then, the Commons cases were marshalled by the able solicitors who had charge of them, so as gradually to lead the courts of law back to the older view of the value of rights of common; and decisions were obtained which strengthened public opinion in favour of the course pursued. In the Berkhamstead case, the first to come to a hearing, the proceedings of Mr. Augustus Smith were fully justified; it was shown that the pulling down of fences was not so violent an act as that of putting them up, where there was no right to do so. It was decided that the lord of the manor who encloses must take the burthen of proving that he has left sufficient waste for the commoners, happily a thing which it is generally impossible to do. It is singular that the investigation of this case showed that an almost identical enclosure of this Common had been made by Charles I. when Prince of Wales, and, in virtue of the Duchy of Cornwall, lord of this manor of Berkhamstead, and that one of the commoners had then summoned five thousand of his neighbours, who forcibly destroyed the fences. For this act the commoner was imprisoned by the House of Lords for contempt of the Prince's prerogative; but, not the less, the Common was left open till Lord Brownlow, in the present generation, made a fresh assault upon it. The Plumstead case decided that freeholders of a manor had equal rights with copyholders. The wrongful enclosers in this case were the Fellows of Queen's College, Oxford, and in deciding this case Lord Hatherley made use of this strong expression:—

"The litigation has been occasioned by a high-handed assertion of right on the part of the College, who really seem to have said in effect to those who have been exercising their rights for two hundred years: 'You will be in a difficulty to prove how you have exercised them; we will put you to that proof by enclosing and taking possession of your property.' I think, therefore, the whole expense ought to fall on those who have occasioned it, namely, those who have brought into question rights which have had so long a duration, and to which I am thankful to be able to discover (because it is the duty of the court to discover if it can) a legal origin."*

The case of Tooting Common was also decided in favour of the inhabitants. In other cases satisfactory arrangements were arrived at. Wimbledon and Wandsworth Commons were preserved by securing to Lord Spencer an annuity, chargeable upon the local rates, equal to his average receipts as lord of these manors. The Metropolitan Board, which had never quite abandoned its plan of purchase, intervened in the Hampstead case, and bought the rights of the lord of the manor at a price infinitely below that originally claimed by him before the suit. Other commons, such as Blackheath, Barnes, Shepherd's Bush, and others, were bought under the Metropolitan Commons Act, and were subjected to regulation and management.

There still remained, however, the case of Epping Forest. The

* *Warwick v. Queen's College, Oxford*: Law Reports, 1871.

investigation of the legal position of the forest, in the Willingale case, showed that a much longer purse was necessary to unravel its intricacies, and deal effectually with its spoliation, than could possibly be provided by private persons and societies. The Metropolitan Board, however, declined to act, on the ground that the area to be dealt with was beyond its jurisdiction, and that it could not charge itself with any payments in compensation of manorial or proprietary rights. Assistance was then sought for in other directions. It was ascertained that the Corporation of London, as owners of a Cemetery within the range of Waltham Forest, had rights of common which would enable them to fight the battle, and application was made to them to undertake this great question in the interest of the public. About the same time, motions were also made in the House of Commons calling for the intervention of the Government. Mr. Fawcett in 1870 carried an address to the Crown praying Her Majesty to take steps that the forest might be kept open for the enjoyment of the public. This was followed by the abortive and unsatisfactory proposal of Mr. Ayrton, by which five thousand of the six thousand acres would have been abandoned to the lords of the manors and commoners, and lost to the Forest; a proposal which died a natural death in the face of a hostile resolution by Mr. Fawcett; and in the following year Mr. Cowper-Temple carried against the Government another address to the Crown, calling upon it to preserve those parts of Epping Forest which had not been enclosed by legal authority.

Personally I had not been favourable to an application to Parliament on the subject; I had no faith in the possibility of putting in force the forestal rights of the Crown, in view of the virtual abandonment of them, the disappearance of the deer, and the decay of the forest courts, and I feared a compromise from any scheme which might be propounded by a Commission or Government Department. I believed that the better course was to meet the aggressors in the courts of law, on behalf of the commoners' rights, and I was confident that the law, if prosecuted with spirit and with ample funds, would be equal to the task of abating those enclosures. Experience has shown, however, that both courses were expedient, and that both contributed to the ultimate success. On the one hand, in answer to Mr. Cowper Temple's address, the Government passed an Act creating a special Commission to investigate the legal condition of Epping Forest, and to report a scheme to Parliament for the preservation and management of so much of it as had not been lawfully enclosed or was still subject to the Crown's forestal rights. On the other hand, the main battle was fought and won in the law courts. The Corporation of London was induced to take up the cause of the public, and to put in force its common rights in respect of its cemetery, for the purpose of abating the forest enclosures. It commenced a suit in the year 1871, against all the lords of manors within Epping Forest who had made

enclosures, and against two representatives of the class of persons holding land by purchase from the wrongful enclosers. In the following year a further Act was passed, restraining, while the Commission lasted, all legal proceedings in respect of Epping Forest, with the exception of the Corporation suit, which was allowed to proceed, with a view to obtain a legal determination of the great interests involved; and hence it resulted that two great inquiries as to the legal condition of the forest were proceeded with at the same time, the one by a Royal Commission, and the other before the Master of the Rolls at the suit of the Corporation of London.

The main subject of investigation in both cases was the legal relation of the lords of manors to the Forest. Was the forest merely an aggregation of separate manors, each with its own body of commoners, and without connection with others? or was it all part of the waste of Waltham Forest, over which all the landowners of the much wider district, embracing no less than forty-eight thousand acres, had rights of common? Both inquiries came to the same conclusion. That before the Rolls Court, which lasted more than three years, ended in a decision, which could not have been more damnable to the pretensions of the enclosers. "If I am right in the view which I have taken of the law," said the Judge, "the defendants have taken other persons' property without their consent, and have appropriated it to their own use,"—a declaration which, Sir Fitzjames Stephen has said, closely approximated to the legal definition of larceny: there was the taking of other persons' property; there was an appropriation to their own use; the physical nature of the property alone prevented its being carried away. The Judge went on to say that the defendants had disintituled themselves even to any consideration in respect of costs, inasmuch as "the bulk of them had been parties to a litigation in which they had endeavoured to support their title by a vast bulk of false evidence."

The legal decision thus given facilitated the conclusion of the work of the Commission, which reported practically to the same effect as to the rights affecting the forest; they further recommended a scheme for the future disposition of the forest, which would have restored and preserved to the forest two thousand out of the three thousand acres taken from it, and still in the possession of the lords of manors. The scheme, however, was unsatisfactory in this respect, that it practically left undealt with the remaining one thousand acres, which had been illegally taken from the forest, and sold or assigned to outsiders. On a part of this land houses had been built, and gardens planted, by persons who had bought, as they alleged, in good faith, believing that they had a title; but seven hundred and fifty acres still remained, either in the former condition of the forest or unbuilt on, and which were interspersed with the forest in such a manner as to be essential to its preservation. The decree of the Master of the

Rolls applied in principle to the whole of this portion, although only a small part of it had been included in the suit. The Commissioners recommended a course which would have left the holders of this land in absolute possession of it, subject only to the possibility of the Corporation buying it back for the forest, upon the terms of a compulsory purchase; terms so onerous as to have precluded such a course. It seemed to those interested in the maintenance of the forest that the holders of this land were entitled to no more than a compensation in money, where they could show that they bought in good faith and in ignorance of the fact that the land had been wrongfully appropriated; they contended that the land itself should be restored to the forest. Great difficulty arose on this point, and the scheme was nearly wrecked upon it. It was clear, however, that when the period limited by the Epping Forest Act, for restraining further litigation, should come to an end, there would be nothing to prevent any commoner from commencing proceedings against the holders of this land; and the principle of the decision of the Master of the Rolls would govern these cases also. In anticipation of this, Mr. Burney, a commoner of the forest, who had taken great part in the proceedings for the preservation of the forest, took upon himself forcibly to remove the fences which surrounded these seven hundred and fifty acres; and although this action was strongly condemned by the Master of the Rolls, as a contravention of the Epping Forest Act, it had the effect of reminding the holders of this land of their precarious position, in case no scheme should receive the sanction of Parliament. By the intervention of the Government a compromise was then arranged, by which the whole of this land will be restored to the forest, together with the two thousand acres in the hands of the lords of the manors; and it will be left to an arbitrator, Sir Arthur Hobhouse, to determine what compensation shall be given to the present holders, in cases where they bought in good faith. Upon this compromise being effected, the Act of last session, which in other respects carries out the recommendations of the Commission, was passed by Parliament at the instance of the Government, without difficulty or opposition.

The scheme practically restores to the forest two thousand seven hundred and fifty acres out of the three thousand taken from it since 1861. It provides that the forest, consisting in future of nearly six thousand acres of beautiful wood-land, interspersed with heath and most of it in its native wildness, is to remain "open and unenclosed for the benefit and recreation of the people of London." The Corporation of London, having bought the rights of several of the lords of manors within the forest for very moderate sums, are empowered to purchase the remainder at a price to be determined by the arbitrator. Those who have built houses upon land taken from the forest are to be left in possession of them and their gardens, subject to a rent-charge in aid of the Forest funds, for quieting their titles.

The future management of the forest is entrusted to the Corporation, who have justly earned the honour conferred upon them by their timely and public-spirited conduct, to the exclusion of the Metropolitan Board, but with the assistance of four verderers to be selected by the Commoners of the Waltham district, whose rights over the forest are maintained.

It remains only to hope that the Corporation of London will execute the great trust committed to them in the same public spirit they have hitherto shown—and above all, that they will not attempt too much. Their charge should be treated as a true forest rather than as a park; and the less they attempt to interfere with or regulate the caprice of nature itself, the better will be the result.

The success which has attended the effort to restore Epping Forest and others of the Commons round London, has fully justified the conclusions of the Committee of 1865. It has shown that there is the strongest presumption that such enclosures are illegal, and that adverse rights invariably exist, which, if put in force and supported with adequate funds, will abate these enclosures. By what a slender chance, however, was the forest saved! It was by pure accident that the Corporation of London, in their capacity of Commissioners of Sewers, were owners of the cemetery to which such rights attached. Cattle may be “*levant and couchant*” in this place of sepulture, sufficient to maintain the legal right of pasture in the Forest; but it cannot be supposed that the right is of any real value. Yet this almost imaginary right was sufficient, when backed by the long purse of the City, to defeat the enclosure of three thousand acres, and to compel no less than five hundred persons to restore to the forest their share of this stolen land. What a strangely circuitous method of preserving the forest and of securing it for the public use and enjoyment! Yet many persons who would have considered any direct intervention of the Legislature to prevent these glaring illegalities, as an interference with the rights of property, regarded with pleasure the tortuous and protracted legal proceedings by which the Corporation vindicated their shadowy rights, and thus indirectly effected the object of preserving the forest for the public.

The process reminds one how completely such rights, whether of the lords or commoners, have altered in character and value. In olden times these manorial wastes were of value only for the rough pasture afforded to the cattle of the community, or for the peat or turves which served as fuel. They had little or no intrinsic value as land. The forest was of value only for the sport it afforded to the sovereign, or for its subsidiary rights of common. As population has grown up around them, the rights of turning out cattle have practically ceased to have any value, the risk to cattle is greater than the return, sporting rights are equally reduced to zero, the cutting of turf is superseded by cheap coal, and has become a nuisance. People and

children have taken the place of cattle and pigs, and recreate and enjoy themselves on the heath or in the forest. If trespassers in theory, they are punishable in fact. The law, if it usually fails to recognize such use, however long enjoyed, fails equally to provide any remedy against such trespassers. No one can prevent or interfere with them. The open space becomes an essential condition of health and existence to the surrounding population. On the other hand, this urban growth alters entirely the intrinsic value of the manorial waste. Instead of being the mere refuse of the manor, unworthy of cultivation, it attains, without any expenditure of capital on it, an enormous value for building purposes, if only it can be freed from common rights, and appropriated. Hence the great temptation to enclose, and the eager hunger to swallow up these remaining wildernesses. But is it right or just to the surrounding population that this should be permitted, without consideration of the interests or the actual user of those through whose existence only the land has acquired this great value? or is it right that the population should be called upon to pay this immense value for land which they have always in fact enjoyed?

It has always appeared to me that the law, or, if not the law, the Legislature, should recognize and sanction the practical transfer of use from cattle to people, and should admit the right of the population to use and enjoy that which they have in fact always used and enjoyed. The rights of turning out cattle on the commons had their origin in custom, and, together with the copyholder's possessory right to his land, which in early times was merely permissive, were converted into legal rights by the courts of law, recognizing the effect of time upon custom. Why should the law be less pliant now than in bygone times? Why should it not recognize the changes which time effects, and give sanction to long-continued customs? Surely rights can have no better origin than immemorial use? The case is much strengthened when it has been proved by so long a course of litigation that, practically, enclosure means the invasion of other persons' rights, and that the sleeping rights of common can be revived to prevent such enclosure. Why subject people to the great expense and trouble of putting in force these dormant rights, for a purpose altogether foreign to their origin? Why longer permit enclosures in the face of such strong presumption that they are illegal? Why not directly prohibit them, rather than compel resort to such circuitous methods of resisting them?

Upon these premises, and using such arguments, I ventured to make several alternative proposals, when the Commons Act of 1876 was before the House of Commons, with the object of preventing in the future these land speculations, and of securing to the public the continued enjoyment of that which it had always hitherto enjoyed. There was no wish to interfere with any practically existing right; the object was simply to maintain the *status quo*; it was urged that far

more danger arises to the rights of property from such frequent cases of wrongful appropriation, than from any theoretical interference with the rights of lords of manors, by insisting upon the maintenance of commons in their existing state.

The Home Secretary resisted all these proposals, upon the usual clap-trap argument that they interfered with rights of property. It was obvious, however, that he would be glad enough to secure the object in view, if a "formula" could be devised which, under a sufficiently plausible pretence, would indirectly effect the purpose. The nearest approach to such a "formula" was a clause in the Commons Act which enables local authorities, in respect of commons near towns, to buy any lands or premises, having rights of common attached, and to hold them for the purpose of keeping such commons open. In other words, a local authority, not having a cemetery, may purchase land giving it the same kind of power, which the Corporation of London possessed by virtue of its now famous burying ground. The clause may be useful in the hands of an active corporation, but is not likely to frighten or deter the unsleeping spirit of enclosure. A more recent private Act, obtained by the Corporation of London in the past session, carries this idea much further. It empowers the Corporation, in respect of any common within twenty-eight miles of London, to enter into agreement with any persons for the assertion or protection of any rights affecting the common, with the object of keeping such place open for the enjoyment of the public; and it may contribute to this object out of the proceeds of the dues levied from the metage of grain. Here then is a formula almost equal to the object in view. Money raised by taxation from the people of London may, in defiance of all the old laws against champerty and maintenance, be used to promote and sustain litigation against the lord of any common within a very wide circle round the metropolis, who may venture to enclose such common. What lord of a manor will be bold enough in future to attempt enclosure in the face of such a provision, backed by the long purse of the Corporation of London? Such a provision extended to other corporations, and to County Boards, would indirectly effect throughout the country what is directly refused.

It is to be hoped that the Corporation of London, armed with this clause, will settle schemes for the management and regulation of all the principal Commons within the prescribed area; a task of considerable magnitude, but not beyond the power or unworthy of such a Corporation, and one which, if pursued, will greatly strengthen it in the estimation of the public. It is not the less matter for surprise, that the Legislature which will go thus far, and by a device so transparent, indirectly effect an object which all desire, should hesitate to act more directly, and declare that all enclosures of commons or reputed commons shall in the future be illegal, unless previously sanctioned by Parliament. There is not another legislature in Europe

which would hesitate to pass such a measure. But in England changes which touch in the most remote degree upon property are effected only by circuitous methods, and by subterfuges such as I have described. The fight for Epping Forest and the other London Commons has extended over nearly twenty years. Success has resulted not only in saving those attacked, but in contributing to the safety of other commons through the device I have explained. But it may be many years before the effect of it is appreciated, and before even earnest and well-meaning statesmen are able to dispense with formulas, with which they may deceive themselves and their clients, but which will not be misinterpreted in the future by jurists or historians.

G. SHAW LEFEVRE.

THE PHŒNICIANS IN GREECE.

HERODOTUS begins his history by relating how Phœnician traders brought "Egyptian and Assyrian wares" to Argos and other parts of Greece, in those remote days when the Greeks were still waiting to receive the elements of their culture from the more civilized East. His account was derived from Persian and Phœnician sources, but, it would seem, was accepted by his contemporaries with the same unquestioning confidence as by himself. The belief of Herodotus was shared by the scholars of Europe after the revival of learning, and there were none among them who doubted that the civilization of ancient Greece had been brought from Asia or Egypt, or from both. Hebrew was regarded as the primæval language, and the Hebrew records as the fountain-head of all history; just as the Greek vocabulary, therefore, was traced back to the Hebrew lexicon, the legends of primitive Greece were believed to be the echoes of Old Testament history. *Ex Oriente lux* was the motto of the inquirer, and the key to all that was dark or doubtful in the mythology and history of Hellas was to be found in the monuments of the Oriental world.

But the age of Creuzer and Bryant was succeeded by an age of scepticism and critical investigation. A reaction set in against the attempt to force Greek thought and culture into an Asiatic mould. The Greek scholar was repelled by the tasteless insipidity and barbaric exuberance of the East; he contrasted the works of Phidias and Praxiteles, of Sophocles and Plato, with the monstrous creations of India or Egypt, and the conviction grew strong within him that the Greek could never have learnt his first lessons of civilization in such a school as this. Between the East and the West a sharp line of division was drawn, and to look for the origin of Greek culture beyond the boundaries of Greece itself came to be regarded almost as sacrilege. Greek mythology, so far from being an echo or caricature of Biblical history

and Oriental mysticism, was pronounced to be self-evolved and independent, and K. O. Müller could deny without contradiction the Asiatic origin even of the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis, where the name of the Semitic sun-god seems of itself to indicate its source. The Phœnician traders of Herodotus, like the royal maiden they carried away from Argos, were banished to the nebulous region of rationalistic fable.

Along with this reaction against the Orientalizing school which could see in Greece nothing but a deformed copy of Eastern wisdom went another reaction against the conception of Greek mythology on which the labours of the Orientalizing school had been based. Key after key had been applied to Greek mythology, and all in vain; the lock had refused to turn. The light which had been supposed to come from the East had turned out to be but a will-o'-the-wisp; neither the Hebrew Scriptures nor the Egyptian hieroglyphics had solved the problem presented by the Greek myths. And the Greek scholar, in despair, had come to the conclusion that the problem was insoluble; all that he could do was to accept the facts as they were set before him, to classify and repeat the wondrous tales of the Greek poets, but to leave their origin unexplained. This is practically the position of Grote; he is content to show that all the parts of a myth hang closely together, and that any attempt to extract history or philosophy from it must be arbitrary and futile. To deprive a myth of its kernel and soul, and call the dry husk that is left a historical fact, is to mistake the conditions of the problem and the nature of mythology.

It was at this point that the science of comparative mythology stepped in. Grote had shown that we cannot look for history in mythology, but he had given up the discovery of the origin of this mythology as a hopeless task. The same comparative method, however, which has forced nature to disclose her secrets has also penetrated to the sources of mythology itself. The Greek myths, like the myths of the other nations of the world, are the forgotten and misinterpreted records of the beliefs of primitive man, and of his earliest attempts to explain the phenomena of nature. Restore the original meaning of the language wherein the myth is clothed, and the origin of the myth is found. Myths, in fact, are the words of a dead language to which a wrong sense has been given by a false method of decipherment. A myth, rightly explained, will tell us the beliefs, the feelings, and the knowledge of those among whom it first grew up; for the evidences and monuments of history we must look elsewhere.

But there is an old proverb that "there is no smoke without fire." The war of Troy or the beleaguering of Thebes may be but a repetition of the time-worn story of the battle waged by the bright powers of day round the battlements of heaven; but there must have been some reason why this story should have been specially localized in the Troad and at Thebes. Most of the Greek myths have a background in space and time; and for this background there must

be some historical cause. The cause, however, if it is to be discovered at all, must be discovered by means of those evidences which will alone satisfy the critical historian. The localization of a myth is merely an indication or sign-post pointing out the direction in which he is to look for his facts. If Greek warriors had never fought in the plains of Troy, we may be pretty sure that the poems of Homer would not have brought Akhilles and Agamemnon under the walls of Ilium. If Phœnician traders had exercised no influence on primæval Greece, Greek legend would have contained no references to them.

But even the myth itself, when rightly questioned, may be made to yield some of the facts upon which the conclusions of the historian are based. We now know fairly well what ideas, usages, and proper names have an Aryan stamp upon them, and what, on the other hand, belong rather to the Semitic world. Now there is a certain portion of Greek mythology which bears but little relationship to the mythology of the kindred Aryan tribes, while it connects itself very closely with the beliefs and practices of the Semitic race. Human sacrifice is very possibly one of these, and it is noticeable that two at least of the legends which speak of human sacrifice—those of Athamas and Busiris—are associated, the one with the Phœnicians of Thebes, the other with the Phœnicians of the Egyptian Delta. The whole cycle of myths grouped about the name of Herakles points as clearly to a Semitic source as does the myth of Aphrodite and Adonis; and the extravagant lamentations that accompanied the worship of the Akhæan Demeter (Herod. v. 61) come as certainly from the East as the olive, the pomegranate, and the myrtle, the sacred symbols of Athena, of Hera, and of Aphrodite.*

Comparative mythology has thus given us a juster appreciation of the historical inferences we may draw from the legends of prehistoric Greece, and has led us back to a recognition of the important part played by the Phœnicians in the heroic age. Greek culture, it is true, was not the mere copy of that of Semitic Asia, as scholars once believed, but the germs of it had come in large measure from an Oriental seed-plot. The conclusions derived from a scientific study of the myths have been confirmed and widened by the recent researches and discoveries of archæology. The spade, it has been said, is the modern instrument for reconstructing the history of the past, and in no department of history has the spade been more active of late than in that of Greece. From all sides light has come upon that remote epoch around which the mists of a fabulous antiquity had already been folded in the days of Herodotus; from the islands and shores of the Ægean, from the tombs of Asia Minor and Palestine, nay, even from the temples and palaces of Egypt and Assyria, have the materials been exhumed for sketching in something like clear outline the origin and growth of Greek civilization. From nowhere, however, have more im-

* See E. Curtius: *Die griechische Götterlehre vom geschichtlichen Standpunkt*, in *Preussische Jahrbücher*, xxxvi. pp. 1—17. 1875.

portant revelations been derived than from the excavations at Mykenæ and Spata, near Athens, and it is with the evidence furnished by these that I now propose mainly to deal. A personal inspection of the sites and the objects found upon them has convinced me of the groundlessness of the doubts which have been thrown out against their antiquity, as well as of the intercourse and connection to which they testify with the great empires of Babylonia and Assyria. Mr. Poole has lately pointed out what materials are furnished by the Egyptian monuments for determining the age and character of the antiquities of Mykenæ.* I would now draw attention to the far clearer and more tangible materials afforded by Assyrian art and history.

Two facts must first be kept well in view. One of these is the Semitic origin of the Greek alphabet. The Phœnician alphabet, originally derived from the alphabet of the Egyptian hieroglyphics, and imported into their mother-country by the Phœnician settlers of the Delta, was brought to Greece, not probably by the Phœnicians of Tyre and Sidon, but by the Aramæans of the Gulf of Antioch, whose nouns ended with the same "emphatic aleph" that we seem to find in the Greek names of the letters, *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma* (*gamla*). Before the introduction of the simpler Phœnician alphabet, the inhabitants of Asia Minor and the neighbouring islands appear to have used a syllabary of some seventy characters, which continued to be employed in conservative Cyprus down to a very late date; but, so far as we know at present, the Greeks of the mainland were unacquainted with writing before the Aramæo-Phœnicians had taught them their phonetic symbols. The oldest Greek inscriptions are probably those of Thera, now Santorin, where the Phœnicians had been settled from time immemorial; and as the forms of the characters found in them do not differ very materially from the forms used on the famous Moabite Stone, we may infer that the alphabet of Kadmus was brought to the West at a date not very remote from that of Mesha and Ahab, perhaps about 800 B.C. We may notice that Thera was an island and a Phœnician colony, and it certainly seems more probable that the alphabet was carried to the mainland from the islands of the Ægean than that it was disseminated from the inland Phœnician settlement at Thebes, as the old legends affirmed. In any case, the introduction of the alphabet implies a considerable amount of civilizing force on the part of those from whom it was borrowed; the teachers from whom an illiterate people learns the art of writing are generally teachers from whom it has previously learnt the other elements of social culture. A barbarous tribe will use its muscles in the service of art before it will use its brains; the smith and engraver precede the scribe. If, therefore, the Greeks were unacquainted with writing before the ninth century B.C., objects older than that period may be expected to exhibit clear traces of Phœnician influence, though no traces of writing.

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, January, 1878.

The other fact to which I allude is the existence of pottery of the same material and pattern on all the prehistoric sites of the Greek world, however widely separated they may be. We find it, for instance, at Mykenæ and Tiryns, at Tanagra and Athens, in Rhodes, in Cyprus, and in Thera, while I picked up specimens of it in the neighbourhood of the Treasury of Minyas and on the site of the Acropolis at Orchomenus. The clay of which it is composed is of a drab colour derived, perhaps in all instances, from the volcanic soil of Thera and Melos, and it is ornamented with geometrical and other patterns in black and maroon-red. After a time the patterns become more complicated and artistic; flowers, animal forms, and eventually human figures, take the place of simple lines, and the pottery gradually passes into that known as Corinthian or Phœniko-Greek. It needs but little experience to distinguish at a glance this early pottery from the red ware of the later Hellenic period.

Phœnicia, Keft as it was called by the Egyptians, had been brought into relation with the monarchy of the Nile at a remote date, and among the Semitic settlers in the Delta or "Isle of Caphtor" must have been natives of Sidon and the neighbouring towns. After the expulsion of the Hyksos, the Pharaohs of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties carried their arms as far as Mesopotamia and placed Egyptian garrisons in Palestine. A tomb-painting of Thothmes III. represents the Kefa or Phœnicians, clad in richly-embroidered kilts and buskins, and bringing their tribute of gold and silver vases and earthenware cups, some in the shape of animals like the vases found at Mykenæ and elsewhere. Phœnicia, it would seem, was already celebrated for its goldsmiths' and potters' work, and the ivory the Kefa are sometimes made to carry shows that their commerce must have extended far to the east. As early as the sixteenth century B.C., therefore, we may conclude that the Phœnicians were a great commercial people, trading between Assyria and Egypt and possessed of a considerable amount of artistic skill.

It is not likely that a people of this sort, who, as we know from other sources, carried on a large trade in slaves and purple, would have been still unacquainted with the seas and coasts of Greece where both slaves and the murex or purple-fish were most easily to be obtained. Though the Phœnician alphabet was unknown in Greece till the ninth century B.C., we have every reason to expect to find traces of Phœnician commerce and Phœnician influence there at least five centuries before. And such seems to be the case. The excavations carried on in Thera by MM. Fouqué and Gorceix,* in Rhodes by Mr. Newton and Dr. Saltzmann, and in various other places such as Megara, Athens, and Melos, have been followed by the explorations of Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, Tiryns, and Mykenæ, of General di

* See Fouqué's *Mission Scientifique à l'île de Santorin* (Archives des Missions 2^e série, iv. 1867); Gorceix in the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Athènes*, i.

Cesnola in Cyprus, and of the Archæological Society of Athens at Tanagra and Spata.

The accumulations of prehistoric objects on these sites all tell the same tale, the influence of the East, and more especially of the Phœnicians, upon the growing civilization of early Greece. Thus in Thera, where a sort of Greek Pompeii has been preserved under the lava which once overwhelmed it, we find the rude stone hovels of its primitive inhabitants, with roofs of wild olive, filled with the bones of dogs and sheep, and containing stores of barley, spelt, and chickpea, copper and stone weapons, and abundance of pottery. The latter is for the most part extremely coarse, but here and there have been discovered vases of artistic workmanship, which remind us of those carried by the Kefa, and may have been imported from abroad. We know from the tombs found on the island that the Phœnicians afterwards settled in Thera among a population in the same condition of civilization as that which had been overtaken by the great volcanic eruption. It was from these Phœnician settlers that the embroidered dresses known as Theræan were brought to Greece; they were adorned with animals and other figures, similar to those seen upon Corinthian or Phœniko-Greek ware.*

Now M. Fr. Lenormant has pointed out that much of the pottery used by the aboriginal inhabitants of Thera is almost identical in form and make with that found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, in the Troad, and he concludes that it must belong to the same period and the same area of civilization. There is as yet little, if any, trace of Oriental influence; a few of the clay vases from Thera, and some of the gold workmanship at Hissarlik, can alone be referred, with more or less hesitation, to Phœnician artists. We have not yet reached the age when Phœnician trade in the West ceased to be the sporadic effort of private individuals, and when trading colonies were established in different parts of the Greek world; Europe is still unaffected by Eastern culture, and the beginnings of Greek art are still free from foreign interference. It is only in certain designs on the terra-cotta discs, believed by Dr. Schliemann to be spindle-whorls, that we may possibly detect rude copies of Babylonian and Phœnician intaglios.

Among all the objects discovered at Hissarlik, none have been more discussed than the vases and clay images in which Dr. Schliemann saw a representation of an owl-headed Athena. What Dr. Schliemann took for an owl's head, however, is really a rude attempt to imitate the human face, and two breasts are frequently moulded in the clay below it. In many examples the human countenance is unmistakable, and in most of the others the representation is less rude than in the case of the small marble statues of Apollo (?) found in the Greek islands, or even of the early Hellenic vases where the men seem furnished with the beaks of birds. But we now know that these curious vases are

* Hesychius, s. v. *Θήραιον*, *Θηροειδής*; Pollux, *Onom.* vii. 43, 77. See II. ii. 289.

not peculiar to the Troad. Specimens of them have also been met with in Cyprus, and in these we can trace the development of the owl-like head into the more perfect portraiture of the human face.* In conservative Cyprus there was not that break with the past which occurred in other portions of the Greek world.

Cyprus, in fact, lay midway between Greece and Phœnicia, and was shared to the last between an Aryan and a Semitic population. The Phœnician element in the island was strong, if not preponderant; Paphos was a chief seat of the worship of the Phœnician Astarte, and the Phœnician Kitium, the Chittim of the Hebrews, took first rank among the Cyprian towns. The antiquities brought to light by General di Cesnola are of all ages and all styles—prehistoric and classical, Phœnician and Hellenic, Assyrian and Egyptian—and the various styles are combined together in the catholic spirit that characterized Phœnician art.

But we must pause here for a moment to define more accurately what we mean by Phœnician art. Strictly speaking, Phœnicia had no art of its own; its designs were borrowed from Egypt and Assyria, and its artists went to school on the banks of the Nile and the Euphrates. The Phœnician combined and improved upon his models; the impulse, the origination came from abroad; the modification and elaboration were his own. He entered into other men's labours, and made the most of his heritage. The sphinx of Egypt became Asiatic, and in its new form was transplanted to Nineveh on the one side and to Greece on the other. The rosettes and other patterns of the Babylonian cylinders were introduced into the handiwork of Phœnicia, and so passed on to the West, while the hero of the ancient Chaldean epic became first the Tyrian Melkarth, and then the Herakles of Hellas. It is possible, no doubt, that with all this borrowing there was still something that was original in Phœnician work; such at any rate seems to be the case with some of the forms given to the vases; but at present we have no means of determining how far this originality may have extended. In Assyria, indeed, Phœnician art exercised a great influence in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.; but it had itself previously drawn its first inspiration from the empire of the Tigris, and did but give back the perfect blossom to those from whom it had received the seed. The workmanship of the ivories and bronze bowls found at Nineveh by Mr. Layard is thoroughly Phœnician; but it cannot be separated from that of the purely Assyrian pavements and bas-reliefs with which the palaces were adorned. The Phœnician art, in fact, traces of which we find from Assyria to Italy, though based on both Egyptian and Assyrian models, owed far more to Assyria than it did to Egypt. In art, as in mythology and religion, Phœnicia was but a carrier and intermediary between East and West; and just as the Greek legends of Aphrodite and Adonis, of Herakles

* See, for example, Di Cesnola's *Cyprus*, pp. 401, 402.

and his twelve labours, and of the other borrowed heroes of Oriental story came in the first instance from Assyria, so too did that art and culture which Kadmus the Phœnician handed on to the Greek race.

But Assyria itself had been equally an adapter and intermediary. The Semites of Assyria and Babylonia had borrowed their culture and civilization from the older Accadian race, with its agglutinative language, which had preceded them in the possession of Chaldea. So slavishly observant were the Assyrians of their Chaldean models that in a land where limestone was plentiful they continued to build their palaces and temples of brick, and to ornament them with those columns and pictorial representations which had been first devised on the alluvial plains of Babylonia. To understand Assyrian art, and track it back to its source, we must go to the engraved gems and ruined temples of primæval Babylonia. It is true that Egypt may have had some influence on Assyrian art at the time when the eighteenth dynasty had pushed its conquests to the banks of the Tigris: but that influence does not seem to have been either deep or permanent. Now the art of Assyria is in great measure the art of Phœnicia, and that again the art of prehistoric Greece. Modern research has discovered the prototype of Herakles in the hero of a Chaldean epic composed, it may be, four thousand years ago; it has also discovered the beginnings of Greek columnar architecture and the germs of Greek art in the works of the builders and engravers of early Chaldea.

When first I saw, five years ago, the famous sculpture which has guarded the Gate of Lions at Mykenæ for so many centuries, I was at once struck by its Assyrian character. The lions in form and attitude belong to Assyria, and the pillar against which they rest may be seen in the bas-reliefs brought from Nineveh. Here, at all events, there was clear proof of Assyrian influence; the only question was whether that influence had been carried through the hands of the Phœnicians or had travelled along the highroad which ran across Asia Minor, the second channel whereby the culture of Assyria could have been brought to Greece. The existence of a similar sculpture over a rock-tomb at Kumbet in Phrygia might seem to favour the latter view.

The discoveries of Dr. Schliemann have gone far to settle the question. The pottery excavated at Mykenæ is of the Phœnician type, and the clay of which it is composed has probably come from Thera. The terra-cotta figures of animals and more especially of a goddess with long robe, crowned head, and crescent-like arms, which Dr. Schliemann would identify with *Βούπις Ἥρη*, are spread over the whole area traversed by the Phœnicians. The image of the goddess in one form or another has been found in Thera and Melos, in Naxos and Paros, in Ios, in Sikinos, and in Anaphos, and M. Lenormant has traced it back to Babylonia and to the Babylonian representation of the goddess Artemis-Nana.* At Tanagra the image has been found

* *Gazette Archéologique*, ii. 1, 3.

under two forms, both, however, made of the same clay and in the same style as the figures from Mykenæ. In one the goddess is upright, as at Mykenæ, with the *polos* on her head, and the arms either outspread or folded over the breast; in the other she is sitting with the arms crossed. Now among the gold ornaments exhumed at Mykenæ are some square pendants of gold which represent the goddess in this sitting posture.*

The animal forms most commonly met with are those of the lion, the stag, the bull, the cuttle-fish, and the murex. The last two point unmistakably to a seafaring race, and more especially to those Phœnician sailors whose pursuit of the purple-trade first brought them into Greek seas. So far as I know, neither the polypus nor the murex, nor the butterfly which often accompanies them, have been found in Assyria or Egypt, and we may therefore see in them original designs of Phœnician art. Mr. Newton has pointed out that the cuttle-fish (like the dolphin) also occurs among the prehistoric remains from Ialysos in Rhodes, where, too, pottery of the same shape and material as that of Mykenæ has been found, as well as beads of a curious vitreous substance, and rings in which the back of the chaton is rounded so as to fit the finger. It is clear that the art of Ialysos belongs to the same age and school as the art of Mykenæ; and as a scarab of Amenophis III. has been found in one of the Ialysian tombs, it is possible that the art may be as old as the fifteenth century B.C.

Now Ialysos is not the only Rhodian town which has yielded prehistoric antiquities. Camirus also has been explored by Messrs. Biliotti and Saltzmann; and while objects of the same kind and character as those of Ialysos have been discovered there, other objects have been found by their side which belong to another and more advanced stage of art. These are vases of clay and metal, bronze bowls, and the like, which not only display high finish and skill, but are ornamented with the designs characteristic of Phœnician workmanship at Nineveh and elsewhere. Thus we have zones of trees and animals, attempts at the representation of scenery, and a profusion of ornament, while the influence of Egypt is traceable in the sphinxes and scarabs, which also occur plentifully. Here, therefore, at Camirus, there is plain evidence of a sudden introduction of finished Phœnician art among a people whose art was still rude and backward, although springing from the same germs as the art of Phœnicia itself. Two distinct periods in the history of the Ægean thus seem to lie unfolded before us; one in which Eastern influence was more or less indirect, content to communicate the seeds of civilization and culture, and to import such objects as a barbarous race would prize; and another in which the East was, as it were, transported into the West, and the development of Greek art was interrupted by the introduction of foreign workmen and foreign beliefs. This second period was the period of Phœnician colonization as distinct from that of mere trading voyages—the period,

* See Schliemann's *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, pl. 273.

in fact, when Thebes was made a Phœnician fortress, and the Phœnician alphabet diffused throughout the Greek world. It is only in relics of the later part of this period that we can look for inscriptions and traces of writing, at least in Greece proper; in the islands and on the coasts of Asia Minor, the Cypriote syllabary seems to have been in use, to be superseded afterwards by the simpler alphabet of Kadmus. For reasons presently to be stated, I would distinguish the first period by the name of Phrygian.

Throughout the whole of it, however, the Phœnician trading ships must have formed the chief medium of intercourse between Asia and Europe. Proof of this has been furnished by the rock tombs of Spata, which have been lighted on opportunely to illustrate and explain the discoveries at Mykenæ. Spata is about nine miles from Athens, on the north-west spur of Hymettos, and the two tombs hitherto opened are cut in the soft sandstone rock of a small conical hill. Both are approached by long tunnel-like entrances, and one of them contains three chambers, leading one into the other, and each fashioned after the model of a house. No one who has seen the objects unearthed at Spata can doubt for a moment their close connection with the Mykenæan antiquities. The very moulds found at Mykenæ fit the ornaments from Spata, and might easily have been used in the manufacture of them. It is more especially with the contents of the sixth tomb discovered by Mr. Stamataki in the *enceinte* at Mykenæ after Dr. Schliemann's departure, that the Spata remains agree so remarkably. But there is a strong resemblance between them and the Mykenæan antiquities generally, in both material, patterns, and character. The cuttle-fish and the murex appear in both; the same curious spiral designs, and ornaments in the shape of shells or rudely-formed oxheads; the same geometrical patterns; the same class of carved work. An ivory in which a lion, of the Assyrian type, is depicted as devouring a stag, is but a reproduction of a similar design met with among the objects from Mykenæ, and it is interesting to observe that the same device, in the same style of art, may be also seen on a Phœnician gem from Sardinia.* Of still higher interest are other ivories, which, like the antiquities of Camirus, belong rather to the second than to the first period of Phœnician influence. One of these represents a column, which, like that above the Gate of Lions, carries us back to the architecture of Babylonia, while others exhibit the Egyptian sphinx, as modified by Phœnician artists. Thus the handle of a comb is divided into two compartments—the lower occupied by three of these sphinxes, the upper by two others, which have their eyes fixed on an Assyrian rosette in the middle.† Similar sphinxes are engraved on a silver cup lately discovered at Palestrina, bearing the Phœnician inscription, in Phœnician letters, "Eshmun-ya'ar, son

* Given by La Marmora in the *Memorie della Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino* (1854), vol. xiv, pl. 2, fig. 63.

† See the *Ἀθηναῖος*, 1877, pl. 1.

of Ashta'."* Another ivory has been carved into the form of a human side face, surmounted by a tiara of four plaits. On the one hand the arrangement of the hair of the face, the whisker and beard forming a fringe round it, and the two lips being closely shorn, reminds us of what we find at Palestrina; on the other hand, the head-dress is that of the figures on the sculptured rocks of Asia Minor, and of the Hittite princes of Carchemish. In spite of this Phœnician colouring, however, the treasures of Spata belong to the earlier part of the Phœnician period, if not to that which I have called Phrygian: there is as yet no sign of writing, no trace of the use of iron. But we seem to be approaching the close of the bronze age in Greece—to have reached the time when the lions were sculptured over the chief gateway of Mykenæ, and the so-called treasures were erected in honour of the dead.

Can any date be assigned, even approximately, to those two periods of Phœnician influence in Greece? Can we localize the era, so to speak, of the antiquities discovered at Mykenæ, or fix the epoch at which its kings ceased to build its long-enduring monuments, and its glory was taken from it? I think an answer to these questions may be found in a series of engraved gold rings and prisms found upon its site—the prisms having probably once served to ornament the neck. In these we can trace a gradual development of art, which in time becomes less Oriental and more Greek, and acquires a certain facility in the representation of the human form.

Let us first fix our attention on an engraved gold chaton found, not in the tombs, but outside the *enceinte* among the ruins, as it would seem, of a house.† On this we have a rude representation of a figure seated under a palm-tree, with another figure behind and three more in front, the foremost being of small size, the remaining two considerably taller and in flounced dresses. Above are the symbols of the sun and crescent-moon, and at the side a row of lions' heads. Now no one who has seen this chaton, and also had any acquaintance with the engraved gems of the archaic period of Babylonian art, can avoid being struck by the fact that the intaglio is a copy of one of the latter. The characteristic workmanship of the Babylonian gems is imitated by punches made in the gold which give the design a very curious effect. The attitude of the figures is that common on the Chaldean cylinders; the owner stands in front of the deity, of diminutive size, and in the act of adoration, while the priests are placed behind him. The latter wear the flounced dresses peculiar to the early Babylonian priests; and what has been supposed to represent female breasts, is really a copy of the way in which the breast of a man is frequently portrayed on the cylinders.‡ The palm-tree, with its single fruit

* Given in the Monumenti d. Istituto Romano, 1876.

† Schliemann: Mycenæ and Tiryns, p. 530.

‡ See, for instance, the example given in Rawlinson's Ancient Monarchies (1st edit.), i. p. 118, where the flounced priest has what looks like a woman's breast. Dancing boys and men in the East still wear these flounces, which are variously coloured (see Loftus: Chaldea and Susiana, p. 22; George Smith: Assyrian Discoveries, p. 130).

hanging on the left side, is characteristically Babylonian; so also are the symbols that encircle the engraving, the sun and moon and lions' heads. The chaton of another gold ring, found on the same spot, is covered with similar animal heads. This, again, is a copy of early Babylonian art, in which such designs were not unfrequent, though, as they were afterwards imitated by both Assyrian and Cyprian engravers, too much stress must not be laid on the agreement.* The artistic position and age of the other ring, however, admits of little doubt. The archaic period of Babylonian art may be said to close with the rise of Assyria in the fourteenth century B.C.; and though archaic Babylonian intaglios continued to be imported into the West down to the time of the Romans, it is not likely that they were imitated by Western artists after the latter had become acquainted with better and more attractive models. I think, therefore, that the two rings may be assigned to the period of archaic Babylonian power in western Asia, a period that begins with the victories of Naram-Sin in Palestine in the seventeenth century B.C. or earlier, and ends with the conquest of Babylon by the Assyrians and the establishment of Assyrian supremacy. This is also the period to which I am inclined to refer the introduction among the Phœnicians and Greeks of the column and of certain geometrical patterns, which had their first home in Babylonia.† The lentoid gems with their rude intaglios, found in the islands, on the site of Heræum, in the tombs of Mykenæ and elsewhere, belong to the same age, and point back to the loamy plain of Babylonia where stone was rare and precious, and whence, consequently, the art of gem-cutting was spread through the ancient world. We can thus understand the existence of artistic designs and other evidences of civilizing influence among a people who were not yet acquainted with the use of iron. The early Chaldean Empire, in spite of the culture to which it had attained, was still in the bronze age; iron was almost unknown, and its tools and weapons were fashioned of stone, bone, and bronze. Had the Greeks and the Phœnicians before them received their first lessons in culture from Egypt or from Asia Minor, where the Khalybes and other allied tribes had worked in iron from time immemorial, they would probably have received this metal at the same time. But neither at Hissarlik nor at Mykenæ is there any trace of an iron age.

The second period of Western art and civilization is represented by some of the objects found at Mykenæ in the tombs themselves. The intaglios have ceased to be Babylonian, and have become markedly

* See, for example, Layard : *Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 604, 606; Di Cesnola : *Cyprus*, pl. 31, No. 7; pl. 32, No. 19. A copy of the Mykenæan engraving is given in Schliemann's *Mycenæ and Tiryns*, pl. 531.

† More especially the examples in Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, iii. p. 403, and i. 413. For Mykenæan examples see Schliemann's *Mykenæ and Tiryns*, ppl. 149, 152, &c. Some of the more peculiar patterns from Mykenæ resemble the forms assumed by the "Hamathite" hieroglyphics in the unpublished inscription copied by Mr. George Smith from the back of a mutilated statue at Jerablûs (Carchemish).

Assyrian. First of all we have a hunting scene, a favourite subject with Assyrian artists, but quite unknown to genuine Hellenic art. The disposition of the figures is that usual in Assyrian sculpture, and, like the Assyrian king, the huntsman is represented as riding in a chariot. A comparison of this hunting scene with the bas-reliefs on the tombstones which stood over the graves shows that they belong to the same age, while the spiral ornamentation of the stones is essentially Assyrian. Equally Assyrian, though better engraved, is a lion on one of the gold prisms, which might have been cut by an Assyrian workman, so true is it to its Oriental model, and after this I would place the representation of a struggle between a man (perhaps Herakles) and a lion, in which, though the lion and attitude of the combatants are Assyrian, the man is no longer the Assyrian hero Gisdhubar, but a figure of more Western type. In another intaglio, representing a fight between armed warriors, the art has ceased to be Assyrian, and is struggling to become native. We seem to be approaching the period when Greece gave over walking in Eastern leading-strings, and began to step forward firmly without help. As I believe, however, that the tombs within the *enceinte* are of older date than the Treasuries outside the Acropolis, or the Gate of Lions which belongs to the same age, it is plain that we have not yet reached the time when Assyro-Phœnician influence began to decline in Greece. The lions above the gate would alone be proof to the contrary.

But, in fact, Phœnician influence continued to be felt up to the end of the seventh century B.C. Passing by the so-called Corinthian vases, or the antiquities exhumed by General di Cesnola in Cyprus, where the Phœnician element was strong, we have numerous evidences of the fact from all parts of Greece. Two objects of bronze discovered at Olympia may be specially signalized. One of these is an oblong plate, narrower at one end than at the other, ornamented with *repoussé* work, and divided into four compartments. In the first compartment are figures of the nondescript birds so often seen on the "Corinthian" pottery; in the next come two Assyrian gryphons standing, as usual, face to face; while the third represents the contest of Herakles with the Kentaur, thoroughly Oriental in design. The Kentaur has a human forefront, covered, however, with hair; his tail is abnormally long, and a three-branched tree rises behind him. The fourth and largest compartment contains the figure of the Asiatic goddess with the four wings at the back, and a lion, held by the hind leg, in either hand. The face of the goddess is in profile. The whole design is Assyro-Phœnician, and is exactly reproduced on some square gold plates, intended probably to adorn the breast, presented to the Louvre by the Duc de Luynes. The other object to which I referred is a bronze dish, ornamented on the inside with *repoussé* work which at first sight looks Egyptian, but is really that Phœnician modification of Egyptian art so common in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. An

inscription in the Aramaic characters of the so-called Sidonian branch of the Phœnician alphabet is cut on the outside, and reads: "Belonging to Neger, son of Miga."* As the word used for "son" is the Aramaic *bar* and not the Phœnician *ben*, we may conclude that the owner of the dish had come from northern Syria. It is interesting to find a silver cup embossed with precisely the same kind of design, and also bearing an inscription in Phœnician letters, among the treasures discovered in a tomb at Palestrina, the ancient Præneste, more than a year ago. This inscription is even briefer than the other: "Eshmun-ya'ar son of 'Ashtâ,"† where, though *ben* is employed, the father's name has an Aramaic form. Helbig would refer these Italian specimens of Phœnician skill to the Carthaginian epoch, partly on the ground that an African species of ape seems sometimes represented on them;‡ in this case they might be as late as the fifth century before the Christian era.

During the earlier part of the second period of Phœnician influence, Phœnicia and the Phœnician colonies were not the only channel by which the elements of Assyrian culture found their way into the West. The monuments and religious beliefs of Asia Minor enable us to trace their progress from the banks of the Euphrates and the ranges of the Taurus, through Cappadocia and Phrygia, to the coasts and islands of the Ægean. The near affinity of Greek and Phrygian is recognized even by Plato;§ the legends of Midas and Gordius formed part of Greek mythology, and the royal house of Mykenæ was made to come with all its wealth from the golden sands of the Paktolus; while on the other hand the cult of Mâ, of Attys, or of the Ephesian Artemis points back to an Assyrian origin. The sculptures found by Perrot|| and Texier constitute a link between the prehistoric art of Greece and that of Asia Minor; the spiral ornaments that mark the antiquities of Mykenæ are repeated on the royal tombs of Asia Minor; and the ruins of Sardis, where once ruled a dynasty derived by Greek writers from Ninus or Nineveh, "the son of Bel," the grandson of the Assyrian Herakles,¶ may yet pour a flood of light on the earlier history of Greece. But it was rather in the first period, which I have termed Phrygian, than in the second, that the influence of Asia Minor was strongest. The figure of the goddess riding on a leopard, with mural crown and peaked shoes, on the rock-tablets of Pterium,** is borrowed rather from the cylinders of early Babylonia than from the sculptures of Assyria; and the Hissarlik collection connects itself more with the primitive antiquities of Santorin than with the later art of Mykenæ and Cyprus. We have already seen, however, the close relationship that exists between some of the objects excavated at Mykenæ and what we may call the pre-Phœnician art of Ialysos,—

* LNGR . BR . MIGA'. † Annali d. Istituto Romano, 1876.

‡ ASHMNYA'R . BNA' SHTA. § Kratylus, 410 A.

|| Exploration Archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie.

¶ See Herodotus, i. 7. ** Texier: Description de l'Asie Mineure, i. 1, pl. 78.

that is to say, the objects in which the influence of the East is indirect, and not direct. The discovery of metallurgy is associated with Dodona, where the oracle long continued to be heard in the ring of a copper chaldron, and where M. Karapanos has found bronze plates with the geometrical and circular patterns which distinguish the earliest art of Greece; now Dodona is the seat of primæval Greek civilization, the land of the Selloi or Helloi, of the Graioi themselves, and of Pelasgian Zeus, while it is to the north that the legends of Orpheus, of Musæus, and of other early civilizers looked back. But even at Dodona we may detect traces of Asiatic influence in the part played there by the doves, as well as in the story of Deucalion's deluge, and it may, perhaps, be not too rash to conjecture that even before the days of Phœnician enterprise and barter, an echo of Babylonian civilization had reached Greece through the medium of Asia Minor, whence it was carried, partly across the bridge formed by the islands of the Archipelago, partly through the mainland of Thrace and Epirus. The Hittites, with their capital at Carchemish, seem to have been the centre from which this borrowed civilization was spread northward and westward. Here was the home of the art which characterizes Asia Minor, and we have only to compare the bas-relief of Pterium with the rock sculptures found by Mr. Davis associated with "Hamathite" hieroglyphics at Ibreer, in Lycaonia,* to see how intimate is the connection between the two. These hieroglyphics were the still undeciphered writing of the Hittite tribes, and if, as seems possible, the Cypriote syllabary were derived from them, they would be a testimony to the western spread of Hittite influence at a very early epoch. The Cypriote characters adopted into the alphabets of Lycia and Karia, as well as the occurrence of the same characters on a hone and some of the terra-cotta discs found by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, go to show that this influence would have extended, at any rate, to the coasts of the sea.

The traces of Egyptian influence, on the contrary, are few and faint. No doubt the Phœnician alphabet was ultimately of Egyptian origin; no doubt, too, that certain elements of Phœnician art were borrowed from Egypt, but before these were handed on to the West, they had first been profoundly modified by the Phœnician settlers in the Delta and in Canaan. The influence exercised immediately by Egypt upon Greece belongs to the historic period; the legends which saw an Egyptian emigrant in Kekrops or an Egyptian colony in the inhabitants of Argos were fables of a late date. Whatever intercourse existed between Egypt and Greece in the prehistoric period was carried on, not by the Egyptians, but by the Phœnicians of the Delta; it was they who brought the scarabs of a Thothmes or an Amenophis to the islands of the Ægean, like their descendants afterwards in Italy, and the proper names found on the Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth and nine-

* Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, iv. 2, 1876.

teenth dynasties, which certain Egyptologists have identified with those of Greece and Asia Minor, belong rather, I believe, to Libyan and Semitic tribes.* Like the sphinxes at Spata, the indications of intercourse with Egypt met with at Mykenæ prove nothing more than the wide extent of Phœnician commerce and the existence of Phœnician colonies at the mouths of the Nile. Ostrich-eggs covered with stucco dolphins have been found not only at Mykenæ, but also in the grotto of Polledrara near Vulci in Italy; the Egyptian porcelain excavated at Mykenæ is painted to represent the fringed dress of an Assyrian or a Phœnician, not of an Egyptian; and though a gold mask belonging to Prince Kha-em-Uas, and resembling the famous masks of Mykenæ, has been brought to the Louvre from an Apis chamber, a similar mask of small size was discovered last year in a tomb on the site of Aradus. Such intercourse, however, as existed between Greece and the Delta must have been very restricted; otherwise we should surely have some specimens of writing, some traces of the Phœnician alphabet. It would not have been left to the Aramæans of Syria to introduce the "Kadmeian letters" into Greece, and Mykenæ, rather than Thebes, would have been made the centre from which they were disseminated. Indeed, we may perhaps infer that even the coast of Asia Minor, near as it was to the Phœnician settlements at Kamirus and elsewhere, could have held but little intercourse with the Phœnicians of Egypt from the fact that the Cypriote syllabary was so long in use upon it, and that the alphabets afterwards employed were derived only indirectly from the Phœnician through the medium of the Greek.

One point more now alone needs to be noticed. The long-continued influence upon early Greek culture which we ascribe to the Phœnicians cannot but have left its mark upon the Greek vocabulary also. Some at least of the names given by the Phœnicians to the objects of luxury they brought with them must have been adopted by the natives of Hellas. We know that this is the case with the letters of the alphabet; is it also the case with other words? If not, analogy would almost compel us to treat the evidences that have been enumerated of Phœnician influence as illusory, and to fall back upon the position of K. O. Müller and his school. By way of answer I would refer to the list of Greek words, the Semitic origin of which admits of no doubt, lately given by Dr. August Müller in Bezzenberger's "Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen."† Amongst these we find articles of luxury like "linen" (*byssus*), "shirt" (*χιτών*), "sackcloth" (*σάκκος*), "myrrh" and "frankincense," "galbanum" and "cassia," "cinnamon" and "soap" (*νίτρον*), "lyres" (*νάβλας*) and "wine-jars" (*κάδος*), "balsam" and "cosmetics" (*φῦκος*), as well, possibly, as "fine linen" (*δρόρη*) and "gold," along with such evidences

* I have given the reasons of my scepticism in the *Academy*, of May 30, 1874. Brugsch Bey, the leading authority on the geography of the Egyptian monuments, would now identify these names with those of tribes in Kolchis, and its neighbourhood.

† l. pp. 273-301 (1877).

of trade and literature as the "pledge" or ἀπαβών, the *mina*, "the writing tablet" (δέλτος), and the "shekel." If these were the only instances of Semitic tincture, they would be enough to prove the early presence of the Semitic Phœnicians in Greece. But we must remember that they are but samples of a class, and that many words borrowed during the heroic age may have dropped out of use or been conformed to the native part of the vocabulary long before the beginning of written literature, while it would be in the lesser known dialects of the islands that the Semitic element was strongest. We know that the dialect of Cyprus was full of importations from the East.

In what precedes I have made no reference to the Homeric poems, and the omission may be thought strange. But Homeric illustrations of the presence of the Phœnicians in Greece will occur to every one, while both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in their existing form are too modern to be quoted without extreme caution. A close investigation of their language shows that it is the slow growth of generations; Æolic formulæ from the lays first recited in the towns of the Troad are embodied in Ionic poems where old Ionic, new Ionic, and even Attic jostle against one another, and traditional words and phrases are furnished with mistaken meanings or new forms coined by false analogy. It is difficult to separate the old from the new, to say with certainty that this allusion belongs to the heroic past, this to the Homer of Theopompus and Euphorion, the contemporary of the Lydian Gyges. The art of Homer is not the art of Mykenæ and of the early age of Phœnician influence; iron is already taking the place of bronze, and the shield of Akhilles or the palace of Alkinous bear witness to a developed art which has freed itself from its foreign bonds. Six times are Phœnicia and the Phœnicians mentioned in the *Odyssey*, once in the *Iliad*;* elsewhere it is Sidon and the Sidonians that represent them, never Tyre.† Such passages, therefore, cannot belong to the epoch of Tyrian supremacy, which goes back, at all events, to the age of David, but rather to the brief period when the Assyrian king Shalmaneser laid siege to Tyre, and his successor Sargon made Sidon powerful at its expense. This, too, was the period when Sargon set up his record in Cyprus, "the isle of Yavnan" or the Ionians, when Assyria first came into immediate contact with the Greeks, and when Phœnician artists worked at the court of Nineveh and carried their wares to Italy and Sardinia. But it was not the age to which the relics of Mykenæ, in spite of paradoxical doubts, reach back, nor that in which the sacred bull of Astarte carried the Phœnician maiden Europa to her new home in the west.

A. H. SAYCE.

* *Phœnicia*, *Od.* iv. 83; xiv. 291. *Phœnicians*, *Od.* xiii. 272; xv. 415. *A Phœnician*, *Od.* xiv. 288. *A Phœnician woman*, *Od.* xiv. 288; *Il.* xiv. 321.

† *Sidon*, *Sidonia*, *Il.* vi. 291; *Od.* xiii. 285; xv. 425. *Sidonians*, *Il.* vi. 290; *Od.* iv. 84, 618; xv. 118.

WHAT HINDERS RITUALISTS FROM BECOMING ROMAN CATHOLICS?

A REJOINDER.

I.

IN the month of August last I contributed to this REVIEW an article under the above title. It was an epitome of a series of personal observations made by myself with a view to finding some explanation of a situation deserving the attention of all students of the social life, and especially of the Christian social life, of our day. It was in fact a study in Christian psychology. It was not my idea in the first instance to present my thoughts under the form of a question,—which implies an exhaustive reply,—but rather as a meditation on the difficulties in the way of Ritualists becoming Roman Catholics. The title finally adopted, however, had the advantage of bringing the subject at once to a definite issue, of arresting attention, and provoking all thoughtful minds to give their own reply to the question thus raised.

Such a response to my appeal has in truth been readily given, and the readers of this REVIEW have already had two solutions offered them, the first from the pen of Mr. Gladstone, the second from that of the Rev. Dr. Littledale.

Before entering on the rejoinder which a careful study of both papers has suggested, I would first thank Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale for the readiness shown by them to discuss a problem of such vital interest to all, and, widely as I must myself differ from many of the sentiments expressed in their articles, I am yet glad to recognize that on more than one point we are in agreement, and that we are all prepared to say, with the old philosopher, "*Humani nihil a me alienum puto.*"

I am greatly indebted to both these eminent writers for the service they have done to the cause of truth in thus drawing public attention widely to this important question. It is a question which deserves to

be pondered and answered by a large number of those who accept the designation of Ritualists. To many of these it is a matter of life and death, for it is one involving their moral rectitude. The Church and the moral sense join in testifying that there can be no salvation, no right-doing or virtuous practice, no conduct, in fact, worthy of eternal life, where there is not genuine good faith; and the Catholic Church, when she says that outside her pale is no salvation, is always careful to call attention to the fact that she claims as belonging to her, as her children in spirit, even persons living in error, if they hold their errors in good faith. Good faith, absolute and entire, is then an essential condition of salvation; and it is because this good faith seems to us all but impossible for those who are lingering, like the Ritualists, at the very gates of light, that we challenge them to vindicate and to make good their present position. The efforts they have already made to return to Catholic doctrines and practices render it incumbent on them to explain clearly why they have gone so far and no further.

There are undoubtedly conditions in life which render absolute good faith a matter of extreme difficulty. It requires no long experience of men or things to discover that there are certain truths from which human nature shrinks, with an intuition of danger lurking in their hidden depths. To such studies men need to be urged and impelled, and it is sometimes the greatest service that can be rendered to compel timid souls to quit, as it were, the branch to which they have been clinging, and to stretch their wings towards the regions of a higher and purer air.

These brief explanations are intended to meet the criticism of those writers who have imagined they could trace in a previous article from my pen "a veiled censure on the policy and language of the Ultramontane faction now dominant in the Church of France," and who see in my article in this REVIEW "a quasi-retractation of the earlier essay."* I may perhaps be allowed to say briefly that I have written on my own personal responsibility simply, that I have consulted no one, and that my sentiments with regard to that portion of the Anglican Church known as Ritualist are unchanged. In the one paper I dwelt on the nobler aspects of the movement; in the other I pointed out what appears to me to be its illogical, incomplete, unsatisfactory aspect. Every medal has its reverse; all we want to ascertain is which impression is the more powerful. I do not hesitate to avow my admiration and esteem for the Ritualist party, for its zeal, its devotedness, its activity, its energy, its enterprise, and its success. It is the very strength of my sympathy which leads me to say to these men, who have striven so hard to come near to Catholicism, "Are you quite sure that you have reached the end at which you are aiming? Have you not some reason to think that you have halted

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November, pp. 792, 793.

half-way? Carefully consider this question, and then act as conscience dictates."

It is from no desire to break a lance with the English Church or its representatives that I have taken up this subject. I write in the interests of truth, not from any love of controversy, which, conducted as it too often is with bitterness, virulence, and mutual recrimination, never yet made a convert.

II.

After these preliminary remarks, I shall proceed at once to take up what seem to me the main points in the articles of Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale. I cannot in the space at my disposal attempt anything like an adequate reply. All I can do will be to make some general observations, and lay down some leading principles which may help in the solution of the question as a whole.

I would observe, first, that Mr. Gladstone avowedly sets aside the question before us. He says, "Into any of the specialties attaching to the name of Ritualist, or the name of Protestant, I will not enter. I pass by the men, and go to the case. The appeal which I wish to recognize is really a broader one, on more open ground, in fresher air."*

Mr. Gladstone has given us a study of the Reformation, and while admitting that in many instances it overshot the mark, while condemning some of the means employed, and while pleading "guilty" under many heads to the charge against it, he yet concludes that as a whole it has been productive of more good than evil. Mr. Gladstone himself warns me that I must not expect to "receive on all hands the benefit of such admissions as have here been made. Many among us will demur to them on their merits, many more out of deference to tradition, *videlicet*, the current popular tradition. Some will probably go so far as to censure any writer by whom they are made."† I thank Mr. Gladstone for his candour, though I scarcely needed to be assured that the popular tradition is still too strong in England for any condemnation of the Reformation to be generally tolerated. He modifies in the same way another passage in his article, in which he has seemed to admit that the prejudices against Roman Catholics have almost disappeared. Nor are these the only instances in these pages in which he furnishes an illustration of the fact that "it is a serious matter to shake any tradition established with regard to religion." Difficult, however, as it is to ascertain the precise opinion of the Ritualists on this subject, since there is no authentic organ of their opinions, I imagine that the great majority of them would readily subscribe to what Mr. Gladstone has written. There are many, unquestionably, who would go and do go much further, as all must be aware who have

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, October, p. 428.

† Ibid. pp. 436, 437.

read the writings of Dr. Littledale, the Rev. Malcolm Maccoll, and the Hon. C. L. Wood, President of the English Church Union, not to speak of the writers who have gone thoroughly into the subject, in treating the history of the period. I doubt very much whether the great body of the Ritualists regard the Reformation, in England or elsewhere, as "a great and immortal performance;" and if some members of this party still speak of the performers as "signal public benefactors," others do not shrink from applying to them such epithets as "liars," "scoffers," "scoundrels," "miscreants," &c., &c.

Compared with the expressions constantly occurring in Ritualist books and journals edited by men otherwise moderate, the admissions made by Mr. Gladstone are slight indeed. Dr. Littledale, in a letter to *The Guardian*,* brought out very forcibly the wide divergences of view that might subsist with regard to the Reformation and the Reformers. He said:—

"It is quite possible for men to take very widely different views as to the Reformation itself in its character and results. Some may look on it as a Pentecost: I look on it as a Flood, an act of Divine vengeance, not of Divine grace; a merited chastisement, not a fresh revelation. . . . I gravely assert it to be absolutely impossible for any just, educated, and religious men, who have read the history of the time in genuine sources, to hold two opinions about the Reformers. They were such utterly unredeemed villains, for the most part, that the only parallel I know for the way in which half-educated people speak of them amongst us is the appearance of Pontius Pilate among the saints in the Abyssinian Calendar."

By setting aside the direct subject of my remarks, Mr. Gladstone has not, indeed, deprived it of all interest; but he has placed it at a great disadvantage. The study of the sixteenth century is unquestionably one well worthy of the close attention of thinkers and philosophers; for the whole order of things in the midst of which we live dates from that epoch, but it will be long yet before an estimate can be given of it which will be generally accepted.

I myself should not have attempted to prove to English Protestants that the Reformation, as it was carried out in the sixteenth century, deserves the reprobation of all right-minded people, if I had had to address myself only to Dissenters, Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, or even to adherents of the Broad or the Low Church. I know too well that it would be labour lost to discuss the point with any of these. We are too far removed from one another to catch each other's meaning.† We see everything under a different as-

* *Guardian*, May 16, 1868.

† The organs of the Dissenting press have shown by their criticisms on Mr. Gladstone's article how vain it would be to discuss with them the question of the merit and demerit of the Reformation of the sixteenth century. They complain that he has attached too much importance to Christian organization generally, to the primacy of St. Peter, to the Apostolic College and Council, to prayers for the dead, to confession, to the Church, to tradition, &c. If Mr. Gladstone is too Catholic for the Dissenters, how must they regard Ritualists, and, most of all, Roman Catholics? It would be obviously fighting the air to propose a question of this sort: "What hinders Protestants, Rationalists, Dissenters, Broad and Low Churchmen from becoming Roman Catholics?" With the Ritualists the case is quite different.

pect, and our points of view are directly opposite. With the Ritualists it is not so; and indeed, it may be fairly said, that for nearly fifty years this advanced section of the Anglican Church has been constantly returning to the old paths, and effecting what has been called in high quarters a counter-reformation.

All the force and all the interest of the question proposed by me in August last hinges, as will be readily seen, on the word *Ritualist*. It can be no ground for surprise that Protestants, holding the views of their Church or of Nonconformity, should not think of becoming Roman Catholics; but how is it that the Ritualists pause half-way?

I am well aware of the difficulty there is in giving such a definition of the principles, beliefs, and aims of the Ritualists as shall be accepted by all; for their party bears, in this respect, the true image of the Church from which it springs, and much "comprehension" is necessary in order to include under one and the same designation all the individual varieties of Ritualism. The scale which extends from the High Church, pure and simple, to extreme Ritualism, contains many notes, and presents gradations of tone very difficult to distinguish. It may perhaps be said, within the limits of truth, that the Ritualists accept *all* the beliefs and all the practices of the Roman Catholic Church, with very rare exceptions. It is certainly far easier to enumerate the things which they do not receive than those which they do; as, for example, the Immaculate Conception and the supreme jurisdiction and infallibility of the Pope in his capacity as Head of the Church. If I am not greatly mistaken, these are the grave *doctrinal* difficulties at which the Ritualists stumble, and which hinder them from becoming Roman Catholics. On almost all other points they are in agreement with them. They acknowledge the Church as a divine institution; they would easily be brought to declare it infallible, though this is not quite in accordance with Article XXI. The only difficulty is to determine when and how this infallibility comes into operation. With regard to prayers for the dead, the adoration of the saints, of the Virgin, &c., the Ritualists have long cast away, and taught others to cast away, their Protestant prejudices. The actions against Mr. Ridsdale and Mr. Mackonochie have given sufficient proof of the length to which the Ritualists have gone in this direction.

I know that "popular tradition," and even sometimes the tradition of "men thoughtful and trained," still speaks of Romish superstitions, and charges the Catholic Church with having made unwarrantable additions to its worship. In the papers of both Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale we catch an echo of these old accusations. It must be obvious to them, however, that the common people cannot be reached in the same way as thoughtful and educated men; and experience must have shown them that it is not by a dry, colourless, purely intellectual service, such as to a great extent the Protestant service has become, that the masses of the people are moved and governed.

In this respect, the English Ritualism which Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Little-dale defend so well serves as an admirable illustration. If Anglicanism has recovered some hold upon the masses, it has been by abandoning the dry, bald traditions introduced into England by the Puritans, and still adhered to by Low Church Evangelicals.

To return, however, to that point from which we started. When we find men who believe and practise well-nigh all that is practised and believed in the Roman Catholic Church, and who each year are adopting some fresh belief or practice from the same source, may we not fairly say to them, Why do you remain at all where you are? Why do you not become Roman Catholics* at once? Consider, in fact, what your position is. A little more than three hundred years ago, you formed part of the Roman Catholic Church. You received its dogmas, its laws, its envoys; you were members of that great community. Then one day, by no fault of yours it is true, but by the fault of the times, of your grasping aristocracy, and most of all of your king, you broke with Rome, and accepted that Reformation which one of your own organs brands in the following terms:—

"The so-called Reformation of the sixteenth century was in reality no Reformation at all. When Henry VIII. kicked out the Pope, he made himself Pope, and something more. The Tudor system was only Popery Erastianized. The great object of the Reformers was the confiscation of Church property. The removal of abuses, the restoration of Church rights, were not thought of then; nor have they been cared for since. The civil government has gone even further than the Roman Curia in usurping the rights, and restricting the just liberties, of the Church. The incapacity and folly of the Privy Council, which may be fitly described as the 'Papacy in Commission,' have brought matters to a crisis, and some change must be speedily made. But what is to be the nature of that change? The necessities of the present time, the tenor of legislation from Magna Charta down to the Tudor period, the principles of the Reformation, the divinely-ordered constitution of the Church, all point in one direction—the State must concede to the Church her inalienable right of managing her own affairs. Establishment, if we mean by this term the subjection of the Church to State control, must become a thing of the past. The Oxford movement, from which such great and lasting benefits have already resulted, necessarily involves this, and must be either nullified or result in it."†

Nor is it one journal alone which speaks thus of the Reformation in a single passage: the writers may be counted by hundreds who refer to this subject uniformly in the same tone:—"In sober truth the English Reformation was an unmitigated disaster. It was simply a hypocritical pretence to veil an insurrection of lust and avarice against religion; it corrected no evil whatever."‡

"On the whole, there is no reason whatever to suppose that there is any larger proportion of really God-fearing persons now than there

* I said in my former paper that Ritualists reject the name of Catholics simply. We have been told, and justly, that this is not true. But when Ritualists call themselves *Catholics*, they do not take the word in its ordinary meaning. This is so much the case that if in England a person was spoken of as a Catholic, no one would imagine for a moment, without a previous explanation, that what was intended was an Anglican.

† *Church Review*, 1875, p. 459, col. 3.

‡ *Church Times*, May 14, 1868.

was before the reformation of religion was taken in hand by a conspiracy of adulterers, murderers, and thieves!"*

It is true that these are not recent testimonies. Lest, therefore, we should be accused of being thirty years in arrear, we will quote another witness, and this time not from the ranks of what might be called the *enfants perdus* of Ritualism. We cite from the address of the President of the English Church Union, delivered only a few months ago. He says:—

"However necessary that which was popularly called the Reformation may have been to clear the air, it was impossible to sympathize fully either with those who carried it out or with much that they did. No doubt it was exceedingly difficult to place ourselves in their position, and for many things they could not be accounted responsible; nevertheless, the fact remained that while they got rid of many abuses, in so far as they hoped to restore primitive faith and practice to the nation at large they signally failed of success. The position the Holy Eucharist had occupied amongst us in these later times, was a proof of this assertion. The instance was a crucial one. The Reformers, like the Council of Trent, wished to get rid of solitary Masses, and to bring back frequent communion. The motive was excellent, but how was it carried out? By acts on the part of individuals, such as the destruction of altars, of which they could never think without shame, and by alterations in the Liturgy which had the practical effect both of obscuring in popular estimation the great Christian doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, and giving to the Church of England the unenviable distinction of celebrating the Holy Communion less frequently than any other portion of the Christian Church. This practical neglect of the Sacramental system, and all that it involved, accounted for the failure of the Church of England hitherto to get hold of the people generally, notably in such districts as Wales and Cornwall, which, like Brittany, ought naturally to be the strongholds of the Church. Her altars, too long empty of all that made them precious, had been abandoned for the emotional excitement of Protestant Dissent. And yet, strange to say, in the sight of such facts, if the members of the Church of England had been marked out by one characteristic more than another, it had been by the assertion of the absolute perfection of that portion of the Church to which they belonged. These words were not uttered in any feeling of discontent; they did not betoken, as the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol might perhaps suggest, that the real home of their affections was elsewhere."†

I do not of course lose sight of the fact that it is often fair and needful to distinguish between the acts and the men. The men may be bad and the acts good and praiseworthy. I should not, however, be prepared to go so far as to say that "it is one of the characteristic marks of God's providential intervention in the affairs of men that He sometimes uses bad or worthless instruments to achieve His purposes."‡ Doubtless the "sometimes" corrects to some extent the "characteristic," but we have too high an idea of the goodness of God to admit that it may be one of His providential laws to choose "bad" instruments to do excellent works.

But do the Ritualists all thus distinguish between the Reformers and the Reformation?

We know that on this point there is less unanimity than on the preceding. Many, when they speak of the Reformation in general,

* Oxoniensis: Facts and Testimony touching Ritualism, 2nd ed. p. 72.

† Church Times, January 25, 1878, p. 52, col. 1.

‡ The Rev. Malcolm Maccoll on "The Principles of the Reformation" in the Church Review, 1876, p. 227, col. 3.

defend and approve it, and recognize it as necessary; though when they come to details they invariably withdraw all their encomiums. But a very large proportion do not hesitate to condemn it *in toto*. I have already quoted passages which are very conclusive on this point, and it would be easy to multiply such citations from very recent writings.

In fact, for the last fifty years the religious movement has been entirely retrograde, and might be fairly characterized by the words *Vestigia retrorsum*, which were used not long since in a journal not of the extreme school, as the heading of an article which gave a description of the inevitable consequences of this retrograde movement, if carried on without the support of the Church. The *Church Review* says:—

“In ordinary cases, if a man has lost his way, the best thing he can do is to retrace his footsteps. If he tries to take a short cut, or to travel across an unknown country, the chances are that he makes *bad worse, or that at the most he wastes further time and strength*. Now we have nothing to do with the Reformers; but one clear outcome of their handiwork is this—that, until the Catholic revival, *we had as a people lost our way in the matter of worship*. The Mass had vanished as the central act of Christian worship. This was admittedly the state of things which the Catholic revival found when it commenced, and with this abuse it has been one of its foremost duties to grapple, for no man can be said to understand the Catholic faith who does not make the Holy Eucharist the centre and channel of his worship, and no priest can hope to Catholicize his flock unless he makes for this point. As to this we are all agreed. But when we look around us we fail to see any ‘consensus’ as to the means to be employed in attaining to this end. In many cases short cuts are taken, and with the usual result. In other cases priests try new ways, suggested by their own originality of invention, the result of which is certainly not more satisfactory.”*

Here, then, is a series of acknowledged facts:—

1. The English Reformation was not the result of religious, Christian, and supernatural influences at work in the minds of men.
2. The Reformers, having little personal claim to respect, are unworthy of the name.
3. The consequences of the Reformation have been deplorable alike from a religious, moral, and social point of view.
4. The only course open to Anglicans is to retrace their steps, and to repudiate the Reformation, the Reformers, and their principles.
5. Hitherto this retrograde movement has been made in an arbitrary, erratic, almost chaotic fashion.†

* *Church Review*, 1878, p. 31, col. 3.

† Note how a Ritualist speaks of the Anglican Church, after forty years of effort and triumph on the part of the Ritualists. We should not have dared ourselves to use language so bold:—

“The numerous awful scandals which make our unhappy Church almost ‘a hold for every unclean beast, and a cage for every unclean bird’—to wit, the ‘marriage’ of ‘divorced’ persons by priests of our Church; the ‘marriage’ in our churches by our priests of Christians (so called) with Jews, infidels, and heretics; the incessantly recurring burials, with our Burial Office, and by our priests, of suicides, upon the mere strength of the transparent verdict ‘while of unsound mind,’ many of them dying simply because mad with drink—that curse of our nation; burials of open infidels and known evil-livers of all sorts; the utter want of any legal questioning by the priest in baptism, in marriage, in confirmation, in Eucharist, or in burial—that is, questioning of a nature to ensure some safeguard from the profanations of each and all these rites which occur

Yet further it is admitted :—

1. That the Church is in its origin divine.
2. That it is divine in its life.
3. That it does not depend on men; that it is a separate power independent of the State.
4. That it has and ought to have a "living voice," laws, and tribunals of its own.

In addition to this it is admitted that the Roman Catholic Church has formed, and still forms, part of the Church of Jesus Christ. A few years ago English Churchmen went even further, and spoke of the Roman Catholic Church only with respect and love and with a manifest desire to be re-united to it.

When we come in contact with a body of men holding the opinions of the Ritualists, does it not seem natural to say to them: "What is it that hinders you from going to the head of the Catholic Church and saying to him frankly, 'We have been misled; we acknowledge the error of our fathers,* and we return to you?' You condemn almost everything in the Reformation, except the rebellion against him who was head of the Church. Are you very sure that you have gone as far as you desire to go? Are you certain that you ought not, in order to be consistent, to make your submission to the Supreme Pontiff?"

It appears to me that there is special reason to urge on men in the position of the Ritualists this question, which would have no force if addressed to Evangelicals or Dissenters, to Greeks or Russians. The Ritualists "do not truly belong to the Church of England," for they strain the limits of that Church in one direction to a degree incompatible with its formularies, and hence friends and enemies alike charge them with being Romanists in disguise, or Romanizers. Some even go so far as to brand them as "traitors" and "conspirators," which is in no sense true according to the strict and proper meaning of those words.

From another point of view, however, it may be said that the "Ritualists continue the traditions of Anglicanism under a rather more subtle and dangerous guise." Anglicanism, in fact, is a combination

continually; the fearful evils and rottenness of the whole Divorce Court system; the utter want of any real discipline, rule, or order, throughout the whole Anglican Church, wherein literally 'every man doeth that which is right in his own eyes (save and except alone those who really strive only to obey the Church too much, and to be too reverent); and last, but not least, the profane and ridiculous insult of the State's last attempt at meddling with the things of God, the Court of Lord Penzance, and its parent the Public Worship Regulation Act (of a Parliament of all beliefs and none)," &c. . . .

So the enumeration continues. We refer readers who wish to follow it further to the *Church Review*, August 10, 1878, p. 578, cols. 2, 3.

* The first reason which Dr. Littledale gives in explanation of the conduct of the Ritualists is, that a man must not forsake the religion of his fathers. But to this it may be replied, that the Ritualists, in becoming Roman Catholics, are only returning to the religion of their grandfathers. We are reminded of the reply of the French Ambassador, who, being asked if it did not grieve him to be buried in England, in Protestant ground, replied, humorously, "Why should it grieve me? Let them only go a few feet deeper, and I shall find myself in Catholic ground."

of all the doctrines and practices ranging from the borders of Roman Catholicism to pure Deism. It appears as though this system had been framed with a view to retain within its bosom all descriptions of Christians, excepting pure Roman Catholics and pure Deists. To fulfil its design, therefore, it ought to embrace at one extreme all the affirmations of Catholicism, minus Catholicism, and at the other all the negations of Rationalism, minus Rationalism, pure and simple. In this respect it may be said that never, even in the seventeenth century, was Anglicanism so perfect. To-day the Broad Church party are vying on some points with the Rationalists of Germany, and Catholics might sometimes take lessons from the Ritualists. The Broad Church party retain those who are inclining to Rationalism; the Ritualists stop the way of those who were in full march for Rome, or beguile them by their incantations into remaining where they are. They thus play the part of the sirens in the fable, and in this sense it is only just to acknowledge that they do "continue the traditions of Anglicanism under a rather more subtle and dangerous guise."

III.

I think I have now shown that there is ground for addressing to the Ritualists the question, which to others would be impertinent: "What hinders you from becoming Roman Catholics?" They are in fact far nearer to Rome in their beliefs, their practices, their worship and aims, than the other sections of the Anglican Church, and notably than the Nonconformist sects.

Mr. Gladstone has replied, first, by an argument *a pari*, which he expresses thus:—

"The Abbé must be aware not only of the admitted nearness of the Easterns to the Roman pattern, but also of the fact that nothing is so rare as a theological or ecclesiastical conversion from among them to the Latin communion. He may, then, do well to take the beam of the non-conversion of Greeks and Russians out of his eye, before he troubles himself so seriously with the mote of the non-conversion of Ritualists." †

To this objection it may be replied that the position of Ritualists is in no way parallel with that of the Orthodox Greeks, and it is for this reason that the Greeks have so coldly received the advances repeatedly made to them of late years by the Church of England. As regards the Greeks and Eastern Christians, the question is almost entirely one of schism. Except on the point of the primacy of St. Peter and of his successors,

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, October, p. 427.

† Mr. Gladstone has taken our remarks on the "dead or dying Christianity of the East" as an insult to the misfortunes of Christians oppressed by the Turks. We would reply, in the first place, that we had no intention of speakingly slightly of Christians who have a claim on our interest and sympathy. And next, we would draw Mr. Gladstone's attention to the fact, that there are in the East seventy millions of Christians, not subject to the Turks, who have never shown any great signs of life.

Dr. Littledale takes exception also to the word "produced" in this sentence: "*The Anglican theory has produced the Eastern Churches*" (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, August, p. 125). The word is not indeed strictly accurate; but the sense is true. Theories often exist in fact before they have been formulated. The Anglican theory of branches of the one Church lies at the root of the schisms of the Oriental Churches.

the Orientals are in all but complete accord with the Latin Church. Sacraments, ecclesiastical orders, the hierarchy, the regularity of episcopal succession, all these have been retained as they were before the schism of the ninth and eleventh centuries. The conferences held at Bonn between the Old Catholics, the Anglicans, the Protestants, and the Greeks, had this good result, that they brought the Greeks and Russians to recognize that on the fundamental doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit there was not, properly speaking, any difference between the Eastern and the Latin Church.

In this respect the doctrinal and theological position of the Greeks and Russians is incomparably better than that of any Protestant sect. The Russians and the Greeks may even, though in a very restricted sense, adopt the motto *semper eadem*. But for the Ritualists what can be and what is said? It must be confessed that from the time of the rupture up to the beginning of the present century, the moral and spiritual decadence was such that even the capital truths of Christianity, such as those relating to baptismal regeneration, to the number, order, and character of the sacraments, to the Real Presence, to the sacrifice of the Mass, to prayers for the dead, to the worship of the Virgin and of the saints, to Apostolic succession, to the origin, nature, and permanence of the Church—all were contested, denied, and repudiated by a large proportion, if not by the great body of the Anglican Church. It must be owned that the Anglican Orders, condemned by many from the first as null, and regarded practically for more than a century as merely ceremonial, have become in our day still more dubious from the laxity with which for a long time the ordinance of baptism has been administered. Who does not call to mind the clamour raised in Ritualist journals, like the *Church Times* and the *Church Review*, by the question of the fact and validity of the baptism of the Archbishop of Canterbury? Even if it be allowed that Parker's consecration was valid—a point much in dispute—it remains none the less doubtful whether the Orders received by the Anglicans of to-day are valid. This fact is, indeed, so patent that for the last two years we have heard often of Anglican priests who have sought ordination elsewhere.

Now, if this be granted—and on this subject the testimonies of Ritualists are abundant and uniform—what course of conduct is incumbent on men who believe in the Church as a divine institution, in Apostolic succession, in the necessity of the sacraments and of the religious Orders, and who regard heresy and schism as crimes condemned by Holy Scripture, and still more clearly and emphatically condemned by the constant practice of that "primitive and undivided Church" to which they so often appeal? What did they do in the early ages with those who were guilty of heresy or schism? They put in practice the counsel of St. Paul: "*Cum ejusmodi nec cibum sumere*" (1 Cor. v. 11).

The course of conduct becoming men who hold the principles I have just described is clear and plain. There is not a philosophical or theological treatise which does not say, when it is a *question of things necessary to salvation*, a *probable* opinion will not suffice, there must be *certainty*. And this course of conduct, which must commend itself to every reasonable man, is specially incumbent on those who do not hesitate boldly to criticize the Holy See for having recently bestowed the title of Doctor of the Church on St. Liguori, a man who, they say, has espoused the unauthorized theories of *Probabilism*. But even if this be so (for I forbear to enter on the much-vexed question), St. Liguori would never have embraced principles which could justify the conduct of the Ritualists.

What, in fact, are the Ritualists doing? They are living in daily contact with men whom they know to be heretics, and whom they treat as such. They are contenting themselves with Orders which they know are regarded as dubious, which they themselves believe to be so; or they go elsewhere, seeking contraband Orders from they know not what bishops or what sect. Is conduct like this logical? Is it consistent or in harmony with the principles which they hold, at least theoretically?

When we calmly observe the course of events as it is passing before our eyes, we can but ask what is it which, in the view of Anglicans and Ritualists, constitutes heresy or schism?

Not long ago a religious journal, well known for its advanced Evangelical opinions,* inserted a letter containing a series of questions, at the head of which appeared the following:—

"1. Assuming the Church of England to be a true Church, is it so (a) because it is episcopal, or (b) because it is established, or (c) because it is Protestant?"

"2. Would our Church cease to be a true Church if (a) for any reason it dispensed with episcopacy, or (b) if it were disestablished, or (c) if it ceased to be Protestant?"

"3. Are the Dissenting Churches in England—as Ritualists, so-called High Churchmen, and even some Evangelical Protestant Churchmen assert—'schismatical' communities; and, in that case, are they to be so regarded because they are non-episcopal, or because they are non-established?"

Still more recently, another journal† inserted a correspondence, in which the following admission was made:—

"Would not the *Church Review* be rendering good service to the Church of England if its influence were used to prevail upon the clergy generally to speak out more strongly with respect to the terrible sin of schism? Surely the making light of the rending of the mystical body of Christ is a sin, not merely of our nation, but virtually, indeed, of our Church, or at least of the majority of her members. Often enough do we hear this sin condemned in general terms; but then the terms are so general, the condemnation so very mildly expressed, the allowances to be made so numerous, the exhortations to charity so touching, the warnings not to judge others so appalling, that if the ambiguous teaching leaves any impression at all, it is but a confused kind of notion that it is quite right to

* *The Rock*, May 31, 1878, p. 485, col. 2. No reply has been given to this letter, which well deserved to be answered.

† *Church Review*, 1878, p. 463, col. 1.

be Church, but the Dissenters are not such bad folk after all, and that 'we are all aiming for the same place.'"

How is it possible to raise the cry against heresy and schism when, in the first place, men like Dr. Littledale can speak of the grave divergences which exist in the English Church on the most important truths, as a benefit, nay, almost as a mark of the true Church;* and when, secondly, they plead for the union of all the sects which believe in Jesus Christ and in the Trinity?† So long as there is to be such toleration of differences on fundamental points as the Ritualists approve of in their own Church, it follows inevitably that schism and heresy must not be so much as named, or, if they are, it must be with bated breath—"very mildly," as, for example, when the President of the English Church Union recently said, "If in such matters there is toleration of error amongst us, the only excuse that can be made for it is the hope we entertain that such toleration may, in the long run, win back to the faith those who reject any portion of it."‡ In the same tone the *Church Review*, when criticizing Dr. Littledale's article on "The Dogmatic Position of the Church of England," remarks:—

"The article is suggestive, and will lead the thoughtful reader to the consideration of many subjects which do not lie on the surface. Having said this, we feel free to confess that we rise from the study of it with a sense of imperfect satisfaction. We are tempted to suggest that a better title for it would have been, 'An Apology for Disunion in Teaching,' or, to use the author's terminology, for the want of *homogeneous teaching* in the Church of England. We do not say that there is no room for such an apology, nor that it cannot be successfully made, but we doubt whether it can be so completely palliated, and even shown to be an *advantage*, as the reviewer seems to think. We are not sure that the line which ultimately leads to the better moral result is not that which frankly confesses the practical uncertainty of teaching amongst us, openly deplores it, probes its latent immorality, and shows how it is a departure from the dogmatic basis laid down, and interpreted by the quotation from Bramhall and the canon." §

The changes in the past and the conflicting opinions existing at present in the Anglican Church altogether preclude any parallel between the Ritualists and the Orientals. The fixity of ground among the latter may help to mislead them as to their true position; while, on the other hand, the repudiation of so many doctrines in the past, and their readmission in the present, ought to open the eyes of the Ritualists. What, indeed, is the true Church, if not the guardian of the trust of revelation? and what becomes of its character as a *true Church* when it has scattered to the four winds of heaven the treasure committed to it? It ceases to be the Church.

IV.

But it may be said, If the Anglican Church has lost the trust of revelation committed to it, if it has debased Christian worship and has allowed discipline to grow lax, the Ritualists are doing their utmost to

* See the *Church Quarterly Review*, July, 1878.

† Ibid.: "Home Reunion."

‡ *Church Times*, October 4, 1878, p. 546, col. 3.

§ *Church Review*, August 24, 1878, p. 403, col. 2.

repair all these breaches, and to rebuild the ecclesiastical edifice, gathering together all the scattered stones. Only wait, and you will soon see that "Rome has literally nothing to offer them which they do not possess, or are on the point of acquiring in a much better form. Why then should you urge them to become Roman Catholics? They are not such simpletons."*

I do not question that the Ritualists have made and are daily making progress; that they are daily recovering more and more Catholic beliefs and practices, taking as the rule of their faith the celebrated maxim of St. Vincent de Lerins: *Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus*.

On the pretext that every Christian ought to be able to render an account of his faith, some Ritualists go so far as to imply that each individual may form a creed of his own, by interpreting in his own way the *quod ubique*, &c., and by pursuing unaided his own study of Christian antiquity "in the primitive and undivided Church." But what becomes then of the Church, and of its mission as a teacher?† Do they count for anything or nothing? Theoretically they are recognized, but practically they are nil.

The principle of Catholicity, or the maxim *Quod ubique, quod semper, &c.*, cannot be taken in an absolute sense, and unless it is so, there can be no creed, since there is no truth which has not been contested, and generally widely contested. If then the authority of the Church is suppressed, there is no means of knowing whether any particular truth is or is not truly Catholic, even in the sense in which the Ritualists understand the word Catholic.

And, after all, is the Catholic religion only a thing of dogma? Has it not also authority and a commission? Is it enough to have valid sacraments? Is it not necessary also that they should be lawfully administered, that is to say, with the approbation and sanction of the Church? But if a commission is necessary, if authority is required for the due and lawful administration of the sacraments, if the authority of the Church, in short, is a real thing, how can the Ritualists defend their position?

Who gave Parker his commission? Elizabeth. Who in the present day gives the bishops their jurisdiction? The Queen, or the Prime Minister. Is such a commission valid?‡ Many Ritualists would find it difficult at this moment to acknowledge the sovereign as the source and fountain of all jurisdiction, when they are waging war to

* *Church Times*, August 9, 1878, p. 447, cols. 3, 4.

† Dr. Littledale has endeavoured to prove, by the Council of Trent, that "Catholicity of doctrine" is the basis of "Christian solidarity." What is the precise meaning of the words Christian solidarity, as used by Dr. Littledale, I do not profess to understand. But in any case, it seems to me, that he is wrong in going back to the Council of Trent to establish his theories against the unity of the Church, for it is not possible to cast a shadow of a doubt on the part which the Fathers of Trent assigned to the Pope. Their words cannot then bear the meaning attached to them by Dr. Littledale.

‡ We see, with pleasure, that the grave question of a valid commission is beginning to be agitated among the Ritualists. See the *Church Review*, June 8, 1878, p. 269.

the death against the Royal Supremacy. The Ritualists cannot carry with them in their restorations and innovations either the English nation, or the Anglican Episcopate, or the majority of the Anglican Church. They are playing the part of a parliamentary opposition, with no assurance, as yet, of attaining to power. Nothing that they do or teach comes with any authority. We repeat, therefore, what we have already said elsewhere, that "nowhere else do we find the spectacle of a clergy in absolute revolt against its superiors. We must ask the meaning of their loud assertions of Catholic principles, and if the acceptance of certain dogmas and practices is enough to enable us to attain to the truth, and to work out our salvation. Questions of discipline, of hierarchy, of submission to authority, have all a place in the creed; and if these are set at nought, what becomes of the principle of Catholicity? Ritualists may make the most careful research without finding at any time or in any age a position resembling their own. If belief in a creed is all that is necessary for salvation, the most degraded savage of Oceania, and the rudest colonist of the Far West, might be saved without the aid of a Church or of a missionary: he need only glance at the catechisms of the four or five great Christian Churches of the world!"

I would ask Ritualists to weigh carefully the words in italics, and to determine whether there is truth in them. From a study of their past and present conduct, we might be led to think that they reverse the Catholic adage *Nil sine episcopo*, and that their tenet is that everything must be done either without or against the bishops. The Archbishop of York made this observation at the Congress at Sheffield, and with but too much reason.

With their principle of Catholicity, the Ritualists then may set up something which shall bear some apparent and external resemblance to another Episcopal Church, but it will not be the true Church, the Church of Jesus Christ. It will be their Church, for it will be their workmanship, not God's. And sooner or later the day will come when they will see clearly that it is but an invention of man, if indeed they do not see it already.

That the Ritualists regard their triumphs past and present as manifestations of Divine grace, I do not for a moment call in question. We know that wherever there is genuine good faith, the Spirit of God works in the souls of men. For this reason, far from bewailing the appearance of Ritualism, I rather rejoice in it, as a palpable sign of aspiration towards a higher order of life than the "earth to earth" of Nonconformity and Evangelicalism. I feel, indeed, that Ritualism is fraught with danger, and that it may arrest some souls who, without its intervention, would have at once embraced Catholicism; but I hope God may yet be pleased, in His own good time, to transform that which is at present a hindrance into a means of conversion.

There must inevitably come a time when the illogical and incon-

sistent attitude adopted by the Ritualists will be no longer tenable, at least by men of intelligence and good faith. It will be seen that there must be either a further advance, or a relapse into that vague Christianity without any defined outlines which constitutes the creed of the majority of Protestant sects at the present day, and which finds its ideal in Congregationalism, as that is represented in the *Christian World*. It is possible for an Orthodox Greek to remain where he is, for he has a clearly defined *cultus*, something in which the mind and the senses may find satisfaction; but the Ritualist cannot remain where he is. Ritualism is either simply a return to the past, or a mere arbitrary reaction from Anglicanism, which, as such, can have nothing permanent in it. It is not we alone who feel this; the Ritualists themselves acknowledge it:—

"It has been frequently said that it is a good thing for the Anglo-Catholic movement that it has had no recognized leaders, and no policy. I have always doubted the truth of that assertion myself, and I think what is now going on amongst us justifies my opinion to a very considerable degree. We now find priests who are credited with being very 'advanced men' indeed, openly throwing themselves into the arms of the Essayists and Reviewers, as regards the doctrine of eternal punishment, to the great scandal of old-fashioned Catholics like myself, as well as of Evangelical Protestants. I had thought that the day was not far off when the Evangelicals, seeing the indefensibility of their own position, would have added what is wanting to their faith, and made common cause with us in maintaining *historical Christianity* against the phantom Christianity of the Rationalists and the agnosticism of philosophers, falsely so called. But if '*Ritualism*' is to be a mere eclectic 'ism,' which picks and chooses such portions of Catholic belief and ritual as commend themselves to individual members, we must bid farewell to all hope of winning over our Evangelical friends, and we must be prepared to see them, as well as large numbers of so-called Ritualists, seeking elsewhere for the faith once for all delivered."*

V.

I have only been able to touch slightly on the great question of the Catholicity of the Anglican Church, which might alone occupy an entire article.

One of the most interesting points in Mr. Gladstone's paper—a point on which Dr. Littledale has also cursorily touched—is his discussion of the "method which bends submissively to all historic evidence; which handles that evidence in the domain of Church history on the same principles as in any other domain, and which has for its aim nothing else than this—to come at the clear and entire truth, without fear or favour."† This is what is generally called *the appeal to history*, that "historic Christianity" treated of in the passage already quoted, that recourse to experience behind which the Anglican Church shelters itself, under the name of an appeal to the "primitive and undivided Church."

Mr. Gladstone and many Anglicans distinguish between this historic method and what the Catholics call tradition, setting the one in opposition to the other. In their view tradition consists chiefly of facts distorted by prejudice and passion, or coloured by prepos-

* *Church Review*, 1878, p. 242, col. 2.

† *CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, October, p. 431.

sions, while history "is formed upon *facts alone*, . . . and looks at the face of things as they are in themselves." * That Protestants, Anglicans, and others should attach supreme importance to the historic method is easily conceivable, since they recognize no divine Church, no Church with a divinely sustained existence and authority, a divine indwelling, and a divine infallibility. It is a matter of necessity that they should have some means of judging of Christianity; and, having rejected the divine and infallible authority of the Church, they are fain to have recourse to their own reason, and consequently to history.

For a Catholic it is otherwise. Being fully convinced of the divinity of the Church, of its divine origin, preservation, and operation, he finds in its authority the supreme rule of his judgment, and the final appeal on all dubious points. Not indeed that the Catholic has recourse to the Church to know what he is to think at all times and on all subjects, but he always cherishes this mental reservation, *Salvo ecclesiæ judicio*—that is to say, in all cases in which his views incur the reprobation of the Church, the Catholic must be ready to submit, to offer any explanation that may be demanded, and, if needful, to retract his own opinions. In other words (for it is important to be very clear in a matter on which prejudice is so strong), the supreme rule for the judgment of the Catholic is not his own historical studies, aided or unaided by other men, but the authority of the Church.

All is coherent and consecutive in the Catholic system. The divine origin of the Church, its infallibility, and as a consequence the submission of its children in the last resort to its authority, whether it instructs, commands, or condemns,—this is in substance what we Catholics often describe by the name of tradition, especially when we speak of it in connection with Holy Scripture.

It is of course open to any to dispute the bases of such a system, but the system itself cannot be charged with want of logical coherence. The premises being granted, the consequences follow in rigid sequence.

This is not the place in which to offer a complete apology for the Catholic system; but since this paper is devoted specially to explanations frankly and fairly given, I may be allowed a word in its defence. When we as Catholics appeal to the judgment and authority of the Church, is it supposed that we reject history, archæology, patrology, and all other sciences? Not in the least. We simply subordinate all these to the authority of the Church. As formerly it was said of science that it was *ancilla theologiæ*, so we say now that it is *ancilla ecclesiæ*; and since science and the Church both proceed from God, we do not allow that there can be any *real* contradiction between them. But there may be *apparent* contradiction, and when this is the

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, October, p. 431.

case, we surrender the always fallible teaching of history to adhere to the teaching of the Church, which is infallible.

A Catholic who, instead of submitting to the judgment of the Church (which he confesses to be divine), should adhere to the testimony of history when it appears to contradict the Church, and who should do this deliberately and knowingly, would cease to belong to that Church. He would be no longer a Catholic, for he would be guilty, not merely of treason and heresy, but of apostasy.*

It was in this sense, no doubt, that Cardinal Manning used the two words which are often quoted against him in Protestant journals. Exception should be taken (if at all) not to the expressions used by his Eminence, but to the very foundations of the Catholic system, namely, to the divine origin and infallible authority of the Church.

Two reasons may be briefly given why Catholics, while they do not neglect the careful study of history, yet defer ultimately to the judgment of the Church.

The first is that it is only by means of a teaching body invested with authority that the knowledge of the truth can be brought within the grasp of men at large, even the most ignorant.

The second is that all science, and pre-eminently the science of history, is liable to mistake. Mr. Gladstone seems to think that history is above passions and prejudices. Would that it were so, and that men, divided on all other subjects, could at least meet on this common ground! But, alas! this is far from being the case, and it needs no long reflection to show that if there is a science on which the influences of education and national and party prejudice may make themselves felt, it is assuredly the science of history. The readers of this REVIEW have had quite recently more than one illustration of this before their eyes, and it is scarcely needful to ask whether Mr. Froude and Mr. Freeman would give the same version of the history, say of St. Thomas à Becket.

What, then, is the value of these appeals to history? What weight can they have with ninety-nine hundredths of the human race? Is it actually possible to write or to read history without prejudice? Where is the ordinary reader who can to-day reconstruct the true history of the sixteenth century? Mr. Maitland, Dr. Littledale, Mr. Blunt, and a hundred others, have already told us what we must think of the history of the period written by such men as Foxe and Burnet. We need not perhaps do more than just remind Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale of the vigorous language in which the latter has characterized the Reformers. Thank God, the age is advancing, and to-day the heirs of the English Reformation are beginning to recognize that even in relation to the facts of the sixteenth century, Roman

* It can be scarcely needful, we imagine, to observe that in controversy with non-Catholics, the Catholics accept the appeal to history, and do not invoke the testimony of the Church.

Catholic writers are more worthy of confidence than the Puritan or Protestant historians. Men's views are gradually veering round, and justice is being done at last to men and things. If any authors might be excused for writing with passion, they would be the English Catholics of the second half of the sixteenth century. As a rule, however, they have not done so, but have treated their persecutors with remarkable moderation. Attention was drawn to this fact, a short time ago, in one of the Ritualist journals. Speaking of the Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus, the *Church Review* says:—

"There are minor matters scattered up and down amidst the story of hairbreadth escapes, tortures, executions, ministrations, and religious consolations, and of conversion, when conversion meant at the least confiscation of goods and imprisonment. The Marian persecutions had their counterpart in the Elizabethan; Foxe's 'Book of Martyrs' tells nothing of the one that is not surpassed by these records of the other—with this great difference, however, between them, that the virulent defamation and scurrilous abuse of the one never appears in the other. Contrast, for example, the mention of Queen Elizabeth in the freedom of intimate letters such as those of F. RIVERS, from which we have quoted, and their 'thanks be to God' for her Majesty's good health and frolicsome humour, with the terms in which Foxe speaks of Queen Mary, and which indeed have been followed down to our own days and latest writers. Hallam, whose accuracy no one questions, and who was calm and even cold, as well as accurate, tells us that 'intolerance and persecution was the original sin in which the Reformed Churches were cradled,' and he might have added *evil speaking, lying, and slandering, which nourished and exasperated that intolerance and persecution.* The worth of this volume of records is that they are genuine, made at the time, not for the purpose of proving anything, simply 'records' of what happened."*

Mr. Gladstone tells us that the great Protestant tradition is extinct. Nevertheless he himself applies elsewhere the title of "Bloody" to Queen Mary, in contrast, no doubt, to the leniency shown by Elizabeth and her father towards the Catholics. Happily Dr. Littledale is not afraid to correct this testimony by assuring us that Sir Thomas More, Cardinal Fisher, Bishop Gardiner, Queen Mary, and Cardinal Pole, whatever their errors and sins may have been, were angels of light compared with the Protector Seymour, with Bishop Cranmer, Bishop Poynt, Queen Elizabeth, and Bishop Bale.†

The great Protestant tradition is not dead in the heart of the common people of England, and if in the minds of lettered and cultivated men it is less bitter than among the populace, it still lives on with much of its old intensity. We note more than one trace of this in Mr. Gladstone's "Study of the Reformation," and in Dr. Littledale's article.

It is because I am convinced that it is "well-nigh impossible for ordinary readers to get at the facts"‡ that I have pointed out, as one of the great hindrances to the progress of Ritualism towards Catholicism, the manner in which many Englishmen take up the study of religion. I have dwelt especially on the dangers of the historic

* *Church Review*, 1878, p. 86, col. 3; p. 87, col. 1.

† Littledale: *On the Reformers*, p. 6.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

method, so strongly recommended by Mr. Gladstone,—a method which, to quote only one example in passing, leads him to represent Cranmer as dying “on the heights of heroism,” while Dr. Littledale assigns to him the coward’s death.* So fraught with peril and with paradox is this long and arduous method, which to be pursued aright demands an elevation of character, an uprightness of will, a purity of intention, together with a power of work such as are rarely to be found; nor is all this enough unless the circumstances of time and place are also favourable. How can a man who breathes an atmosphere charged with prejudices against Catholicism, and who has within his reach only documents conceived and framed with an anti-Catholic bias, attain to a just perception of things as they are? Humanly speaking it is not possible. Hence, as I said in my first article, “there is not a single fact or institution of Catholicism in connection with which there has not accumulated a mass of prejudice and error. . . . Take, for example, the history of the Inquisition, of St. Bartholomew, of the False Decretals,” &c.† I quoted these as examples that would require volumes for their fair and adequate discussion. I abstained from expressing any opinion of my own, and I do not hesitate to say that I have not studied all these subjects sufficiently thoroughly to express an independent opinion. What I meant to say was that on all these points there is a great divergence of view, and this statement is fully borne out by the two papers of Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale. Both agree, however, in condemning the Papacy for the rejoicings in Rome and for the medals struck on the occasion of the St. Bartholomew Massacre.‡ I cannot attempt to enter here into a discussion of these facts. I can simply make a few brief observations. It is not my business to explain or to excuse the massacre of the Protestants. Dr. Littledale has said: “Few know that the atrocities which the Protestants themselves ten years before had committed at Beaugency, Montauban, Nismes, Montpellier, Grenoble, and Lyons, *equalled, if they did not exceed, that terrible crime.*”§ I might add to this that the provinces of the west and south of France are still covered with ruins which date, not from ten years before St. Bartholomew, but from the year 1568. The Huguenots were not only men who fought for liberty of conscience; they were the Communists of the age, rebels who laid waste provinces, and, by their frequent plottings with the foreigner, kept the State in perpetual danger. They were public enemies. That it was justifiable on this account to kill them like dogs, shoot them down from behind hedges, as if they were wolves, be it far from me to maintain. But I repeat it: the question is not, Was the Massacre of St. Bartholomew right? but, Did the Pope order rejoicings over the event *as a massacre*, and did he have medals struck

* Littledale: On the Reformers, pp. 15, 16, and 43; No. 29 of the note “On Cranmer.”

† CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, August, p. 123.

‡ Ibid., October, p. 429; November, p. 795.

§ Littledale: On the Reformers, p. 19.

to perpetuate the memory of so ignoble a victory? Everything depends on the light in which the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was presented to Gregory XIII. It is evident that if the St. Bartholomew was represented as the triumph of order over disorder, of conservatism over revolution, of honest men over rogues, then the rejoicings which are made such a reproach to Pope Gregory were as natural as the congratulations addressed to a sovereign or to a nation on the escape from some great peril. Now, historians tell us that the events were thus represented to the Pope, and the statement is verified by the fact that afterwards, when Gregory became better acquainted with what had passed, he disapproved of the St. Bartholomew.

It is obviously impossible for me to enter here into a full discussion of this subject, nor can I hope readily to shake the rooted opinion of Protestants on the point. But the divergence of sentiment, not only between Catholics and Protestants, but between writers of the same body, is sufficient proof of the futility of the appeal to history as a final test of truth. There is not a single fact at all involved in obscurity about which any two writers are perfectly agreed, unless they have copied from each other.

I mentioned also the False Decretals. Dr. Littledale, referring to this subject, says, "The Papal claims have absolutely no other basis whatever."* This is a very serious assertion; for the Popes exercised the authority and enjoyed the privileges of the Papacy long before the False Decretals were put in circulation; and these False Decretals themselves would not have been accepted if they had not been in harmony with the ideas commonly received at the time of their appearance. We are reduced, then, to one of two alternatives: either the Decretals ran counter to the ideas and practices of the age, or they were in perfect harmony with them. If the first hypothesis be the true one, how was it that, among so many persons whose interest it was to protest, not one lifted up his voice to denounce the imposture and the usurpation? Were the men of the ninth and tenth centuries not men of like passions with ourselves? Had they not the same independence, the same love of liberty? Why, again I ask, did no one protest?

If, on the other hand, the second hypothesis be true, then the comparison which Dr. Littledale institutes between the Papacy and a proprietor in possession of an estate gained by a false title, altogether fails. It was not, Decretals in hand, that the Popes took possession of the government of the Catholic world; it was because the Popes were already the rulers of the Catholic world that the Decretals were at once accepted, without a too close inquiry into their origin and titles. The fact that the Popes, or the lawyers who edited the canon law, accepted them as a fitting embodiment of their ideas, lends them a value which intrinsically they did not possess; just as a

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November, p. 796.

false title becomes valid and genuine if the seller and the buyer consent to subscribe their names to it.

VI.

My two honourable opponents lay stress on the social superiority of England, as compared with the nations of the Continent, especially France, Italy, and Spain. Mr. Gladstone, in particular, has given great prominence to this fact; but the same tone runs through all the pages of Dr. Littledale's paper, and becomes very marked towards its close. This superiority is shown, first, by the little influence which the Paganism of the Renaissance has exerted upon English society and literature, while it has struck to the core of both Italy and France. Second, by the hold which Christianity has retained, till our own times, on the upper and middle classes of English society; while elsewhere, in France and Italy for example, these classes are either indifferent or positively hostile to the Church. Third, by the ease with which the ranks of the ministry are recruited, the classes from which the clergy are drawn, the measure of education which they receive and retain, the position which they occupy in society, and the part assigned to them in public life.

It would be easy to enumerate other evidences of this social superiority of England to the Catholic nations of the Continent, but the three points already named seem to suffice for the purpose.

I would observe, first, that the order of things indicated by these words, "superiority" and "social superiority," is a very comprehensive one, and that it is not easy to say always to what cause they are to be assigned, or to distinguish, among many co-operating causes, that which has the largest share.

I am perhaps more disposed than many to recognize the relative social superiority of England, but I am not convinced that Protestantism, the Reformation, and Anglicanism are the principal causes of this superiority; and even if these systems could vindicate their claim to the character assigned to them, I should not be prepared to allow that therefore they were Divine.

England occupies a position unique in the world. A girdle of seas encircles her, and isolates her from all other nations; her cold and severe climate, while it repels strangers, accustoms her children to lead that manly, austere life, full of activity and energy, which prepares them so well to play their noble part in the history of the world. To this isolation, combined with the consciousness of power characteristic of the English nation, is to be traced that British pride which has preserved, and will yet long preserve, England from the false doctrines and corrupt practices of the Continent. The English people is an "imperial people;" it knows and feels its own worth, and its lawful self-esteem is perhaps not unmixed with a tinge of contempt

for others. A study of the English character recalls involuntarily the noble lines of the poet—

"Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento;
Hæ tibi erunt artes, pacisque imponere morem,
Parcere subjectis, et debellare superbos."*

The English nation, moreover, is a nation relatively young as compared with the French and Italians. These have passed through many stages in life; they are on the verge of old age, some say of decrepitude and decline. France and Italy have been trampled for centuries by the feet of the stranger, who left to them his vices while he borrowed not always from their virtues. They are open countries, accessible to all invasions of new ideas, and suffering at least by reaction from all the political convulsions of their neighbours. No comparison can be instituted therefore between them and the English nation.

But to pass from such general considerations to the three points brought forward by Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale. Even if it be a fact that Paganism has cast its roots so deep and wide, as they assert, in France and Italy, this would argue nothing in favour of the Reformation, unless it can be shown (and this has not yet been attempted) that it was the Reformation which repelled from England the invasion of Paganism. The countries into which the Renaissance has introduced most largely the languages of Paganism are first Italy, and next France; and this is explained perfectly naturally by the ancient, prolonged, and frequent relations of the Italians and the French with Eastern countries. At the time when the treasures of Greek and Pagan antiquity were introduced into the West, first by the decadence and then by the fall of the Greek Empire, when the great families were driven by the approach of the Turk into Italy,—at this time, I say, there was a sort of infatuation abroad about the antique. People raved about the ancients, and emulated their speech. The admiration of them passed all bounds, but the people still remained Christian, while borrowing the language of the Pagan. It was pre-eminently a literary Paganism, and there are generations of men still living who have watched it pass away.

The same causes have produced the same effects from another point of view. England has been and will be slower than the nations of the Continent in becoming un-Christianized. There may still be persons who, scarcely knowing what Christianity is, yet glory in being Christians. But Protestantism cannot claim the credit of this. The majority of the nation was still Catholic in belief and practice, long after the Reformation. Some writers go so far as to say that at the death of Henry VIII., eleven-twelfths of the English people—obviously not of the nobility—were Catholics in heart and conviction. What wonder is it, then, if the higher classes have retained a certain

* Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 852—854.

Christianity corresponding closely in character with what is called Evangelicalism? Here also, however, the current ideas of the age are spreading, and there is every probability that in thirty years from this time, the religion of the upper classes will have greatly changed its character.

If Catholicism is at the present moment somewhat forsaken by the middle class and by the men generally, it must be admitted, first, that it is making progress, and next that it retains its hold at least on the poorer classes, the common people. This Protestants themselves admit. Let any one enter, on any Sunday, a church in the poor quarters of Paris, and he will see there more working people, men and women, than in all the churches of London put together, those of the Ritualists perhaps excepted. As the *Church Review* lately said:—

“Sacrament Sunday has lost us ‘the common people.’ This is a phenomenon unique in religious history, including under that phrase the history of false religions as well as true, of Paganism as well as Christianity. No one was ever so independent of the forms and observances of his national faith, being at the same time not a professed infidel, as the ordinary uneducated Englishman. We do not speak of a failure to produce the highest results, but of a failure to produce any tie, to exact any adherence, to make religion a familiar thing in its external observances, as a necessary aspect of life, or an outward surrounding and profession. The anomaly is not merely that piety languishes, that Christian virtues decay, that *the flesh is too strong for the lower classes*, just as the world and the devil are too strong for the higher, but that for the lower classes the Church and her system should be remote and unrecognized objects, taken for granted by them as not being for them, and in which they recognize no claims and no beauties that answer to something in their individual mental history.”*

If, then, we may accept as any “test” of the divinity or superiority of a system the social class upon which it takes most hold, it seems to us that Catholicism must have more of the divine in it than Anglicanism; for Jesus never said, *Divitibus*, but He did say, *Pauperibus evangelizare misit me* (Luke iv. 18). St. Paul himself observed, in his day, that not many rich or great ones were seen among the Christians: *Non multi potentes, non multi nobiles* (1 Cor. i. 26). I may even go further, and say that if there is one system which suits the rich, but is ill adapted for the poor,—and this was true of Anglicanism before the rise of the Ritualists,—there is some reason to think that such a system is not so much divine as “worldly and devilish.”

And why? Because the higher classes of society are something like the Governments which they form and lead; they do not like a popular religion, one that preaches self-denial, sacrifice, devotedness, and equality. They want a religion of silk and velvet, in which dogmas occupy but small space, and irksome duties still less, which amounts, in fact, simply to a moral anodyne, colourless and vague, a feeble, philanthropic philter.

The higher classes of society, and the middle classes, those who are described in England as “well-to-do people,” have but little sympathy

* *Church Review*, 1878, p. 467. See also p. 395, cols. 1, 2.

with clericalism and sacerdotalism. The Ritualists have been made to feel this. They are hated and persecuted because they make some pretensions to the priestly and clerical character. Now Evangelicals, Broad Churchmen, Dissenters, and men of the world do not like clerics or clericalism. And yet, strange to say, it is since Ritualism has restored clerical or sacerdotal customs and claims, since the Anglican clergy has returned to the Mass, to the use of retreats, &c.; since it has begun to lead a more earnest, retired, and austere life, that it has regained to some extent its hold upon the masses of the people. It will, at least, be admitted, that there is a strange coincidence between these two facts, if the one may not be allowed to be the cause of the other.

When we consider the situation of the world in which we live, the various aspirations by which it is stirred, we cannot fail to recognize the same conflict of principles which has left its mark on the ages past. In truth, we are taking our part to-day in one more struggle between the priestly and the imperial power, with this difference, however, that the empire is not represented simply by an individual, but by the multitude. It is a new phase of a conflict which is as old as Christianity itself, the conflict between the natural and supernatural, between earth, as represented by the laity, and heaven by the priesthood. Upon the Continent the battle has long been waging; in England the clerical pretensions of the Ritualists have first awakened the clash of arms.

But why, I ask next, does the Anglican clergy represent a higher social class than the Catholic clergy in France? The condition of society in the two countries offers sufficient explanation; and, moreover, the same proportions being kept, the Catholic clergy of France does occupy a position as elevated in relation to the population around, as does the Anglican clergy in relation to the English people. French society is on the descending scale; under the present testamentary law in France it is impossible for families to maintain their position unimpaired for more than three generations. And with the great families perish the traditions which form the strength of the country. When whole classes are thus sinking to a lower social grade, the individual is carried along with them.

The priesthood in France has little to expect but self-sacrifice; it cannot therefore be deemed strange that those who embrace that calling in the age of fervour and of illusions, should sometimes look back regretfully and falter, or even desert, finding the burden too heavy to be borne. This is the explanation of the defections of which Dr. Littledale speaks, and for which he reproaches the Catholic clergy of France, with, as I think, undue severity. God forbid that we should make heroes or models of these deserters. But let us not, on the other hand, be without bowels and mercies.

Dr. Littledale dwells upon the literary culture of the Anglican

clergy, to which I also pay full and willing homage ; but he reproaches the clergy of France with falling behind in this respect. Is this just? Is it possible that a clergy, despoiled as the French clergy has been, without leisure and without means, paid on an average at the rate of £50 per annum,* should devote itself like the clergy of England to letters and the sciences? Surely this is asking the impossible. We must be fair to all, and judge of men by what it is possible for them to do in the circumstances in which their lot is cast.

To me it seems rather matter for surprise that the clergy of France attains such a degree of culture as is generally to be found among its members ; and in any case, one thing is certain, that they are far better instructed in the proper duties of their profession than other clergy more favoured of fortune. And it is, after all, by the knowledge and the virtues of their profession that the true work of the clergy is done. This Dr. Littledale has admitted and owned, as has many a Ritualist : "Talking, and writing, and arguing against atheism is not much use. Never was more of these things done than in England a hundred years ago, when the Church was all but dead. Praying and working are the true weapons."†

Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale think it strange that the Catholic clergy should live so isolated as they do from the world. They would have them enter more generally into the current of social life, and take a greater part in public affairs.

It is indeed to be desired that the influence of the clergy should be more felt in secular life. And at one time, when Europe was Christian and Catholic, they did occupy notably positions of influence ; but to-day all is changed. The general tendency is towards the separation of the Church from the State, of the spiritual from the temporal ; priests are not wanted in the Councils of State ; there are some who would even go so far as to shut them up within their sacristies.

In such a position of things is not the Church justified in giving her clergy such a special training as may best prepare them for entire self-devotion and self-sacrifice? Is it not the same feeling, or at any rate the recognition of a like necessity, which has led the Anglican Church to found her theological colleges, her Keble College?

VII.

But I must hasten on. One of the great objections raised by Mr. Gladstone against the Catholic system (and in this he is seconded by Dr. Littledale) is that Catholicism, being a religion of *authority*, is incompatible with liberty. Both look upon it as one of the great benefits of the Reformation, that it brought to the surface this

* In this figure, £50, I include not only the salaries paid by the Government in lieu of the property it has appropriated, but also all incidental sources of income.

† On the Reformers, p. 27.

"gigantic question, namely, whether freedom is one of the vital and normal co-efficients for all healthy life and action of the human soul."*

This objection I have met with several times in Mr. Gladstone's writings, but, I must confess, without being able fully to understand it. Does Mr. Gladstone mean that every one has the right and the liberty to think, say, and do whatever he will on all subjects, and on all occasions? If this is what he means, then surely it must be allowed that the Reformation brought in no such liberty. Mr. Gladstone himself admitted this in reference to the English Reformers, at least to the early Reformers, and experience teaches us that never, in any place, under any system, whether political or religious, has such liberty been tolerated. Count Bismark refused this liberty to the Catholics some years ago, as at the present time he is refusing it to the Socialist democrats; and the Swiss Protestants have followed his example. They have proscribed and compromised the Catholics, who were far from claiming liberty to think and to say anything, who were perfectly willing to submit to the strict and equitable laws of their country, who asked nothing in fact but what was the common right of all.

The truth is that absolute liberty is not possible anywhere, either in politics or religion. The liberty of man is restricted, first, by reason; secondly, by his natural conscience; thirdly, by his supernatural conscience or faith.

When a man thinks and speaks *freely* against his reason, he is held to be mad, and is put under restraint. This is the common verdict on liberty of thinking and speaking without regard to the first authority, the authority which is placed of God within us, and which we call *reason*.

When a man thinks and speaks in defiance of natural conscience, he is called a dishonest man, a rogue, a dangerous person, and the law lays its hand upon him as a noxious and unsafe member of society.

Upon these two points there is not in general any divergence of opinion among men. But when it comes to a question of thinking and speaking against the Christian faith, against the Holy Gospel and tradition, as both represented by the Church, there is a difference of opinion at once. Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale regard it as a desirable thing that men should be allowed to think, say, or do anything they please. "For the spirit of the Christian religion," says Mr. Gladstone, "such as we profess it, is undoubtedly a spirit of examination;" while "the spirit inculcated, and generally prevailing, in the Latin communion is a spirit of acquiescence."†

It seems to me that in this objection against the Catholic Church, which recurs several times in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet, there is a great confusion of ideas, a great want of clearness and precision. If Mr. Gladstone had analyzed his ideas, pen in hand, perhaps he would

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, October, p. 446.

† Ibid., p. 430.

have been led to express in a less vague manner this his great grievance against the Catholic Church.

I would call the attention of Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale first to the fact that the Anglican Church does not tolerate *liberty of thought, speech, and action* under all conditions. The Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles impose restrictions on and define limitations to this liberty. The Ritualists are finding out, at this moment, by experience, that, if they enjoy a somewhat larger liberty in the Anglican than they would in the Catholic Church, it is only on condition that they use this liberty in the direction of Protestantism, Rationalism, or Deism. They may deny, they may not affirm; they may violate the rubric of the Common Prayer Book, they may not observe it. Am I not stating facts? What say Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale to these things?

I maintain, then, that if there is a difference between Anglicanism and Catholicism in this respect, it is a difference of degree, not of kind, and I hold that the difference is entirely in favour of Catholicism.

What, in fact, does the Catholic Church say? She says, "I do not forbid you to study, to examine, to think for yourselves, provided only that you do all this in submission to my authority, *because that is an infallible authority*. I have received a commission to teach; anything, therefore, which I have taught or may teach, you are not at liberty to deny or contradict, under pain of ceasing to belong to the Catholic Church. If you desire to study the Scriptures, follow the *unanimous* tradition of the Fathers, and never forsake it, or you will fall into error. You desire to speculate, you form schemes and theories? Think, speculate, speak, and write; but if one day I say to you, Beware, you are in error; what you are saying is not true, or is dangerous, you must be ready to submit at once."

This then is the practice of the Church. Is it unreasonable? Does Mr. Gladstone think that the *license* to think, speak, and write granted by Protestantism has produced good results on the social and spiritual life? In Germany it has killed religion. In England it has given birth to one hundred and fifty sects, and it will one day kill religion there, if Catholicism does not save it. This the Ritualists are as ready to avow as ourselves:—

"The reflection that on the Continent of Europe there is no refuge from Romanism even in its Vatican form, ought to reconcile us to our lot as members of the Church of England. Nearly everywhere on the Continent now Romanism is honeycombed with infidelity, and flings back men who wish to be Christians on a harsh though disagreeable alternative. Scepticism progresses in the Prussian Church, which is at this moment agitated by the fact that of thirty thousand parishioners, nine hundred have protested against a pastor who 'denies' the supernatural, and, therefore, cannot believe in *Christ*. Similar revelations crop up in the Protestant Church of Holland, where the difference between the Low and the High among ourselves becomes a difference between believers and non-believers in the Nicene Creed. Protestantism on the Continent is helpless as a defence of the fundamental verities of Christianity."*

* *Church Review*, 1878, p. 1, col. 2.

But is there, then, nothing latent beneath the complaints of Mr. Gladstone and Dr. Littledale? There is. These two honourable controversialists cannot understand how such truths, for example, as the Immaculate Conception* and the Infallibility of the Pope—truths which up to 1854 and 1870 might be denied by good Catholics—are since that time made obligatory on all members of the Catholic Church.

The case, however, is very simple. These two truths, formerly denied, or, to speak more correctly, disputed by some few, but affirmed by the great majority of Catholics, have been defined, as fourteen or fifteen centuries ago the Consubstantiality of the Word was defined at the Council of Nice, the Divinity of the Spirit at the Council of Constantinople, the Unity of Person in Jesus Christ, and the Maternity of the Virgin at the Council of Ephesus, and the Duality of Natures at the Council of Chalcedon.

I can perfectly understand that the basis of the Catholic system, which is *the infallible and divine authority of the Church to teach*, may be called in question; but if this authority be once admitted, its consequences cannot be disputed. If Christianity speaks of *rationabile obsequium*, it speaks also of submission to and respect for authority. "*Docebit vos omnem veritatem—Ecclesia columna et firmamentum veritatis.*" To a Catholic this is the compendium of faith.

We know, unhappily too well, that the mind of man rebels sometimes, for reasons more or less openly avowed, against the authority of the Church. Revolt is natural to humanity; calm, unhesitating submission is far less so. We know too, however, that men at least the equals of Döllinger and Hyacinthe do accept unquestioningly the precepts and teachings of the Church.

Dr. Littledale cannot see the justice and reasonableness of Cardinal Bonnechose's words: "My clergy is a regiment; I say 'March,' and it marches." I confess that I do not like the word, because it may give offence; but it does, nevertheless, bring out very forcibly one strong aspect of the Catholic Church—the fine discipline which constitutes its strength because its unity. Since the French Revolution the Church in France has been poor, but it is powerful nevertheless, for it is united; and it is united because the Concordat, while it deprived it some years ago of some of its rights, constrained it to draw closer to the Holy See. That Concordat was not of its own making; it was not even the complete triumph of the See of Rome. The Holy See and the Church of France had each to make many sacrifices in

* Speaking of the Immaculate Conception, Dr. Littledale says that the definition of 1854 "*contradicts the well-nigh unanimous testimony of ancient Christendom*" (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for November, p. 822). This assertion, which I have read without surprise in newspaper writings, did astonish me as coming from the pen of Dr. Littledale. If he would be prepared to insure the insertion of an article on this subject in the pages, say, of the *Church Quarterly Review*, we should be prepared to prove to him, on grave and ancient authority, that even outside the Latin Church, the dogma of the Immaculate Conception has been received.

the interests of souls, and they went as far as they could go in the path of concession without failing in duty. Their part was mainly passive. I ask myself, therefore, what account of the negotiations which issued in the Concordat Dr. Littledale can have read, that has induced him to characterize it as "a *plot* of Pius VII. with Napoleon I."?*. If Dr. Littledale will read on this subject the Memoirs of Cardinal Pacca, still better the History of M. d'Haussonville,—who is not, I believe, a Catholic,—he will probably form quite another idea of the part taken in this matter by Pope Pius VII., and will not again apply to it the word "plot."†

VIII.

But I must draw these explanations to a close, thoroughly inadequate as I feel them to be to the complete treatment of the many questions raised in the two articles before me.

Of the reasons which Dr. Littledale gives why Ritualists do not become Roman Catholics, I have found none which may not be brought under one of the three heads described by me as "interested, sentimental, or intellectual motives." He brings out more forcibly some of the points I have touched on, but he says nothing which does not confirm my view of the situation.

I can thoroughly appreciate the delicacy of the position of this religious party, which, conscious of its own strength, and of the good which it is doing or would do, yet finds itself under a constant cross-fire of attack on every hand. It needs some courage for men thus to expose themselves to the charge of being traitors, cowards, deserters, while they are conscious of intentions so widely different. I should, therefore, keenly reproach myself if I had said the least word which could wound the feelings of any such. Nothing that I have advanced has been prompted by any feeling of hostility to the Ritualist party. On the contrary, my one desire is that God may make clear to them the truth, and that they may have the courage to embrace it. It is solely with this view that I have urged and re-urged upon them this question: "What hinders the Ritualists from becoming Roman Catholics?" I beseech them to weigh it calmly, and in doing so to guard against

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November, p. 810.

† In the same place (CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, November, p. 810), Dr. Littledale says that "the same policy is being carried out more and more in the Anglo-Roman body, where the State does not meddle at all;" and that "the bishops in Belgium extort bonds of resignation from the beneficed clergy." What is going on in England we do not know; but we suppose that things are much the same as in France. So long as the *true* benefices of the Church are not restored, and she lives a precarious life, the rules of the Canon law cannot be observed in all their rigour. They apply to a state of things which has been completely changed.

With reference to Dr. Littledale's statement about Belgium—a statement which has appeared also in English newspapers—we give it a categorical denial, if it is intended to describe a general practice. If it refers only to an *isolated fact*, it cannot be used as an argument. It is an illegality, neither more nor less, for which neither Catholicism nor the Holy See can be responsible.

that impatience and irritability which too often characterize their writings. One of them recently wrote as follows:—

“It would be a good thing, I think, if some of our friends would read what was written in past times by Tractarians, Puseyites, Reunionists, and then ask themselves what was the object of the movement, whither it tended, and whether they really belong to it? Are they tending towards the same direction? I think they are not. The object of the Catholic Movement, as I understood it, was to raise the Church of England out of the stupor into which she had fallen, and then to bring her into full communion with the other branches of the one Vine. *The new policy, on the other hand, is only likely to stereotype her insular character, and to prevent her sister Churches recognizing her legitimacy.* From ten to twenty years ago the desire for corporate reunion was expressed by every one who called himself an Anglo-Catholic. Year by year we heard of the wonderful increase of members of the A. P. U. C.: now one hears next to nothing of that excellent society; I doubt if it maintains its former numbers, much more that they are increasing; *while abuse of Rome and Roman authorities has taken the place of a perhaps too deferential tone towards them.* It seems to me that there is something wrong somewhere, and I end as I began by asking, Whither are we drifting?”*

There is no worse counsellor than passion. It may be that some Catholics have occasionally been unjust to the Ritualists, but I am certain that even those who have erred the most in this respect would willingly give their lives to lead them into the truth.

ABBÉ MARTIN.

* *Church Review*, 1878, p. 242, col. 2.

WOMAN IN TURKEY.

Les Femmes en Turquie. Par OSMAN BEY, Major VLADIMIR ANDRYOVICH. Paris: Calmann Levy.

THE rights of conscience and civil and religious liberty are phrases so often in use that we seldom stop to ask their meaning. In England they probably mean perfect liberty of thought and action in so far, but in so far only, as that thought and that action do not interfere with an equal degree of liberty in others. It is very seldom that it can do so as long as this liberty is confined (subjectively) to the domain of thought alone; but when we speak of the province of human action (in an objective sense), it is difficult to see how men can avoid coming into collision and jostling each other in consequence of divergent religious opinions. The external aspect of a Protestant, a Roman Catholic, or a Mahometan country is something quite distinct in each case. The State religion influences the administration of justice, the regulation of the police, the course of literature, the freedom of the press, and all the general habits of a great people. England is not like France, France is not like Turkey. To say therefore that the question of the East should be argued out and thought about quite independently of morals and religion, is to ignore alike the teachings of history, and the real facts of the case as they are brought before us at the present day. "The Mahometans, be it observed, consist not of one race, whose members are united by any tie of consanguinity or influences of climate. It is a mass composed of heterogeneous elements, cemented by a common faith, and attached to certain habits." This mass has for its sole principle of cohesion the Mussulman religion. Were it permitted me to borrow from things mechanical a vulgar comparison, I, with the writer of "*Les Femmes en Turquie*," would say—

"You may consider Mussulman society under the form of an immense wheel, in which faith in 'God and Mahomet his prophet' takes the central place, and the domestic life and manners those of the spokes and fellics. How is it possible to do

away with the smallest parts of the wheel without disturbing the whole mechanism? In like manner, you cannot touch the smallest of the recognized manners or customs of Ottoman society without deranging its whole organic being. The bands which link together the faithful believers once dissolved or broken, immediately considerations of nationality would prevail, and the Greek, the Slavic, the Armenian Mussulmans would group themselves round fresh centres. Different races would take the place of a great Empire, and the crumbling away of the old edifice would infallibly follow any attack made upon its fundamental constitution. The harem therefore, domestic slavery, and all the absurdities of the Mahometan law must be looked upon as indispensable adjuncts to the Turkish Empire and to the powers who have guaranteed its integrity."

Such are the words of the author of the work before us. It is a subject which has by no means passed away with the Bulgarian horrors and with the late war. Rather has its importance grown upon us and increased with the new responsibilities that the English Government has taken upon itself in connection with the Anglo-Turkish Convention, which, we are told on high authority, is the necessary complement of the late Berlin Treaty. The work to which we propose to call attention is divided into two parts, the first, "The Turks and their Wives;" the second, "The Harem in connection with Slavery."

Both these points touch the social and political aspect of Turkey, and cannot be said to include religious considerations *distinctively* so called in Western Europe. In point of fact it is one of the characteristics of modern life strictly to limit the sphere both of religion and theology, whereas the ancient religions, especially Mahometanism, include within their province all the varieties of thought and action which form the aggregate of our practical duties.

The East has long been noted for the subordination of woman. Her subjection is not only practised by Mussulmans and Buddhists, but even by Christian Churches. At the same time it must be openly avowed that Mahometanism has as it were put the final seal upon this tendency; and if we are to be fair judges of the fearful amount of evil for which the false Prophet is responsible, a full examination of the position offered by him to woman in this world and the next is essential. "The Koran represents woman as a 'field,' cultivable or not as the possessor desires." While not excluding her absolutely from the blessings of Paradise, it places her there in a low and subordinate position at the feet of her husband. The first and only duty of women is to please him. "Beyond the pale of matrimony, whatever her intrinsic merits, she is reduced to that absolute state of nothingness which best becomes so insignificant a being."

It is in strict accordance with this view that the utmost facility should be given to divorce. "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" is the simple formula pronounced by the husband. It is hardly necessary to add that no such privilege is accorded to the woman.

The language employed in the Koran upon the subject of polygamy is, indeed, not devoid of hesitancy and doubt. It is meritorious for a man to have but one wife; but shortly it is

added. If a man cannot be content with one, four are permitted. Those, it is added, who exercise such "privilege should be benevolent and impartial, not showing the slightest preference for either or any of them." How possible it is for a man to love even two women at the same time and in a similar degree, is the test and condemnation of so dreadful a system. The Koran, however, enters into the most minute details as to the manner in which this difficult project may be carried out. Not only is each wife entitled to a distinct apartment, where she is served by slaves who are dependent upon her alone, but she has an indefeasible right to a separate table, nay, even to a private door and a separate staircase.

The house of a Turkish grandee is therefore divided into separate apartments, perfectly alike and furnished in the same manner. The wives of one and the same husband are placed upon a footing of apparent, but not real equality, for, as has been well said, "the interior of the harem is really regulated, not by the precepts of the Koran, but by the whims of its own lord and master." We all know the effects of self-indulgence,—how one act of sin, carelessness, and injustice, leads to another, and thus by an easy descent the whole moral being becomes one mass of putrifying corruption. To this degradation Christian marriage opposes a check. Those who have taken each other for life, for richer for poorer, in sickness and in health, find that they must either put up with each other's weaknesses and failings, or break at once with *God* and lose character with man. In Mahometan countries the reverse of this takes place. The family, instead of keeping its place, is in a constant state of deterioration. The bride comes to what she feels may only be a temporary home. Hence her efforts are directed not to the permanent moral improvement of her husband, but to the perfection of those base arts which tend to lower his real character. These may endure for a time, but are fleeting in their very nature. As the exertion of a noble mind ever leads on to fresh and elevating efforts, the resistance to evil, once overcome, ever opposes a feeble barrier to the indulgence of sensuality, which grows by what it feeds on.

This sad moral decline is well given in the little book before us, in the form of a "short typical history of a Turkish home in the higher class." The manners of the people of Constantinople are graphically described. The author of this book conceives that he can give a more accurate description of Turkish life than previous writers.

"Foreigners," says he, "who have hitherto described Turkish manners are but like spectators placed before the stage, witnesses of what may be shown to them. None of them has ever been behind the scenes, still less been intimate with the actors. Now it is behind the curtain that I desire to introduce you, where you can take a near view of every object, and judge for yourselves."

"In Turkey there are two sorts of marriage. A man may either choose his wife or he may buy her. Marriage by choice is union with a free-born girl of Mussulman parentage. Marriage by purchase is that which is contracted either with slaves, or girls reputed to be such."

The author devotes himself to the description of the first of these at considerable length, and in the form of what may be called a novelette, most entertainingly written:—

“To place the reader more completely *au fait* with the mode in which such marriages are conducted, it might be well, I conceive, to choose a case, and to picture the various legal forms in the persons of those who are bound to conform to them.

“Let us then assume that there is a young gentleman of the name of Izzet Bey desirous of marriage, and let us follow him closely through the forms and negotiations which will bring about the desired result.”

Here is the description of an old Turkish dowager setting out on a voyage of discovery to look at the young maidens who may perhaps be found suitable “matches” for her son:—

“Once prepared, the mother of Izzet Bey sets herself to her task without delay. She makes it her first business to inform herself about the young marriageable girls who might suit her son. This information she gets from her friends, her acquaintances, and also among those women who make a trade of carrying the gossip of the day from house to house.

“As soon as she thinks herself fully informed, Izzet Bey’s mother, furnished with the addresses of a certain number of marriageable girls, gets into her carriage, and knocks at the doors of certain habitations. It is worthy of remark that no previous notice of such visit is the least necessary. Still less does it enter into her plans to furnish herself with some letter of introduction, by means of which the interested parties might be able to have at least some slight knowledge of each other before embarking in such serious negotiations. To join together hearts, or, in other words, arrange matches, is in the eyes of a Turkish lady a work of merit. Can we then wonder that testimonials are unnecessary, when the best testimonial that can be brought is to engage in such an undertaking?”

Then follows the account of an interview between the two old ladies:—

“The mother of Izzet Bey is then sure, whenever she may present herself, of the most warm and courteous welcome. Custom has decreed that it shall be at the moment when the slaves approach to take off her veil and cloak that she tells them of the object of her visit. The young girl’s mother, made aware of the object of the visit, makes haste to join the stranger, and place herself by her side on the divan. Already, however, she has given her commands that the young lady shall be dressed, and her hair arranged with all possible care, in order to produce a first startling effect upon the mother of her future husband. While the young person is at her toilette, the two ‘mammās’ employ their first *tête-à-tête* in those compliments and commonplace civilities of which women are in every country so prodigal, when they have nothing of real importance to say.

“The young girl enters. Blushing and embarrassed, with uncertain step, she approaches the stranger, bending downwards with graceful action, in order to seize and then to kiss the hem of her garment. She then retires a few steps, and remains standing in the humble attitude of a slave subjected to the inspection of a purchaser. As soon as Izzet’s mother has set eyes upon the young girl the first words which escape her are, ‘Mach Allah! Mach Allah!’ the meaning of which is ‘A miracle from God! a miracle from God!’ This exclamation, taken from the Koran, is always ‘the correct thing’ whenever we desire to express the admiration produced in our minds by an animated being, whether a beautiful woman or a fine horse, &c. The Mussulman faith attributes to these words a power and virtue of their own, that, namely, of averting and paralyzing the influence of the evil eye.

“After the inevitable ‘Mach Allah,’ a minute examination of the young girl begins. Izzet’s mother, with the eye of an expert, begins her examination with the face, and exclaims with enthusiasm,

“‘Mach Allah! Madame, your daughter is like the moon, the full moon! How black are her eyes and her hair. Mach Allah! Her hair reaches down to her feet; her well-rounded figure is perfect; and what a skin, like ivory. Mach Allah! Were she a slave she would be well worth a thousand purses!’ (about £4,000).”

The young girl retires; money matters are hinted at, but nothing definite is settled, for upon leaving the house Izzet's mother immediately goes elsewhere for the purpose of enacting a similar comedy.

No sooner is the old lady at home, than she repairs to her son, who is full of fun and cajolery, anxious to know the result of these proceedings:—

"She then tells all that has occurred on her tour of inspection. One by one she enumerates the houses she has visited, and the fair houris she has seen. In such-and-such a family there was a 'sweet blonde,' yet one who in certain respects is hardly suitable. In another I have seen a charming creature, daughter of a rich Egyptian merchant. Yet the mother does not feel disposed to receive a son-in-law into her establishment; her object is to get rid of her daughter. 'Oh, my dear boy,' cries the mother, with emotion, 'I think I have really found the wife you want. She is the daughter of Hadji Usam Effendi, whose house is on the El Meidan. She is pretty; she is charming.' Then follows in detail such a description of her person as I have already given to my readers. Naturally such a portrait inflames the young man's imagination, who already dreams of paradise. 'In a word, dear Izzet,' says she, 'to cut short all inquiry, this girl is a real gem. As to her connections, all I can say is, that the young man would be in good luck who enters such a family.'"

Some remarks follow of a very sensible kind, on the nature of love in Mahometan countries, founded more upon the mere sensual aspect of its object than with us; it is both more violent and less durable. It partakes more of passion, less of sentiment, and is grounded upon desire rather than upon esteem:—

"So long as he has not seen the object of his dreams, the Mussulman's head is fairly turned. Once beheld and known, this ideal being disappears, and the true person who takes her place is discovered to have all the failings inherent in poor human nature. From that moment all attraction is gone, and the imagination, in its disappointment, turns to seek some charmer, always incomparable while she is unknown. The same delusion is repeated over again, till, going from one ideal to another, a man finds himself with four very matter-of-fact wives on his hands, not to mention certain old acquaintances of a less honourable kind."

These remarks have all the graphic characteristics which belong to the observations of a faithful eye-witness. They show how the grossest evils strike into a social system, and incorporate themselves with human affections, and that without the slightest idea upon the part of the wrongdoer how sinful an action he is committing. "What every one says must be true" is a dangerous form of fallacy, but its consequences are far less fatal than those of its correlative, "Whatever everybody does must be right," are to the maintenance of virtue.

Those who best know the secret of happy marriages are well aware how a certain amount of intimacy among young people tends to secure ultimate happiness. "Give and take" is the sole foundation of well-assorted wedlock. In this department, as in most others, life is a compromise; and it is only by becoming aware of the moral weakness as well as moral strength of the young lady, when a man attaches himself, that he can arrive at a tolerable estimate. After all, it is not in the ball-room, but in the family *grande*, but in the *petite comité*, that a man should c the wretched system of Turkey, however, all that

groom is permitted to hope for are a few furtive glances. The young lady may catch a glimpse of her future husband from behind the lattice of her prison-like home, or the young gentleman may see his intended as she glides through the fashionable street in a close carriage:—

"To show the young girl to Izzet a fresh rendezvous must be agreed upon. The *confidante* entrusted with the mission of informing the young man of time and place, enters his room, and, elated with almost a boisterous joy, thus addresses him:—

"'Mudji! mudji!' (Good news! good news!). 'What am I to have for it, my Bey!'

"'Whatever you please; only speak out.'

"'Well, then, to-morrow, at four o'clock in the afternoon, you will be expected at the "Sweet Waters." If you see a yellow carriage drawn by greys look well into it. The lady in the pink fradji is our well-beloved.'

"From this moment the heart of poor Izzet begins to beat violently; his imagination is more and more active; hours and minutes are ages for him. All night long the yellow carriage, with its grey horses, is passing and repassing before his eyes.

"At an early hour he dresses himself, and repairs to the Sweet Waters. Arriving two hours before the appointed time, he seats himself in some well-selected shady nook, from which he can observe any yellow carriage. On a sudden the signs agreed upon announce to him that his intended is coming. He at once rises, and anxiously looks into the very recesses of the coach. She passes by, and the entranced young man sees for the first time the veil and the cloak which cover his future wife. With this he must be satisfied, and, as a token of gratification, he makes a low bow, which she gracefully returns. Thereupon the coachman lashes his greys, leaving poor Izzet quite overcome by the rather singular apparition."

The preliminaries are soon arranged, and we have then, in great detail, a full and accurate description of a Turkish marriage, the guests, the trousseau, and all the accompanying festivities. All these are admirably painted—touched with a master hand; and we wish that we could entertain our readers with a complete translation of every word. Time and space render this impossible. After narrating the humour of the crowd, and the arrival of the bridegroom at his lady's house, our author describes his first view of the fair bride.

Escaping from the crowd—

"Izzet directs his steps to the staircase. He ascends it with a grave and solemn step, for he has caught a glimpse of a figure on the landing, clad in a thick, rose-coloured veil, whose profile presents to him a delightful vision. He approaches her without uttering a word, and gazes at her for some time without the slightest sign of life being given by this motionless being. On a sudden the statue clad in garments fringed with gold makes a turning movement, as if mechanically wheeling upon some pivot, and stands face to face with her admirer. The latter, as a gallant gentleman, places his hand under the arm of his idol, and accompanies her to the nuptial apartment. Immediately upon entering it, she goes straight to a baldachin, under which a throne has been made ready for her. Izzet places her on this throne without venturing to disturb a single fold of the veil which conceals from him the beauty of his future spouse. He then retires, with marks of the most profound respect, and rejoins his friends, who are waiting for him in an apartment set aside for gentlemen."

He then admitted.

the young lady and her throne, the curious
divan, of which the carpet and cushions

are adorned with silk, or composed of velvet with a golden fringe. This furniture is *de rigueur* in the nuptial chamber. Next a visit is made to see the trousseau and the dresses of the bride. This domestic exhibition is protected by a gilded railing, which permits of everything being seen but not touched—a necessary precaution, for in such cases thieves under cover of a veil are far more dangerous than thieves with the face exposed.

It would seem that in the marriage feast, the strict precepts of the Prophet with regard to what we now-a-days call total abstinence are little observed:—

“The whole evening is passed in the bridal house in one series of carousals, while the musicians and dancing girls do their very best to entertain the guests.

“Among the men, spirits replace the refreshment of rose water, which is extremely popular with the ladies. Mussulmans now-a-days care but little for the strict interdict put by the prophet upon spirituous liquors. They fancy that after centuries these laws have ended by repealing themselves, and have, in short, evaporated, leaving behind them as a neat residuum a certain amount of pure alcohol. At marriage feasts, especially, this happy faith finds fervent adherents, for, with the exception of the bridegroom and his father-in-law, we may be sure to find, after seven in the evening, the majority of the guests either lying upon the ground or reposing at their full length upon the divan.”

The departure of the guests is followed by a *tête-à-tête* interview between the bride and bridegroom. It requires a master hand to depict such scenes with a just regard to truth on the one hand and moral delicacy on the other. We shall therefore leave the newly married pair within the nuptial chamber, to which they are conducted by a eunuch holding a flambeau in his hand. We can hardly, however, pass over this word “eunuch” without hinting at the horrors it recalls. The delicacy we have just alluded to is not that which shuns plain speaking but rather courts it, and while avoiding all that can make vice alluring, seeks the exposure of infamy without an attempt to flinch.

The Anglo-Saxon race, which has made such noble sacrifices for the abolition of predial slavery, will never shrink from doing its duty in the matter of domestic slavery, which, if in some respects less cruel, is certainly in many of its features not less corrupting. We imagine, from all we have heard from recent visitors to Egypt, that the horrors of the middle passage and the slave ship might fairly be paralleled in horror, if not in kind, by the mutilations of Gondokoro.

Let us, however, leaving this distasteful theme, recur once more to our author's pages, and hear what he says of the prospects of the “happy pair” now domiciled in their new home:—

“After marriage comes business, after business care. Such is the touchstone by which we can unfailingly discern whether a marriage such as we have described has the sanction of right reason.

“There is a saying, ‘The Turk first acts and then takes counsel.’ It is an old one, and well known, being no less applicable to social than to political matters. A Turk does first what comes into his head, and afterwards is not slow to acknowledge he has committed an act of folly. All means are then allowable to get out of the scrape. Thus it is with marriage, and daily experience only brings out into bolder relief

the truth of the proverb. Were it possible to arrive at the statistics of Turkish marriages, it would be found that out of ten unions contracted in the same year not more than one has a fortunate issue. Of the nine remaining six end in divorce, and the three last are lost in the sinuous paths which are a necessary part of polygamy.

"A well-disposed, honest Turk may indeed say to himself, 'What is the use of such a number of wives? They do but bring multiplied troubles and misery. One woman is neither better nor worse than another. When I have got one I keep her, for in making a change I might have, perhaps, worse luck. My happiness and repose are of more importance to me than all the wives in the world. Why run any fresh risk in a matter of such importance?'"

These very practical views, this sound common sense, is the groundwork of the few happy marriages which are still to be found among Mussulmans. Not that even this implies anything like what would be called in a Christian land single-hearted devotion. Those, however, who are best acquainted with polygamy will not fail to acknowledge how manifold, even with such a drawback, are the advantages of a system in which one woman alone rules the establishment, and takes rank with the husband.

"The first cause of the inconstancy of the Turk, and the premature eclipse of married joys, is what I have above indicated. When a man is foolish enough to trust his destiny to the favour of the stars he need not be surprised if heavy clouds soon darken the skies of married existence. For after the first fortnight Izzet and his spouse" (to whom the author gives the name Zerah) "see dawning upon the horizon disquieting signs of misunderstandings. The cause is a mutual disenchantment. Two over-excited imaginations, suddenly brought into contact with real life, cannot fail to have upon each other a chilling and bitter effect. Izzet finds out that Zerah is not in reality (far from it) the wonder so much boasted of by her mother, and Zerah, on her side, can but see in her dear Izzet a mortal not unlike other mortals who daily pass in front of her windows. Comparing him with the pompous phrases which had been made of his merits, he appears indeed to her but a rueful knight. This mutual disillusion has the natural effect of making the young couple sulky and a little spiteful, and this temper declares itself at first in disparaging remarks and altercations, and next reproaches, and then more serious differences.

"Among the indirect causes which tend to ferment discord, we may note the surroundings of the young people. Little room is there for wonder, if the mother and relations of Zerah do their best to excite the young woman against her husband. They are never tired of telling her 'that young man is trying to live with, and that he does not treat her—a beautiful person like her—as she deserves to be treated.'"

The husband is not likely long to be pleased with a sulky and discontented wife:—

"Influences of a corresponding kind are soon felt among the connections of Izzet Bey. According to their version, the young man has not experienced from his father-in-law, Hadji Usam, that regard which was his due. The family has been shabby to him. The presents made were barely worth mention. These affectionate parents do not even spare the young wife; hints are thrown out calculated to awaken the husband's jealousy; his mother, or some female family friend, will not hesitate to say to him—'Izzet, keep your eyes open, a certain friend of yours is very fond of walking abroad.' Thereupon Izzet in a fury returns home, finds his wife prepared for a walk, tears off her veil, which he thinks too transparent, and satisfies his passion by sending her back with a box on the ear.

"Henceforth the harmony of wedded life is gone, for in spite of several well-intended 'make ups,' complaints and violence follow their appointed course. If my readers think that I exaggerate, I regret that I cannot take them with me into some of the quarters of Constantinople. There would they hear and see many things to confirm my testimony. One night, it would be the sound of music and revelry, mixed with shouts of laughter, and upon asking the reason, the answer

would be, There is a marriage at Hadji Usam Effendi's, or some such name. Another night, frightful cries would suddenly wake them up, and cause them to rush to the windows in alarm. What is the matter? Oh, nothing worth mention. A row is going on at Hadji Usam Effendi's. The newly married couple have had a quarrel, and the husband is beating his wife."

In such circumstances it is as natural as common to think of divorce, for by the laws of Mahomet the woman can suggest no reason against it. The husband has only to repeat, as Abraham did to Agar, "Be off!" and the separation is accomplished. More usual, however, is the fashion to take a second wife, where means are not wanting to support her. Such is more especially the case with the first love, who is, in a wealthy family, generally a person of good connection, and therefore deserving of consideration. She is, also, by law, the mother of the future head of the family.

Of women, however, there is never a famine:—

"Izzet, then, invoking the sanction of religion, sets forth in search of a second wife. The change causes him no difficulty, for by descending only a row or two in the social scale, he easily finds plenty of young girls ready to give him their hand. Fifteen days after the family decision had been made, it is announced that a second marriage of Izzet Bey with Chefkehanum, the daughter of a wealthy rice merchant, has been decided upon. The second marriage is celebrated with fresh splendour, and its sound of triumph re-echoes far and wide, as if to give petty annoyance to Zerah and her family. The first wife indeed can scarcely hide her feelings of scorn. Quarrels, messages, shots of all kinds are fired off between Izzet and Zerah. At one moment it is he who is ordering her to appear, at another it is she who is requesting divorce. One says, 'Come,' the other, 'Let me alone.'

"The issue of the strife cannot be in question, for every advantage is on the side of the husband. He is installed to his heart's content in his new establishment, where the second wife showers upon him all her tenderness and care. As to the poor forsaken one, she is consumed by grief and bitterness, without power of flight, in the solitude of the harem. After several months passed in this way, the family of Zerah consents at length to hoist a flag of truce, and a treaty of peace is signed between the two parties, according to which the lady consents to rejoin her husband, while he on his side engages to treat her with all that tenderness and respect to which a lawful wife has claim. As to Chefkehanum, it is understood that she and Zerah shall live upon good terms, as is fitting in the case of two wives who love and serve the same master.

"It is hardly necessary to say that such arrangements are concluded without any formality, and that the understanding is complete without affixing any sort of signature.

"Zerah finds herself, then, one fine day established in the harem of Izzet Bey, with the title and honours of first wife. This distinction is not of great importance when a husband has only two wives, but when he has acquired several Zerah will rise in dignity. This cannot fail to happen, for one instant, one propitious instant, is enough to carry Izzet into a fresh marriage.

"Such a happy incident occurs in his promotion to the rank of Pacha. For some time the Grand Vizier has promised him a post of consideration. Reports to that effect had already been spread abroad, and the mother of Izzet was half mad with joy. To see her son Pacha had been the dream of her life, and faithful to the superstitions of her race she had made a vow that if the Lord would grant her this favour she would sacrifice several rams, and offer to the acceptance of the new dignitary a fair Circassian.

"No sooner said than done. No sooner is the Imperial firman issued than the good old mother, impatient to accomplish her vow, religiously consecrates to the Pacha, her son, a couple of rams and the aforesaid Circassian. Izzet could hardly with propriety reject this maternal present. He, therefore, accepts the beauty who is brought to him, and raises her to the rank of third wife. This marriage is celebrated quietly without noise or scandal. An iman and two witnesses are enough for the ceremony.

"As to the fourth wife, she too may very possibly fall into his arms by some unlooked-for circumstance. Let us imagine, for example, that a younger brother of Izzet's happens to die leaving his widow inconsolable. Izzet, in the character of an elder brother, takes her into his harem, and does his best to console her by marrying her. True enough, were she old and ugly he would readily transfer to some one else this duty of fraternal charity.

"These unions, called 'of charity,' are permitted, and even recommended by the Koran. Marriage in such a case becomes a charity like any other."

The history of Izzet and Zerah being concluded, there are two more chapters in this part of the work, one upon Mixed Marriages, and another upon Diplomatic Polygamy. They are both extremely interesting as signs of the times. When a building is crumbling away, and the owner has no friends to build it anew, his only hope is in patchwork and compromise; here we find some contrivance to keep out the water, there a clumsy buttress to help the tottering foundation. Never was a religion more skilfully framed for a proud and conquering race than that of Islam. Fraternity among the conquerors, slavery to the Giaour; such was the maxim of the Prophet. But this harsh condition of enslavement was often met by a compromise. If a whole population resisted the dogmas of the Koran, they were permitted to retain their faith upon payment of a certain definite tribute, sometimes exacted in money, not unfrequently in kind. None but the brave deserved Chryseis and Briseis, and whether they had them as captives taken in war, or as slaves bought with money, seemed a thing of trivial import. So long as the warrior caste was taken in boyhood to battle, and trained early to martial exercises, the effeminacy of an offspring reared in the vice of the harem was avoided;—the cross between captor and captive proved a brave soldier. But when civilization changed the state of things, the full results of polygamy were made known, not only in the utter degradation of the woman, but in the sloth and profligacy of the man. A life of excitement had its counterpart in a life of idleness. Men who had lived upon the gratification of savage passions were unfit to become the sons of honest toil. Hence the old saying, which centuries has proved true, "Wherever the hoof of the Sultan's horse treads there is sterility."

It was only natural that, in such a condition of affairs, the diplomatic corps, composed for the most part of enlightened men, and always of men of honour and character, should have tried to make some change. Conferences, we are told, have been held, and some such language as this has been uttered. Thus speaks the Reformer:—

"Enlightened men do not hesitate to avow that polygamy is like a cancer, eating into and destroying our social system. To rid us of such a scourge is the special work of a patriot. It should be the heartfelt wish of every Mussulman to undertake and accomplish it; for the advantages—we may say, the blessings—which result from monogamy are immense, and we know how to appreciate them. For my own part, I could heartily wish that a radical reform were set on foot in our social system, and that the emancipation of woman could lead to the abolition of polygamy. No doubt the day will come when women will walk unveiled

through the streets, and go into society, as they do in Europe; but, alas! I am old, and shall never live to see that happy day."

It appears, indeed, from the account of our author, that not many years ago an attempt was really made, without changing principles to change fashion, and while adhering to the old laws to modify their power. There can be, it was said, no difficulty in certain persons, if they choose, confining themselves to a single wife. Some of the most important personages of the Empire are said to have accepted this reform, which turned out, upon trial, to be more apparent than real, and was always opposed by "the faithful." Several distinguished diplomates, it is said, presented their wives, in European circles, under names hitherto unknown—Madame R., Madame F., &c., &c. The new converts were received graciously; visits were exchanged between them and certain families at Pera; the advocates of monogamy were the objects of something like an ovation of which, it is said, the echo extended from one end of Europe to another. A more miserable failure can scarcely be imagined:—

"After having carried out the first part of their plan, the modification of the practice, these diplomates did not hesitate to show their adherence to the second—to wit, their adherence to the ancient principle; and, with this aim, had recourse to an expedient which enabled each of them, with a strict regard to appearances, to keep up the old establishment of four wives. Thus each of them allotted to himself two or three wives, whom he confided to the care of certain chosen and discreet servants; and, in order that the secret might be the better kept, instead of keeping these ladies in the same place, he divided them between several separate establishments."

A few words upon mixed marriages:—

"The Koran permits a Mussulman to marry a Christian; forbids that Moslem women should be joined to Christian husbands. This enactment is obviously for the purpose of extending the numbers of the faithful, and diminishing those of the Giaour; for thus the Christian girl becomes the mother of Moslems, while by no probability can a Moslem mother nurse a Christian progeny.

"This law bears the seal of its Semitic origin, in the sense of lowering woman, who is regarded in herself as but a little cipher. Woman, in her husband's view, is but a field; and in this way a Moslem may possess himself of the object without worrying himself as to its produce. As a field can have neither faith, nor intellect, nor will of its own, it would be absurd for a man to occupy himself about what a woman believes, thinks, or wishes. She is absolutely nothing but her master's domain. The Moslem thus cultivates it, and reaps the harvest; for the harvest belongs to the proprietor. This explains why the issue of such marriages must be all Moslems, as the father is, both girls and boys."

It has, indeed, been at all times an unusual thing that a Christian woman should marry a Moslem. Such instances may be found, no doubt, in the case of some great man—a Sultan or a Vizier; but it was not unusual to accompany it by some arrangement for allowing the lady the free exercise of her own religion.

Some anecdotes are worth recital, detailing the miseries which have more than once occurred to Christian ladies of good birth and high character, in consequence of their marriage with some Turkish grandee.

"While X. Pasha was in occupation of the Danubian Principalities, he met, in one of the best houses at Bucharest, a young German lady endowed with unusual beauty and accomplishments. He became desperately in love, and succeeded in obtaining her hand. A few years later, in spite of the oaths and protests which had been made to her in abundance, the poor lady found herself one fine day in the street.

"We learn that matters fell out in this wise: X. Pasha, having learnt that Y. Pasha had a very lovely daughter of sixteen of the name of Eminch, became, as was his habit, desperately in love with her, and this merely by hearing the description of her astonishing beauty. Having made up his mind to marry her, he became alive to the fact that the young German lady was an incumbrance in his house. Steps must be taken to get rid of her. The case was a clear one, and presented no difficulty. He was, at that very time in the Crimean war before Sebastopol. He simply called his aide-de-camp to him, gave him a few lines of discharge for his wife, with peremptory orders to turn her out of doors if she made the least resistance. These commands were carried out to the letter, and from that time the unhappy young person has been in various parts of the world seeking an honourable maintenance.

"Another anecdote is borrowed from the history of an elderly ambassador of Turkey, H. Effendi, who married in 1870. He had made the acquaintance of a young lady of good family, whom he sought in marriage, and whose hand was obtained after much difficulty. Diplomats are apt to woo skilfully, especially when their merits are heightened by an official title.

"There was, however, one obstacle to the celebration of this marriage. H. Effendi had already a wife at Constantinople—a relic of his former harem. H. intended, however, when he was married, to reform his establishment, for the lady was not a person who could put up with polygamy, even of a diplomatic kind. The obstacle, however, was not very serious. Divorce settled the matter, and the former gave place to the new wife.

"We have, then, the young bride at Constantinople with her husband, who, leaving the ancient customs and prejudices of his country, sets up his house, and presents Madame H. in European costume to society at large, and declares himself an apostle of the harem reform. All went admirably for a little time, when suddenly Ali Pacha died. He happened to be the protector of H. Effendi. His influence had sustained him against the clamours of the old-fashioned believers. In a very few days H. was deprived of official employment, and banished to Asia Minor."

The last part of the work contains interesting chapters—one upon Slavery in connection with the Harem, &c.; another on the Seraglio. On both of these we shall say a few and a very few words. Domestic slavery is the logical consequence of polygamy; it is in its social aspect a badge and an instrument of conquest and proselytism. The English public are apt to think that with the extinction of slavery in our own colonies and in the United States the slavery question is really at an end. The creed of Muhomet, however, though retrogressive in Europe and stationary in Asia, is in Africa a missionary and proselytizing faith, and is making many converts. Indeed, it may be questioned whether, taking the vast area of its conquests into our view, we can put its numbers at a lower figure than those of all the Christian Churches put together. At Zanzibar, although we successfully negotiated for the suppression of predial slavery, England was obliged to submit to the continuance of domestic slavery.

Two of the points in which domestic slavery seems morally more to be condemned than predial is, first, the mode of its recruitment, and secondly, the objects for which it is kept up. It is unquestionable that in the provinces of Asia Minor the harems of the wealthy are supplied

by children kidnapped from the Circassian and other nations who, in their turn, have been grafted into the bands of true believers. When we consider the vast success of this great religious body we own ourselves deeply impressed not only by the extraordinary wisdom but even by a certain grandeur in the aims of the Prophet. Democracy and strict equality before the law are the very basis of the Moslem creed. Impressed, no doubt, with the wisdom of the Jewish lawgiver, still more impressed with the divine maxims of the Gospel, Mahomet, like the unjust steward, of whom, for aught we know, he may be a true type, knew how to steal just so much of his master's goods as suited his own purpose and to leave the rest untouched. Like Christianity, Islamism is confined to no part of the world, to no sect or nation :—

"Asiatics, Africans, Europeans, Arabs, Moors, Turks, black people, white people, mixed races, all are united in faith in the one true God and his servant Mahomet. They have but to pronounce the holy formula, *La Allah, illa Allah*, to become all brethren and compatriots. Slaves are not excluded from this vast family, of which the Koran is the law and equality the rule. The slave of yesterday may become in the name of the Prophet the brother and compatriot of his master. Thus we see how easy it became for the slave to put up with his lot and enrol himself in the band of faithful believers.

"To facilitate, even in larger measure, the fusion of slaves in the mass of his disciples, Mahomet took care to prescribe as an imperative duty upon the possessors of slaves, that they should treat with gentleness and consideration those whom fortune had entrusted to their keeping. 'These unhappy creatures,' he adds, 'should be looked upon by them as their own children, for whom they are responsible before God.'

"All these plans for the welfare of the slave have evidently but one aim—proselytism,—*i.e.*, the absorption of the slaves into the body of believers; but as this absorption cannot be completed except through the enfranchisement of the slave, Mahomet was emphatic in declaring that one of the most meritorious deeds a Mussulman could accomplish would be the emancipation of the slave who had given proof of his devotion and fidelity to his master."

The following passage strikes us as specially characteristic :—

"Ever treated with humanity, according to the precepts of the Koran, the few years of slavery they were obliged to submit to were to them only a sort of apprenticeship, during which their capacity was brought to light. Emancipation followed, permitting and giving to each full scope to acquire wealth, dignity, and consideration.

"The history of the Ottoman Empire shows with what success the Moslem people made use of slavery to promote their conquests, and in the interests, too, of the slaves themselves, who became their chief auxiliaries. I will quote, as my first example, that Order of Janissaries whose courage and exploits caused the whole world to tremble. These troops were at first recruited among the slaves who were captured in their early wars. Shall we speak of the chiefs and great dignitaries of the empire? A good many of those whose names are written on the page of history have come forth from the ranks of emancipated slaves. As to the Mamelouks, everybody knows that these rulers of Egypt were but the enfranchised slaves who administered this province in the name of the Sultan."

Looking back, then, upon history, we may truly say that conquest has always been to the Turk, and is even in the present degenerate days, the means of supply and the tempting bait to increase the number of domestic slaves. Once procured they become the most active agents in propagating the system of which they are an inte-

gral unit. The cross breeds brought into the world by this agency have ever been among the world's best soldiers and not the least wise of its rulers. All the males belong to the class of proselytizing warriors—while the women, bearing children and staying in the penetralia of a filthy home, become the degraded objects of their master's degraded affections. Such is the mixture of good with evil in this extraordinary religion. If it be said, as it has been, indeed, by a late writer in the *Quarterly Review*, that we have in the Koran itself and in its most revered interpretation, a basis broad enough for the construction of a system of civil and social equality, though never so absolute, without fear of it exceeding by a single hairbreadth the approved orthodoxy of Islam,—our answer is, Quite true, as concerns civil and political rights in the ordinary sense of them; quite true if you were speaking of any other country except Turkey; but remember that social and family rights are prior in order of time, and of infinitely greater importance than the artificial systems of government by political bodies. The spark of liberty is first kindled on the family hearthstone; it is in the mother's heart that is laid the strong foundation of virtue, in the hope that her male child may be, if not great, good and honest, if not a patriot at least an honourable citizen. But where woman is looked upon as a field and not as a person this can never be: where the foundation of the family is rotten, any political edifice raised thereon is but a house built upon the sand. Strange to say, able writers such as those in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, or Baker in his work on Turkey, or the author of a very learned article in the *Quarterly Review* on the Revival of Turkey, never so much as glance at this question, which in the mind of sound thinkers ought to have priority over all others.

Were the question of Turk and Christian any mere dogmatic difference our hopes would indeed rise. Christians a couple of hundred years ago could not live together. The differences between Protestant and Papist were most serious, and the perversion of all patriotic feeling implied in the captivating fallacy, "I am a Catholic first and an Englishman afterwards," threw great difficulties in the way of an enlightened toleration. These have been only overcome by the practical wisdom of Englishmen remembering, whatever theory they may hold, that they are in practice before everything, and above everything, Englishmen,—that dogma must yield to duty; but the difference between the Koran and the Bible is far deeper than that between any two or more portions of a Church, which, whatever differences may divide it, is in its essence one, and one for this simple and potent reason that it holds the Decalogue in the Old, and the Sermon on the Mount in the New, Testament, these and these alone, to be the charter of the moral law. Christianity must stand or fall with its denunciation of slavery and polygamy. Islam not only admits but encourages both.

To sum up an argument, these two dreadful enemies to human

happiness and virtue are engendered in blood-stained fields, by the courage of man and utter submission of woman. They spread rottenness around whenever they come in contact with the growth and civilization of Christianity.

And this brings us to the last chapter of our little book, that on the Seraglio, the domestic establishment of the Sultan.

Fas est et ab hoste docere. And here we cannot help borrowing from the learned writer in the *Quarterly* on the Revival, to whom we have previously alluded, a few words which appear to us strictly to refer to this part of the subject. Happy indeed are we, and shall always be, to give prominence, not to those points on which we differ but to those on which we are at one:—

"First then," says the author, in entering upon the complex and interesting subject of Turkish reform, "a word regarding the imperial palace itself. Let its indwellers call to mind that all the great monarchs who, during three centuries and a-half of vigour unparalleled in any other recorded dynasty, built up and consolidated the mighty empire which two centuries following of the unremitting hostility of Russia and her allies have not yet prevailed to destroy, were, without exception, not immured in dark seraglio recesses, thence to be dragged forth to face, all at once with dazed eyes, the broad light of day and the splendour of a throne, but were brought up from their earliest years in the busiest turmoil of active life, commanders of armies, governors of provinces, vicegerents of empires. With Ahmed I., the first called, in 1603, from the imprisonment of the Kawah, that fatal palace cage, to gird on the typical sword of empire, commenced the progressive enfeeblement, spite of a few noble exceptions; of the old Sultan type in the family of Othman. If, then, that family would not utterly perish it must return to the habits of better days. Nor is it for them a necessity merely of self-preservation; the empire is at stake. '*Balooh bashden kokar*,' the fish rots from the head downwards, says the homely Turkish proverb. In Turkish rule the Sultan will always be, not nominally only, but in very fact, the head, and on his personal qualifications for the post he occupies much will depend, if not all."

These, indeed, are true and eloquent words, but it is equally true that the palace, up to a late period, has been, and still is, the very centre of corruption:—

"The harem of the Sultan has been from all time a separate establishment, completely distinct from the social body of which it is the keystone. It is admirably adapted to the religious and political principles which sustain the great Ottoman empire. The Sultan, in this empire, is all but a divine personage, placed at an inconceivable height above the heads of his subjects. Between him and them there are no intermediate grades. If from the elevation of his solitary grandeur he were to cast his eyes upon any woman who was his subject, he could not raise her to his own level without compromising his sacred dignity, for an alliance between a subject and the Vicar of the Prophet would be thought a stain. Moreover, State reasons, in the East as in the West, are opposed to such marriages—sources of danger to order and to the maintenance of dynasties.

"The houris not being able to descend from the sky and place themselves at the orders of the Padischah, nor the women of the people to rise to his level, it became necessary in order to marry the Sultans to have recourse to some middle term. This, in fact, has been done, and the harem has been furnished with foreign slaves, who have no more to do with the nation at large than with heaven."

The women of the seraglio are then strictly a caste and all slaves; even their dialect is their own. A lady belonging to this exclusive society has but to open her mouth to be immediately recognized. The seraglio, which is the usual residence of the Sultan, is a palace about four times

as large as that of an ordinary European potentate, just as his revenue amounts to about four times as much as the civil list of Her Majesty Queen Victoria. Three-fourths of the vast space are devoted to the penetralia—the female department, while the court rooms are only a sort of annex to the rest of the building. Between the court rooms and the harem there is an immense reception room, used only on great ceremonial occasions. The seraglio contains a phalanx of Georgian, Greek, and Circassian slaves, all bought at an early age.

We are first of all startled by the fact that the sultana who plays the leading part is not the wife but the mother of the Sultan.

The following is a sketch of the establishment taken from our authority :—

- " 1. The Sultana Validé, Mother of the Sultan.
- " 2. The Hasnadar Ousta, Mistress of the Treasure.
- " 3. The Bach Kadine (first of the Sultan's wives), second, third, and fourth ditto, &c.
- " 4. The Bach Ikbâl (first favourite of His Majesty), second, third, and fourth ditto, &c.
- " 5. The Guienzdis. Those young ladies who aspire to His Majesty's favour.
- " 6. The Kadines Effendis (Mothers of Princes and Princesses).
- " 7. Unmarried Princesses.

" Each of these Sultanas and great ladies possesses on her own behalf a special little court of her own named 'Daira,' and consisting of ladies of her suite. In order to show upon what footing these courts in miniature are organized, we will give here the detail of the surroundings of the Sultana Validé. All others are after the same model, though of course upon a reduced scale.

" Her Treasurer.

" Her First Secretary.

" Her Keeper of the Seals.

" Her First Lady, to pour out coffee.

" Her Second ditto, to offer it.

" Her Lady to offer sherbet.

In all a dozen of great ladies with the title of Kalfa, Mistress. Each of these mistresses has under her orders a certain number of young pupils who are called 'alaikes;' hence these alaikes, of the ages of from fifteen to twenty at the utmost, are the lowest grade of the hierarchy.

" They participate in the titles and position of the Kalfa to whom they are attached. As all the Kalfas have five or six of these young slaves, it appears that the ladies attached to the Validé have altogether something like sixty slaves, and that the court of Her Imperial Highness includes something like seventy-five women of all ages."

The court of the first Sultana, though similar in its general constitution to that of the other ladies, is, no doubt, much more numerous.

" Nevertheless fifteen different establishments multiplied by twenty give a total of three hundred women, and if we add to this the seventy-five belonging to the Sultana Mother, we arrive at a total of three hundred and seventy-five, in round numbers four hundred women, who constitute the seraglio."

We trouble the reader with these details because they appear to us to lie at the root of the Turkish question, and to show that it is rather a social than a political evil which is killing the Sick Man.

To mention one only of the manifold ills of this nature which arise from polygamy, the confusion into which inheritances fall: the eldest son of the first wife—to use a legal phrase—*takes* under the Turkish

law, but she, poor lady, long since forgotten, has become a mere piece of lumber, or, it may be, has been divorced. The real favourite with the father is the child of his old age, the son, perhaps, of the last wife. The object then is to get all the others out of the way by expulsion or banishment. At the father's death, if alive, they return, and then begins a source of futile and endless litigation, in which those usually win who have most ready money.

"The high dignity of the Validé Sultana corresponds with that of Empress or Queen in the countries of Europe. But why, it is said, have not the Sultans themselves taken up the notion of sharing the splendours of their throne, as is the case in other monarchies, with one of their wives, or at least one of their favourites? No doubt many of these princes have thought about it. The one great obstacle in a reformation which would have had the effect of placing their well-beloved upon a level with the other crowned heads of Europe is simply the difficulty of making a choice. 'Between two the heart is divided,' says the proverb, but between three or four what must be its sensations? The fears of irritating rivals removed from the throne would doubtless have but feeble weight in the mind of an all-powerful sovereign, possessed of summary and expeditious means of repression. The real difficulty is rather to be sought in the disposition of the master himself. Inconstant by nature, by habit, and by duty, how could he bring himself to fix, by a choice definite and irrevocable, upon her who should wear the crown, and thenceforward figure in the Gotha Almanac as Empress of Turkey? Nor ought we to forget that such triumph on the part of a woman would be a manifest violation of the Koran, which requires perfect equality of treatment, regard, and affection between the wives of one and the same husband."

Next to the Validé Sultana, as a personage of dignity and note in the seraglio, comes the Hasnadar Ousta. She superintends the whole domestic arrangements of this vast interior, and, in case the Sultan should have the misfortune to lose his mother, becomes, by a tradition which has all the force of law, the first lady in this magnificent establishment.

"In the exercise of this lofty influence, which extends beyond the walls of the palace itself, this high official not unfrequently goes beyond her just limits. Thus the hasnadar who succeeded the mother of the Sultan Abdul Medjid in the direction of the Imperial harem marked the time of her rule by a shameful toleration of all the abuses of that sad time. Instead of putting some control over the excesses of vice and dissipation, she on the contrary gave them rein by relaxing the constraints of a wise discipline. Such was the part she took in the embezzlement of the public treasure that her first *Baltadji*, her confidant and factotum, saved for himself alone a fortune of between seven and eight millions of francs. This *baltadji* henceforward was transformed into a sort of little potentate, before whom all the ministers, and specially the Finance Minister, were ready to bow their heads."

Our author passes in interesting review, relieved by graphic and frequent anecdote, the different grades of women who go to make up the whole we have just now described:—

"The first step which separates the common herd of slaves from those who are called upon to scale the slippery ladder of Imperial favour is the class of '*Guienzdis*,' a word which means young ladies under the eye, thus called because, according to an expression as common in Turkey as in Europe, they are brought under the eye of the Sultan."

Time fails us to tell how these poor young creatures are brought "under the eye" of their master. The slightest word of favour, the

most trivial remark on the part of this august being, is sufficient to raise the slave girl into a young lady.

"The Sultana Mother, or the lady whom the Sultan is happening to visit, is perfectly aware of her duty in such a case. By a gesture she informs the slave that she may approach and kiss the fringe of the divan on which the sacred person of his Majesty is seated. After this official presentation the young lady is called *guienzdi*, and immediately quits the establishment of her mistress to inhabit an apartment of her own.

"From this situation to that of '*Ikbal*,' or favourite, the transition is natural and easy. If the Sultan expresses himself well satisfied with his new acquisition, the *guienzdi* takes the title of *ikbal*, a position officially recognized, and to which a monthly salary is awarded, with the honour of a separate attendance and establishment."

Each department of the harem is treated with great detail, and with that graphic accuracy which is a seal of truth. We wish it were possible to give the connected whole:—

"Next to the *guienzdis*, or young ladies under the Sultan's eye, come the '*Kadines*,' or 'acknowledged wives'—I will not say legal, simply acknowledged, for the Sultans have never had lawful wives in the sense in which the Koran calls them lawful. They, indeed, as vicars and successors of the Prophet, should have been the first to conform to his holy law. They have, however, always been of opinion that they could dispense with all legal forms, and do without either witnesses or marriage contract. Their declaration is sufficient to prove that any woman is their wife.

"In suppressing for themselves legal marriage they have also suppressed divorce. Nothing could be more reasonable, for there can be no divorce where there was no marriage. Besides, the principles of the Ottoman court are opposed to a woman united once to the sublime *Padischah*, the representative of God upon earth, being able to remarry with a simple mortal. On the other hand, who would be impious enough to commit such a crime?

"These women are domiciled for life in the *seraglio*. Their existence is not perhaps so monotonous as some would suppose. The education of their children, if they have any, consumes a great deal of their time. Their dress too, their walks, their domestic duties occupy them. Then we have politics and intrigue, for the harem, as may well be supposed, is always the very centre of intrigue. If any of them should be the mother of a little boy, she constantly sees, as in a mirror, the image of her child seated on the throne by her own side, while she is the recognized *Validé Sultana*.

"Each young mother, and those who surround her, then form a clique, who act day and night in the interest of the little prince. He becomes an idol to them, and is overwhelmed by their care and tenderness; their affection for him is something in its essence quite special. '*Arsleem*,' 'young lion's cub,' is the favourite name by which the imperial infant is saluted. The Sultan, being the lion of lions, a *Kadine* will always take care to call her son 'my dear little lion's whelp.' Any other phrase would violate court dignity and etiquette."

We well know, even in civilized Europe, how the luxury, and self-esteem, and fashion of a Court render Court-life acceptable to the majority among us. Many people will very naturally suppose that life in the *Seraglio* may be exceedingly comfortable. An anecdote which our author recounts, proves the reverse. We may remark *en passant* that nothing can be more piquant than many of these anecdotes, scattered up and down the pages of the book:—

"I was," says the author, "formerly very intimate with a certain *Fazli Bey*, whose wife was the sister of the second *Kadine*. My friend *Fazli* then found himself the brother-in-law of the Sultan—no small honour, but one from which he gained little advantage, for he was always full of embarrassments. His wife, a person of intelligence and active habits, found means to carry on her household, thanks to

the frequent visits she was in the habit of making to her sister, the Kadine, who always sent her home with pockets very full. One day my mother and I were the witnesses of a strange scene which took place at her house. Fazli's wife, who had paid a visit in the morning to the seraglio, came back quite overcome and trembling. We ran to meet her, being impatient to learn the result of a proceeding which she had intended to take with regard to her sister. She did not make us wait long, and had scarcely uncovered her veil before she exclaimed—

“The Kadine Effendi refuses to see them. Never, she says, can she receive a father and mother who sold her. She has, however, sent them a small present (in isham) to enable them to go back to Circassia.”

“This was the answer of the Kadine to the petition of her sister in favour of her father and mother, who had recently come from the country to solicit some charitable aid.”

It is natural to ask what becomes of these queens, or kadines, after the death of their husbands, and to this natural question we have a very explicit reply, which it seems worth while to translate:—

“Scarcely has the Sultan drawn his last breath, when his wives, his favourites, in short, all the women whose power is now at an end, are desired to be ‘off’ within four-and-twenty hours. This change of scene is a veritable rout. It may rather be compared to a shipwreck, when each passenger tries to lay hold of some means of safety, by which she may float on the surface, and may be prevented from sinking into the deep, where all are forgotten—that is to say, the depth of the Old Seraglio. Thither are transferred those of the kadines and favourites whom their sterility had already condemned. Those who are mothers alone are allotted the protection of the imperial palace, for reasons of State make it unadvisable that they should be removed from the superintendence of the heir of the empire. As to the other ladies, they must disappear with their slaves and female attendants, although, perhaps, there may be some among the latter who, thanks to fresh patronage, find the means of lodging themselves in the little female courts which are formed upon the old ones.

“The Old Seraglio, situated at the extreme end of the Palace, is a sad and lugubrious building, a very tomb, where human beings are buried alive. Imagine a mediæval castle, with its lofty crenelated walls and its narrow windows, the whole surrounded by a thick and dark mass of ancient cypresses; one may then perhaps form a correct idea of the retreat which, as in a prison, confines the fallen goddesses of the harem.

“Beyond the apartments destined to the ladies, the Old Seraglio also contains a number of buildings; among which may be reckoned the Imperial Treasury, the Library, the Mosque which contains such relics as the Standard of the Prophet, his beard, &c. There is it, under the shadow of these religious souvenirs, that the poor abandoned beauties of a former Ottoman court have to submit to the most severe seclusion. Their goings in and out are confined to what is strictly necessary, and their relations with the world strictly watched. Such are the suspicions of their new sovereign, which cause them doubtless to regret the uncertain affection of their defunct husband. Poor souls, thus placed between the jealousy of the dead and the living! But reasons of State cannot listen to the dictates of the heart. Each Sultan looks upon himself as the responsible guardian of the honour of his predecessors, and in this capacity he is bound to take care that the widows of these princes (or whatever their title may be) should be subject to strict and watchful supervision.

“This seclusion, however, is not for life, and with time the jailor shows himself more complacent, and relaxes in some degree the severity of his watch. This indulgence is not shown until those who are thus confined have passed the period of temptation. It is when the amiable Kadine has reached her fiftieth year that the reigning Sultan places at her disposal one of the royal residences, and begs her to act as she pleases.

“As to the Sultan Abdul Aziz, it is said that he was exceedingly severe with regard to the women who belonged to the court of his brother and predecessor, Abdul Medjid. It is even whispered that some of these ladies, the Kadine Servinass, for instance, were sent by his order, not indeed into the Old Seraglio, but into that better world where, perhaps, their premature death may in some measure expiate the excesses of every kind committed by them during the reign of Abdul Medjid.”

The Sultanas or unmarried daughters do not merit much notice. We observe one omission, however, in this work: little is said on the subject of the male education received within the walls of the seraglio. The lady secretaries, too, receive very brief notice. To the wet-nurses a much longer chapter is devoted. We mention these points because, as it seems to us, they show what domestic slavery in the East really is, and shed fresh light upon Oriental manners. The tie of foster-brother and foster-sister is considered in Turkey to be one of the closest, and the duties of maternity are discharged, according to Turkish notions, almost in a fuller sense by her who nourishes than by her who bears the child. The wet-nurse with her progeny, therefore, always takes rank in the family of those whom she has nursed. Inasmuch, however, as it is not permitted to any Turkish free-born subject to enter the seraglio, when a wet-nurse is wanted, a Circassian slave must be bought with her infant, wherever they can be procured, and, so to speak, outside the regular market. A traffic of the utmost infamy is thus brought about. Some wretch must be sought out willing to dispose of both wife and child. This, even according to the code of the Koran, is a gross abuse, for neither can a woman who is the wife of a free Mussulman nor can his child be sold into slavery.

The mass of the slaves in the harem is divided into two classes, "the Kalfas" and "the Alaikes," a superior and an inferior order—to put it briefly, the mistresses and the apprentices.

It is a touching thing to reflect upon, that just as in the human body the deprivation of any particular sense gives what may be considered an artificial and preternatural acuteness to another, so in the condition of slavery love, deprived of its natural outlets, finds its employment in unusual channels. The Almighty tempers the wind to the shorn lamb.

"The close tie which is set up between a Kalfa and her apprentices is a touching example of the intimate relation which may be formed between human beings by that sympathy which common duties, interests, and habits inspire. Both in a condition of slavery, the Kalfa and the Alaïke love to support each other: in one sense they seem to form but a single being. Marriage itself cannot dissolve the union."

"The musicians and the *corps du ballet*;" "the slaves of the lowest rank;" the discipline; the drives and walks; the necessary changes of air for the sake of health; the eunuchs and other go-betweens; male servants, stewards, stable-boys, are the subjects of separate chapters, and of comment brief and pungent.

There are also two chapters on the "General Establishment of the Court and its Annexes," which conclude the work.

Exceeding as our extracts have done our intention when we took up our pen, we must find room for one or two more, throwing infinite light, as we think, upon parts of this terrible and distasteful subject upon which the public in England is yet hardly well informed.

That corporal punishment should be inflicted at all upon women is infinitely disgusting, but what can we say to such a passage as this?—

"Discipline is maintained in the seraglio by repressive measures and corporal punishments. The first consist in a refusal of permission to go out, being locked in, &c. Corporal punishments are designated by the word 'to abandje,' which signifies the bastinado on the soles of the feet, a penalty the use of which goes back to the good old times of the Japanese.

"In the present century the reforming spirit has penetrated everywhere, and the bastinado has undergone a sensible diminution, at least for the person of the sufferer.

"The practice of striking young girls upon the soles of their feet with the risk of laming them has been quite abandoned. Blows are given elsewhere; it would be hard to say with precision on what part of the person. It is well understood that rods are substituted for the stick. The eunuchs are charged with the execution of the sentences."

It is added that it is "of strict etiquette that all the young women in the seraglio should be draped with very light clothing. Half *décolletée* is the usual rule. In summer such a dress is highly agreeable, but in winter it is the perpetual cause of colds and lung-disease to the poor young girls who have to wait whole hours for the commands of their mistresses."

The whole domestic service of the Palace is performed by Mussulmans, as the harem is peopled only by slaves. The following tale strikes us as a most extraordinary one:—

"The mother of Abdul Medjid, for example, was a maid-of-all-work. She was occupied in warming the baths in the Palace. Chance would have it that one day she fell in with the Sultan Mahommed as he was going to his bath. A caprice burst like lightning through the soul of the Sultan, and without ceremony the servant-girl received from His Majesty the lofty distinction of Kalfa. It is more than probable that after a few minutes' reflection the Sultan regretted his precipitation; but he had given his word, and the result was that this chance maid-servant gave birth to a prince, and was proclaimed, a few years afterwards, Sultana Valide.

"What a wonderful jump—from the wash-tub to the throne! It is a true tale of the 'Thousand-and-one Nights.'

"To go back to the servant-girls: their number amounts to two hundred. It is time that we should now add up the total number of the female population of the harem, and I find that it approaches something like a thousand women, instead of the four hundred (wives and favourites), the very modest calculation at first brought before my readers. A thousand women! It is a grand collection. Again, in this number we do not take in either those who are banished to the Old Seraglio or those attached to the small harems or little courts of the princesses, though strictly speaking these should be reckoned as making part of this astounding mass of women, for they depend for everything and in everything upon the Imperial Harem and the Civil List.

"Here then we have a population of about two thousand women, a regiment of something like three battalions, but of which the cost cannot be less than that of twenty."

We here finish a subject to us infinitely sad and infinitely disgusting. It is probably for the latter reason that it is hardly touched upon by writers who profess to give an account of the State of Turkey. It is unpleasant, it is shameful. Talking of it does no good.

But for all this it is an important factor, if not the most important,

in reviewing the political condition of Turkey and the East in general. Where Turkey has been great, it would not be difficult to show that it has been so in spite of the corruptions which polygamy, luxury, and slavery entail, by an exercise of those great military instincts which in a noble race enable human nature to appear noble among the basest surroundings. Turkey, when she falls, will owe her fall to a corrupt social state, which is the necessary result of the Mahometan religion. We were interested to observe that in a work which has just issued from the press,—Mr. Nassau Senior's *Conversations with Guizot, Thiers, &c.*,—Chrznowski, a Polish gentleman who appears to have occupied a position in high society very like that which Count Streletzki did in our London world, is reported to have said, "The Turks are, without exception, the finest material in the world for soldiers; but their officers are abominable, and their non-commissioned officers equally bad." This opinion was uttered when France and England were about to fight side by side in the Crimea. It has been amply confirmed by the results of the late campaign of 1877, and by the siege of Plevna. The reason is obvious. The soldiers are brought up in the fields, the officers in the harems, where lust, twin sister of cruelty, alternates with an almost feminine cowardice. We hardly know which most to condemn, the indolence which kept the Sultan in Constantinople while his brave armies were perishing in the field, or the reckless neglect of human suffering which induced the courageous but rash Sulieman Pasha to hurl his battalions (without a ray of hope that they could succeed) against the unassailable positions of a Russian force in the Schipka. But we are not writing the history of a campaign. We call attention to a cancerous disease which is devouring the very life of our ally, and which is unfortunately incurable. The very essence of the Turkish Constitution is the position of the Padischah, his army, and his seraglio. What an eloquent writer calls the dim twilight of Turkey's decline can no more be arrested by the battalions of England than the course of the sun itself. We may attempt to skin over the sore, but we cannot probe it to the bottom, unless we root out the real fibres of disease, the corruption which taints the relation of the sexes,—the utter disorganization of the family.

It has been said that the publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" went far to destroy predial slavery in America. Whether that be true or not we do not venture to affirm, but the facts disclosed produced a deep and abiding influence. Literature from her abounding fountains sends forth the little streamlets which first undermine, then wear away, and lastly level, whole mountains of prejudice and wrong; and we have not the slightest doubt that the facts disclosed in a work like "*Les Femmes en Turquie*" will work their way, and will, as they become known and thought over by the European mind, do for domestic slavery what has already been done for predial.

Ere we close the door against the Turk it is well to ask, Has there been any improvement? Have the hopes, the sanguine hopes, of such statesmen as Lord Palmerston been in any measure realized? And here we would, acknowledging the deep responsibility which must attach to any answer, whether favourable to the Turk or not, rather quote the words of those who are hopeful on the subject. We have copied a great deal in this article. It is indeed, we feel, little better than a collection of facts, deeply important facts we believe, interspersed with a graphic delineation of manners and life, from the pages of a foreign book, but we must go on to the end, and we shall finish by simply appealing to the words of a warm friend of Turkey, in the *Quarterly Review* article "On the Revival of Turkey:"—

" 'Reform' is a word listened to with scarce disguised repugnance in the East, with open ridicule in the West. Can it be otherwise? Reckless borrowing, wasteful expenditure, bourse swindling; embezzling adventurers, the worst type of European bureaucracy, engrafted on Asiatic supineness and centralization, powerful to exhaust, powerless to sustain or repair; respected and national usages trampled on to make way for third-rate foreign customs; a sham educational system, a sham parliamentary representation, a sham literature, a sham budget, a sham civilization;—these are what in the latter years Reform has meant for Turkey. In Europe it has come to mean disappointed expectations, frustrated hopes, lost capital, mere delusion. Is it strange if the very sound be hated in the former land? heard only with derision, such as we have lately witnessed in our own House of Commons, in the latter? And how in the North? The Memoir, real or pretended, said to have been drawn up by Turkey's deadliest foe, the late Emperor Nicholas, for the guidance of his successor on the throne and in the policy of St. Petersburg, may supply the answer; and that answer, whatever may be the value of the document itself into which it has been incorporated, is genuine enough: 'It is most important, for the utter and speedy ruin of the Ottoman Empire that is, to confirm the Sultan in his pseudo-reforms, and to push him on in the same way. Let Turkey's friends and advisers well consider this, lest, while they eagerly urge what they conceive to be remedies, they in truth administer poisons.' Scarce less worthy of note, though little likely to avail against the cupidity of loan-mongers and the selfishness of the money market, are the words that follow:—'Of equal importance is it that the Porte should never get rid of financial embarrassment.'"

We end by repeating an expression of our belief that polygamy and slavery are at the bottom of these manifold and destructive evils. Purified by the life of the desert and the scanty diet usual among nomad tribes, these twin vices may reign without utterly tainting the heart of man, but they are incompatible with the moral dignity and intellectual pursuits of European society.

WALTER C. JAMES.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

IV.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF ALCOHOL.

To the Editor of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW.

SIR,

In reply to your request that I should write a paper for your REVIEW on the use of Alcohol, I have to say that I think my opinions have been fully expressed in my evidence upon the subject, given before the Select Committee of the House of Lords. I adhere to those opinions, of which my friend Dr. Bucknill has made the following précis, representing them correctly.

I am, &c.,

WILLIAM W. GULL.

I PRIZE alcohol and wine as medicines; we can hardly do without them altogether. There have been changes in medical practice in the amount of alcohol used. Forty years ago it was moderate. Then came the change, due I think to the School of King's College, headed by Dr. Todd, which was based on the theory that cases of acute disease were almost universally weak and antiphlogistic, and therefore to be treated with brandy. For the past twenty years there has again been a great change, and we believe now that diseases run for the most part a physiological course, and that alcohol has but a subordinate value, which is due chiefly to its action on the nervous system as a sedative. Under this view many diseases are now allowed to run their course without alcohol; but if we find a patient very delirious or exhausted we give him alcohol, not as formerly with a view of curing the disease, but with that of calming the nervous system during the course of the disease. There are cases such as a high-pulse fever, in which what are called phlogistic symptoms would be moderated by alcohol; and it was Dr. Todd's merit to point out that the distinction between phlogistic and antiphlogistic has no existence.

Fever can be treated without alcohol. In young patients of sound constitutions it was my practice at Guy's Hospital to do so, that my students should be able to see the course of the disease. I have

cured many cases of typhus in young subjects under twenty-five with camomile tea and light diet, and the practice was quite safe in these cases. I think the error is still prevalent that alcohol cures the disease, whereas the disease runs its physiological course. The advantage of alcohol is in its effect upon the nervous system, rendering the patient more indifferent to the processes going on. I am disposed, however, to believe that although we could not do without alcohol as a drug, it is still over-prescribed. Under the shock of an injury or an operation the nervous system has to be deadened, and alcohol is the best agent for that, acting as a sedative as one would use opium. Probably it acts through the sympathetic nerves, but I could not give the rationale. That would be a very complicated question. I do not know how alcohol acts upon the body altogether—I do not think it is known; but in disease we use it very much as a sedative. There are cases in which it would be dangerous to do without it, as the delirium of typhoid, in which the patient would wear himself out and die unless soothed by alcohol so that he goes to sleep. If opium were used instead, the result would probably be fatal. In such cases alcohol is the best sedative we possess.

As regards the daily use of alcohol as a drug, I think there are conditions of the system, under fatigue and exhaustion, where it might be useful, where the nervous system might be deadened, if I may say so, or that alteration made in it which was requisite. But though the use of alcohol in moderation may be beneficial, I very much doubt whether there are not some kinds of food which might very well take its place. If I am myself fatigued with overwork, I eat raisins instead of taking wine. Cases of feeble digestion you may deal with by light and varied food, but still I think wine is useful—a little wine and with strict limit—as a medicine for temporary use. For young people I should not consider it necessary, but one must consider alcohol in respect of age. One of the Greek poets writes, "There is an equal use in wine and fire to the dwellers upon earth,"* and I think he is right if you take the whole dwellers upon earth. In the northern regions you want more stimulant and fire, in the south less; and again, more as age increases and vitality diminishes. Good food will supply all the wants of the system up to the middle period of life. In old age or disease you may often want some artificial stimulus, or something to act upon the system as we use fire.

In advising a young man of sound health as to whether he ought to give up alcohol, I should consider his calling. I am not sure that I should not advise an out-of-door man, doing a good deal of work, a carter for instance, to take some beer, as a good form of food, containing sugar and vegetable extract and very little alcohol, but a very small piece of beefsteak would make up the materials. And if the

* *Οἶνος γὰρ περὶ ἴσον ἐπιχθονίοισιν ὕψεται.*—Panyasis.

man had a good strong digestion he could do without his beer. Some stomachs have more power than others to consume common food. I do not think we should be prepared to say that, speaking of the labouring classes, everybody could go without beer, as a food of a light kind.

As for intellectual work I should join issue at once with those who say that it cannot be half so well done without wine or alcohol. By alcohol I hold that you may quicken the operations of the intellect, but do not improve them. Alcohol makes the thoughts run quicker for a time, but they are not very good thoughts. A very large number of people fall into the error every day of believing that strong wine and stimulants give strength. I am persuaded that nothing better could be done than that lecturers should go about the country instructing the people upon the disadvantages of alcohol as it is daily used. People will not listen to the temperance societies because they carry their theories too far. I do not think that you can start with the idea that there is no use in alcohol and no good in wine.

The constant use of alcohol, even in moderate measure, may injure the nerve tissues, and be deleterious to health; and one of the commonest things in society is that people are injured by drink without being drunkards. It goes on so quietly that it is difficult to observe, even though it leads to degeneration of the tissues, and spoils the health and the intellect. Short of drunkenness, I should say from my experience that alcohol is the most destructive agent we are aware of in this country. There is an affiliation of disorders arising from excess of drink, beginning at the liver and the blood, and proceeding to the lungs, heart, brain, and kidneys. I think that is about the order. The stomach will often go on a long time. A person who carries a great deal of drink and does not get drunk may be even more damaged than a man who does get drunk, because he may be able to pursue his system of drinking for a longer time. When a man who has been in the habit of drinking largely has some disease, I should fearlessly take alcohol away from him altogether. In habitual drunkards you can stop the supply of alcohol at once without injury. If you are taking poison into the blood, I do not see the advantage of diminishing the degrees of it day by day. Neither should I recommend any tonic or drink by which a drunkard might gradually accustom himself to abstinence from alcohol. I should recommend nothing beyond good food, which might not at first supply the craving, but would ultimately overcome it, and Liebig's Extract of Meat is one of the best stimulants in such cases. A habitual drunkard may be so spoiled and generally incurable that really one can do nothing with the man; but assuming him to be in a fair state to be treated, I would still not give him tonics.

With regard to the subject of restraint, there comes a time not

only in drinking but in all other habits when habit becomes second nature, and this habit, as it is with taking other poisons,—opium, for example,—becomes an overwhelming impulse; and you can no more trust a drunkard than you can an opium-eater or any other man whose habit has become strong. I see no objection to allow a form of contract by which a man might say, “I agree to be confined for a certain time under care and restraint for the purpose of effecting my cure.” It stands to common sense that if a man were willing to give up his drinking habits one would be very glad to close with him and keep him from them. Then comes the question of the houses. It would be a very much larger question to let his friends put him in. I should be very careful how I allowed a man’s friends to interfere with his freedom when he was sober. The restraint would be the difficulty. I could understand the desirability of having those places, and the desirability of encouraging a drunkard to enter them, but when he recovers from his drunkenness, which he would do in the course of a few days, then I should be in a difficulty how I could enforce, and how long I was to enforce, those conditions. The question arises how far you would allow him to change his mind, and another great difficulty would be as to the number of months in which a drunkard’s tissues are remade into sobriety. Any evidence on that point must be very theoretical. I think that when any man has recovered from his drunken bout he is as likely to be morally good on that day as he would be after the next six months—in fact, perhaps better, because at the end of six months he would have forgotten the difficulty he had been in. I think a man might be as likely to behave well after the end of a week or a fortnight as he would at the end of six months. A man who has had a drunken bout will often remain sober for two months or more, so that I am not sure that if you shut these people up for any length of time you would gain much. I think that all evidence about terms of detention for twelve or eighteen months would be entirely theoretical. I believe in hereditary tendency, not to drunkenness *per se*, but to that in which drunkenness is included. If this question were carefully studied, it would be found that there are people mentally defective in many ways, who, however, by good education and reasonable punishment at an early period, might be trained to good habits.

I would say that the term dipsomania is an euphonious expression for incorrigible drunkenness. The word is not admitted in science. It would be properly applied to rare diseases in which there is uncontrollable thirst not for alcohol but for mere fluids. You may distinguish between insanity and drunkenness by this, a man who is drunk gets sober when the drink is eliminated, but the insane man does not recover by such a process. I do not think that a court of law in the administration of punishment would find it very difficult to distinguish between the two. You cannot, however, make a man sane

by punishment, but I feel reasonably sure you can make a man sober by punishment. I think that unless drunkards are made criminals, and the force of the law is brought to bear upon them, there is no way of dealing with them. But I would not advocate making them criminals for the mere silent indulgence of drinking, unless it were accompanied by some injurious effects on society, nor unless a man were injurious to others. But cannot you catch the habitual drunkard early, before he has become an incorrigible habitual drunkard, or even in the beginning, in his first drunkenness, when you are more likely to do him good? Society might make it appear more or less distinctly by its vote or feeling that drunkenness is a fault against society. If a man is found drunk I would publish his name in the district where he lived, for public reprobation; but I know that society would not do that, and I see no other way of dealing with it. Society is like a pyramid, and I could deal with drunkenness if you would let me cut my section near the apex; but how deal with it if the section be cut near the base where the area is so enormous? I think you cannot do it by legislation, but I think it can be done by the better instruction of the people, by providing better houses, better means of occupation, and better amusement, and by fostering better public sentiment.

I think the Committee must consider, in all the conclusions they come to, the question for whom this inquiry is made, and the section of society to be legislated for. That is to say, is it for the whole area of society, or is it for a few prominent cases where a great deal of public scandal and harm follow? No doubt legislation is chiefly needed for the lowest sections, because the upper sections of society can take care of themselves.

Considerations as to what is practicable, and what is not practicable, must vary with this question, because it would be difficult to apply a law to that lower area of society where the evil is so very widespread. You could shut up these people if you had but few of them, but if you had thousands of them, it would come to be a very difficult matter. Then, I think, another consideration the Committee must have before them at all times is, whether the Committee is dealing with a *disease* or a *crime*. I confess that I think that although a drunkard is the subject of disease, in a certain sense, when he is drunk, still when he becomes sober he becomes criminal if he falls back into his drunkenness. With the exception of suicide, nothing a man does against his own health is a crime. The question is whether a man destroying himself by drink should be allowed to go so far as that without punishment. As for riotous drunkards, who have been convicted a hundred and fifty times, I should have no hesitation in treating them as criminals.

V.

THE UTILITY OF ALCOHOL IN HEALTH AND IN DISEASE.

ALTHOUGH the majority of adults in this country still consume a daily allowance of alcohol in one form or another, there has perhaps never been a time in which there have existed in the medical profession, and to some extent out of it, such strong and general doubts as to the advantage of the habit. Not a few—very often, it is true, they who have found that they cannot take alcoholic drinks in any shape themselves without in some way suffering—decry their use altogether; while others, not yet perhaps having experienced any obvious injury from them, are unwilling to believe that there can be any harm in a custom at once so time-honoured and pleasant.

Having been one of the first (in 1860) to raise my voice against the fashion, prevalent about twenty years back, of treating all acute diseases on principle with large quantities of alcohol, and having since then had unusual facilities of observing the effects of alcohol in inducing serious local diseases and in deranging the general health, the subject is one to which I have devoted considerable attention, and on which I think that I have some right to express an opinion.

It appears to me that, in the discussions which have taken place respecting the advantages or disadvantages of alcoholic drinks, one matter has been too much lost sight of, viz., that all persons are not constituted alike. Indeed, the constitutions of no two persons are identical; and hence, as regards both alcohol and other things, each constitution demands a treatment suitable to itself. Still, speaking generally, it may be said that, as regards their alcoholic capabilities, healthy persons may be divided into three classes.

1. There are some who during all their lives drink daily a moderate, or even a considerable quantity of alcohol, and are to all appearances none the worse. They die perhaps at a good old age, of ailments with which alcohol can in no way be connected. It is astonishing, indeed, what enormous quantities of alcoholic drinks are habitually consumed over a long series of years by some few persons, without the health apparently in any way suffering. These cases are sometimes appealed to as proofs of the harmlessness of alcohol. But for one person whose constitution enables him thus to live to old age, hundreds succumb early to diseases which are avowedly the result of alcoholic poisoning. Medical experience amply endorses the wisdom of the directors of insurance offices, who accept the lives of publicans only at a greatly increased premium, or decline them altogether. The ability to consume alcohol in any quantity depends much upon the circumstances in which a man is placed. He who leads a country

life, and takes active exercise in the open air, can consume without suffering an amount which would be positively injurious to him were he a sedentary student, or a professional man in town. It is the altered habits of the present generation that account in great measure for their being less tolerant of alcohol than their forefathers.

2. But secondly, there are persons who habitually consume what is considered a moderate quantity of alcohol, and perhaps at the time feel all the better for it. At length, however, disease overtakes them, and then it is forgotten that the brittle artery, the softened heart, the diseased liver, or the gouty kidney, or the other evidences of premature decay, which for years have been slowly and insidiously advancing, and which at length render life a burden or terminate it altogether, might have been postponed, or perhaps might never have occurred, had it not been for the daily dose of alcohol, which induced an abnormal chemistry of the tissues and the circulation of an impure blood. My experience has led me to the conclusion that alcohol, taken in what is usually regarded as moderation, is more or less directly the cause of a large number of the ailments which in this country render life miserable, and bring it to an early close.

3. Lastly, to a third and by no means a small class of persons, alcohol, even in small quantities, is an unmistakable poison. One or two glasses of sherry or of champagne will produce lassitude, aching in the limbs, frontal headache, inaptitude for bodily or mental work, want of sleep, and other distressing symptoms. The man who thus suffers, fancying that he is weak, has recourse to a larger quantity of the universal restorer, but finds that he is worse; then he goes to his medical adviser, who perhaps tells him to substitute brandy or whiskey for the wine, from which counsel he often infers that whiskey is good for his complaint, instead of its being, as his medical friend intended, the lesser of two necessary evils. He consults one doctor after another, and will consume any amount of drugs in the vain effort to alleviate his sufferings, but he cannot be prevailed upon to do what alone is necessary, namely, to give up his daily dose of poison, because, forsooth, he is unwilling to be singular, or because he fears that he will become too weak in consequence of his omitting to take the daily stimulus, which, in truth, is undermining his health, and is the real cause of his weakness. This intolerance of alcohol very often runs in families; like gout, with which it is often associated, it may be inherited; but not unfrequently it appears to be due to a state of the constitution induced by various diseases, such as severe fevers, &c.

With regard to this last class of persons there can be no doubt in my mind that alcohol is an unmitigated evil, and that total abstinence is the best rule. The real difficulty is in deciding as to the advantage of alcohol to individuals belonging to the first two classes.

Now, in the first place, although there are no statistics, and probably

never will be, to guide us in deciding whether the daily use of alcohol in moderation conduces to longevity, or to a healthy and vigorous performance of the bodily and mental functions in any class of persons, I believe that there is little ground, either scientific or practical, for the prevalent belief that, as regards bodily and mental working power, there is advantage in its use to those who are in the enjoyment of good or average health. Without entering into the still vexed question as to the mode of action of alcohol,—whether it be a food or merely a stimulant of the heart's action,—so far as my observation and experience go, in a man who enjoys average health, who eats well and sleeps well, the judgment is clearer and the mental capacity greater when he takes no alcohol, than when he takes even a small quantity; and with regard to bodily work, although alcohol may enable him for a time to exert himself beyond his proper strength, the subsequent reaction requires a repetition of the stimulus, and ere long the frequent repetition of the stimulus causes the health to break down. The cases in which small quantities of alcohol are constantly taken with the object of enabling a man to get through his daily toil are among the most distressing examples of alcoholism with which the medical man is brought in contact. The argument that the Mohammedan inhabitants of Eastern countries who drink no alcohol are inferior, on this account, in bodily and mental vigour, to Europeans who for the most part do consume alcohol, appears to me to be of little value, in consideration of the many other conditions of climate, race, and habits, to which the difference may be traced. Eastern nations are no doubt liable to maladies resulting from the conditions under which they live, from which Englishmen and Europeans are wholly or comparatively exempt; but it is rare to find in them gout, or the constitutional state which induces not only gout but many of the most formidable disorders of vital organs and degenerations of tissue with which Europeans are afflicted. Although it may be impossible to adduce statistics either for or against the moderate use of alcohol, the physician who carefully watches the early beginnings of disease in individuals—the dyspepsia, for instance, which is often the first link—cannot fail, I think, to admit that these are due in very many instances to alcohol in some form or other, which, though taken in what most persons would regard as moderation, yet has deranged the primary or secondary digestion, or has in some way disordered the chemistry of nutrition or of elimination.

It follows then that if alcohol be not necessary to enable a healthy man to accomplish his daily work, and if we cannot tell, until it be too late, to which of the first two classes of persons already referred to he belongs, or whether the daily use of alcohol may not have the effect of slowly undermining his general health, the question which each person has to decide for himself is whether, in order to gratify the pleasures of the palate and conform to the usages of society, he will

encounter the risk. The risk, it is true, may in many instances be slight, and many persons will no doubt continue to encounter it rather than forego the pleasure; but the healthy man who wishes to live long, and to continue enjoying good health, without which long life would not be desirable, ought, I believe, to abstain from the *habitual* use of alcohol, although a glass or two of wine, or some of Dr. Bernays' favourite "branded cherries," taken *occasionally*, may do him no harm, and may at times, under the circumstances to be presently mentioned, be of service.

What then are the conditions of the animal economy in which alcohol may be of positive use? That there are such conditions I believe cannot be denied by any one who has honestly studied the subject; but they are not the conditions of perfect health. It is especially when the circulation is weak or sluggish that a daily allowance of alcohol may do real good. Thus—

1. Alcohol is useful in the course of most acute diseases, when the organs of circulation begin to fail, as they are apt to do. A moderate quantity usually suffices. The large quantities—*e.g.*, one or two bottles of brandy in twenty-four hours—still sometimes administered may do harm by inducing congestion of various internal organs.

2. In convalescence from acute diseases, or from other weakening ailments, when the circulation remains feeble and the temperature is often subnormal, alcohol is also useful in promoting the circulation and assisting digestion.

3. In persons of advanced life the circulation is also often feeble, and a moderate allowance of alcohol often appears to be beneficial.

4. All other conditions of the system marked by weakness of the muscular wall of the heart, whether permanent or transient, are usually benefited by alcohol.

To all persons under some of the circumstances now mentioned alcohol may be useful for a time, even although its habitual use may do harm. But one rule ought never to be forgotten—*viz.*, that for whatever purpose alcohol be given, it ought never to be taken on an empty stomach. It is the prevalent practice of "nipping," or of taking stimulants in the intervals of meals, which is most injurious to health.

In conclusion, I may sum up my opinions on the utility of alcohol to man in health and in disease in these few words:—

1. A man who is in good health does not require it, and is probably better without it. Its occasional use will do him no harm; its habitual use, even in moderation, may and often does induce disease gradually.

2. There are a large number of persons in modern society to whom alcohol, even in moderate quantity, is a positive poison.

3. In all conditions of the system characterized by weakness of the circulation the daily use of a small quantity of alcohol is likely to be beneficial, at all events for a time.

Alcohol, were its use restricted in accordance with these views, would, in my opinion, be productive of much good; but when taken in accordance with the fashion and opinions which are prevalent, it is to be feared that the good which it confers is incalculably surpassed by the evil which it inflicts upon the human race.

CHARLES MURCHISON.

VI.

ALCOHOL AND INDIVIDUALITY; OR, WHY DID HE BECOME A DRUNKARD?

THERE is one aspect of the alcohol question which, although it is not purely medical, yet is brought strongly before the mind in reflecting upon those mental faults and sufferings for which medical advice is often sought. The aspect I refer to is that which regards the various powers of alcohol over the several faculties or sources of ability which constitute the mind of an individual person, the right balance of which faculties composes such person's mental health. By the power which alcohol exerts over men's enterprise, readiness of resource, and perseverance, what is its influence for or against their working power?

No question requires more circumspect and patient consideration, and yet no question is more nearly hopelessly lost in the conflict of narrow, hasty, violent opinions, because so many have their welfare and happiness blighted by the abuse of alcohol that neither they nor those around them are able to judge impartially as to reasons for its moderate use.

What influence has alcohol on the composition or development of mind and texture which shall best enable a man to hold his place in the struggle for existence?—a struggle which in our high civilization has become removed into artificial conditions, so that a man must somehow find increasing vigour as social life makes greater demands upon him, whilst nature's simple provisions for his self-maintenance are more or less obviously following the example of his teeth, and his teeth are obviously growing few and bad before their time.

Struggle for existence! as perhaps it was in Mr. Darwin's world of advancing beasts and developing vegetables. But now the plan is so turned about by the arrival of man on the scene, and by his civilization, that you cannot watch even Darwin and Huxley themselves without seeing that the struggle they and other good men wage is no struggle for existence, but a struggle against mere existence. The struggle for existence is brutal life. A struggle to do something more

than exist is the sign of human life—the mission of the human soul. What is the use of alcohol in such a struggle? The question is a wide one. It might lead us to inquire what that is which men want to obtain beyond mere existence. Watching some eminent teachers you might suppose it to be a very detailed knowledge of the common frog. But men are human because they look upwards and to the future, not downwards and to the past. And Darwin and Huxley, and even Haeckel, will in time learn that over-scrutinizing insufficient evidence does not make it more complete.

The question what alcohol can do in the human struggle against mere existence cannot be settled by giving alcohol to dogs or rabbits, nor even by observing the effects of alcohol on several soldiers doing so many foot-pounds of work *per diem*. For, although soldiers struggle against existence in more ways than one, yet Dr. Parkes's test of the usefulness of alcohol in them only took into consideration their muscular strength. But alcohol owes not its power over man to its effects on his muscles. It affects the whole man—his whole self—all he can do and say. And not only so, but all that his bodily nature does in secret within him. So that along a continuity of processes, from the beating of a gentleman's heart up to his most perfectly inspired bow, or his most eloquent speech, this agent plays upon his nervous system. Yet many talk as if alcohol was a thing of very simple powers, and its use a mere question whether it feeds people? whether it is burnt in the system or no? what is the nutritious power of a Scotchman's whiskey as compared with his porridge?

The people who take this simple view are called Physiologists.

They hold opinions rendered confident by science. Their views, however, ignore such small points as do not come within their science. Just as to botanists it makes no difference whether a strawberry is a British Queen, or a Doctor Hogg, or a common wild one under a hedge, all are alike *Fragaria vesca*, so the physiologist makes no difference between gentle and simple. To a physiologist a Queen's Counsel and a potman are alike. He will dissect and decompose the one as easily as the other, and into the same fibrin, albumen, neurin, hæmoglobulin, &c., and tell both their oxydations up in foot-pounds. A trenchantly simple levelling view, but with the disadvantage of overlooking differences which, however they evade the scalpel and the retort of physiology, are the very foundation of the order and stability of social life.

The great question of the use of alcohol which I wish to examine is the power it may have over those factors of difference between Queen's Counsel and potman which distinguish men from men, thus going outside the range of physiology to enter the region of truly humane interest and import.

Lest I should seem to raise a subtle and unpractical point, let me quote a few lines from clinical medicine, a science which is obliged to

extend its range beyond the limits of physiology. Dr. Stokes, one of our best authorities on Fever, says:—

“In private practice, we often find that stimulation cannot be carried on so boldly as in hospital; and this appears to be connected with the previous habits of the patient, not in the way of intemperance in the use of wine, but in that of over-exercise of the brain. Men engaged in anxious callings, or in intense mental exertion, are bad subjects in fever, and bear the stimulating treatment imperfectly.”

I quote this because experience has led me to the same conclusion,—that is, in general, that the effect of alcohol during febrile illness differs much in different classes of people. But whilst we calmly consider such a question, it is to others rendered a theme of insufferable repulsion by the glaring excesses of its more violent and obvious effects in drunkards. And the reaction from the realities of hideous intoxication gives rise in the minds of excellent people to a recoil into a deliberately extreme opposition to an agent capable of such appalling mischief.

Consider for a moment either extreme. Take a case. A gentleman came before me to know what further he might do to have health. His conscience so far was well in his favour. Two years before he had consulted a great authority, and had been told to live on fish and whole-meal bread, and to drink water. He had done so ever since; how observantly, was written in his white face. He looked a compound of whole-meal, fish, and water. What more could he do, now that he was much weaker,—scarcely able to do his day's work? He was evading opportunities of usefulness, and living in dread through his sense of prostration, all this in the patient endeavour to feel strong by overmuch self-denial. But the other extreme is better known and justly dreaded. The man who would feel strong by overmuch self-indulgence, and has become subject to intoxication mania, he is never very far from you. Try arguments on him, if you wish to set up in your mind a refined ideal of tantalizing hopelessness. None so reasonable when sober, so explanatory, so promising; such a nice man to talk to. But meet him when on the drink, and then try your influence. The beloved wife may join her hands imploringly; his pallid, starving children may look timidly up in his face: he goes by to ruin himself and all, as you go through cobwebs on a fresh September morning.

Either of these extremes is in its own way baneful, though in different degrees. The drunkard revolts every feeling of humanity in the most positive manner. He who lives under terror of indulgence lives short of full life, and of the good he might be to others. His co-inmates at home could show how his self-involved bearing, if it did himself no harm, yet frets into pettiness half the life of those he lives with.

What would not one do or give to set right these forms of appa-

rently wanton error?—blasting, on the one hand, or stunting or warping, on the other, the manhood of men.

Good people are ready to prove by their deeds how much they will do to remedy the extreme best known to them. They try and save the drunkard by forming Bands of Hope or of Good Templars, vowing sternly to forego all the pleasures and profit, if any, that are got from alcoholic stimulants, hoping thus to arrest the vice of drunkenness. Such self-denial from such a motive is worthy of all honour. And all men bless them, and wish them the success they fully deserve. But the truth must be said that their success is deplorably small as estimated by the number of drunkards they reclaim. Experienced men say they have never known a drunkard permanently reclaimed. The teetotal organizations show considerable apparent achievement when they turn to prevent the use of liquor by those who have shown no tendency to abuse it.

But unhappily there is a drawback to this kind of gain, to illustrate which I will give one more case. A poor honest working cooper in the Borough, who had a wife and three children, had injured his ankle with one of his tools. The wound festered, and his constitution became involved in some degree of fever. He was pale, undernourished, and tremulous, and we judged it absolutely necessary that he should at once have wine or brandy to carry him on through his illness. But he refused to touch anything containing alcohol: he had signed the pledge. Wine was sent disguised as medicine. He found it out, and then would take no medicine. He died in a few days. I am as sure as one can be sure of any such thing that he died because he would not have the help stimulants would have given him. I could not but respect the poor man, and shall never forget him. He showed character worthy a better end. I think I have never forgiven the teetotallers the loss of that fine fellow. It induced me to invent the term intemperate abstinence. The fact is that we have to recognize in a part of the population a disposition to extremes of which either is intemperate. The common rough rule has been to let these extremes take care of each other. And at first glance it might seem that this is not a bad plan. But it is a little unfair if the kind of people who suffer from teetotal influence are most liable to fall under such influence, whilst they least need the protection it affords.

In short, I believe that to a large extent teetotalism lays firmest hold on those who are least likely ever to become drunkards, and are most likely to want at times the medicinal use of alcohol—sensitive, good-natured people, of weak constitution, to whom the Sacred Ecclesiast directed his strange-sounding but needful advice, “Be not righteous over much, neither make thyself over-wise: why shouldst thou destroy thyself?” He to whom that advice seems necessarily ironical as directed to human beings does not know

the nature and weaknesses of many of his fellows. For the place of a good conscience is easily taken by a kind of triple monster, one side of which is always barking, *Thou shalt be clever*; another, *Thou shalt be good-looking*; the third, *Thou shalt be without fault*:—perhaps the three beasts which drove Dante back from his way up the hill. And any one entirely under the power of either, and still more of all of them (though as to the first and third one is apt to silence the other), such an one needs help almost as badly as a sot needs help, whilst he is too ready to grasp at any quackery to obtain it.

To meet the evils of intemperance in a few by stern refusal to allow wine to any is like the Stoic plan of striving by repression of every sentiment and feeling of the mind to take away the annoyance of occasional turbulent emotion, or like Mohammed's plan of making his followers honest by disallowing the profits of trade. Some limitation of per-centage of dividends might perhaps save Christians from each other. But all extreme rules of repression must fail because people won't endure rules which rob individual character of its elasticity and social life of its charm.

Teetotalizing A, the good man, to save B, the sot, is throwing good after bad. The sot is not worth it. He may be deserving of the pity often bestowed on him: all crime has its pitiful side. But as to saving him! Before committing yourself to a life-long course with such a quest it would be well to ask an oracle. The right oracle would be Morbid Anatomy. That oracular science claims the sot. When the sot has descended through his chosen course of imbecility, or dropsy, to the dead-house, Morbid Anatomy is ready to receive him—knows him well. At the *post-mortem* she would say, "Liver hard and nodulated. Brain dense and small; its covering thick." And if you would listen to her unattractive but interesting tale, she would trace throughout the sot's body a series of changes which leave unaltered no part of him worth speaking of. She would tell you that the once delicate, filmy texture which, when he was young, had surrounded like a pure atmosphere every fibre and tube of his mechanism, making him lithe and supple, has now become rather a dense fog than a pure atmosphere:—dense stuff, which, instead of lubricating, has closed in upon and crushed out of existence more-and-more of the fibres and tubes, especially in the brain and liver: whence the imbecility and the dropsy.

And Morbid Anatomy would give evidence that such was the state of the drunkard long before he died. So that in vain you get him to sign the pledge. He signs too easily, because his brain is shrunken, and therefore he cannot reflect. And he breaks his pledge immediately, because his brain is shrunken and his membranes thick, and therefore he has no continuity of purpose and will. The lunatic asylum is truly the only proper place for him. But, unhappily for his friends, he has partial intervals of sottish repentance; and the law

chooses to do nothing to protect them from the curse and ruin of his presence.

Now, seeing how hopeless is this sot, if you ask the next natural question, Why did he become a sot? you must direct your inquiry to some other oracle. If you ask Morbid Anatomy why the deceased under inspection had become a drunkard, what does that science say? The reply will be that, after using the scalpel and the forceps, and staining very thin slices of the brain many fine colours, and then spying down microscopes of wonderful power at the slices, and taking the specific gravity of the brain, she cannot tell you why the poor man became a drunkard—you must ask elsewhere. Indeed, it is wonderful the things that Morbid Anatomy cannot find any signs of at the *post-mortem*. She does not distinguish between Queen's Counsel and potman. She inspected the body of Napoleon III., and recorded thus:—"The brain and its membranes were perfectly natural." No fragments or traces of broken empire visible to the highest microscopic abilities. So what chance that such abilities would be able to answer you when you asked Morbid Anatomy whether that sot had ever signed the pledge, and, if so, how many times? If you ask his friends, you will probably learn that he had signed half-a-dozen or a dozen times. They hardly noticed the last few times; he had often signed of late, being as ready for intemperate abstinence as for the opposite form of intemperance.

Yet we want to know why the sot became a drunkard. If Morbid Anatomy knows nothing about it, whom shall we ask? Our friends the teetotallers press their answer: It was because of the liquor. Well, of course, if there were no liquor, or if he could have been excluded from it, he could not have drunk himself into a sot. That is clear. But it is nothing new of powerful arguments to find that they do not apply to the case in point. Who was he before he became a sot? One of the people; an equal amongst equals. And to exclude him from liquor, you must exclude his equals the people. But his equals the people will not be excluded. Persons of ordinary self-respect and self-reliance will not undertake a pledge of intemperate abstinence—much more will not be forced into it. In fact, teetotal comprises but a small portion of the community—divided into three sections of character: firstly, those strong, good-natured men who sign on philanthropic grounds; secondly, weaker, sensitive-minded persons, who are influenced to sign, but who generally require a little stimulant when out of health; and thirdly, sots in their phases of repentance. And we need go beyond the *naïve* view of these good people, who only think of the liquor and the thirst, if we are to reach any more searching and thorough solution of our grave question, why did the sot on the *post-mortem* table drink himself to death?

You might try the question on some sot not yet dead, and ask him why he drank thus criminally. But you would find him an

irreclaimable liar; he would say he drank only very little indeed; had had none the last few days. Why did he take it? Oh, he felt so low he could not do without it. You may leave off questioning him. His brain is shrunken, and his membranes thick.

To learn why the sot drank we must turn to some science which, whilst it treats of man, does not ignore the differences between man and man. Is there no science which touches the difference between a Queen's Counsel and a potman? Do all sciences agree in saying that as far as they are concerned there is no difference? We know science has a levelling tendency.

We are not without a considerable number of sciences nowadays which consider man in various aspects. There is anthropology, the science of the varieties of man as a species, and of his place amongst the apes. This will not do for us; Queen's Counsel and potman are all one among the apes of anthropology. Then there is ethnology, a respectable old science, which studies races of men with more regard to their human side. But it ignores the individuals, and will not help us. Then there is something *soi-disant* "social science," which is an attempt of people to deal scientifically with things before they know them; and Science is not in her element when dealing with the unknown. It is a science of things-in-general, without much regard to particulars, and will not help us. But there are also sciences bearing on individual man. There are the old mental and moral philosophies, as well as the new material philosophy, not necessarily moral, which latter will explain the human mind by a series of considerations founded on the responsive jerks obtained by tickling a decapitated frog. These philosophies have to oppose each other. The cut-and-dry discussions of mental philosophy will not avail us. It is a science in which the things are subordinate to the names, and it would be just as well if it resolved itself into a dictionary of moderate size.

What we want is some science that will place before us, in a methodical way, the grounds of human motive, so as to enable us to estimate the forces for and against indulgence in the lives of men.

There is one science I have not named. Its title is promising, and it might prove the proper oracle for us to consult. That science is psychology. But I do not quite know where its oracle is situated. It has a journal, like most sciences nowadays, but in its journal, although there is much writing about the subject, one finds but little upon it.

There are psychologists I suppose, for I remember once taking up from the drawing-room table of a young ladies' school a book on the back of which was printed, "*The Subjection of Women*," and I was about to look into it, hoping to find some better way of subjecting them, when, in the page I chanced upon, the first thing that caught my eye was, "*and doctors are not psychologists*." This set me musing, until I closed the book, and do not know to this day what means of better keeping women in their places the author—Mr. Mill, I think—

had to propose. Evidently Mr. Mill thought some people are "psychologists," if doctors are not.

For the subjection of women, I doubt but their old friend Cupid is the best psychologist; and a far kinder friend than those twaddling polygynækophiles of the London University-senate, who tempt poor Psyche into the hard struggle for their degrees. And then, if she succeeds, call her a Bachelor and a Master, as if she were a man. And then shut the door of their lower house in her face, when, all the while, the only right of male masters to enter that door is the degree, of which Psyche may have the pains, but not the profit. Cupid never served poor Psyche so. Only senescent pedants of a wrinkly age outliving young Cupid, an age when women soften the head even more than the heart—only such doting gynækophiles would think this a cure for the "subjection of women."

But I digress, and, in short, it appears that we cannot discover a science that will help us, and in the meantime it may be well to do the best one can to settle for oneself the question why the unfortunate deceased took to drinking?

In considering the mind of man, so as to study the causes of drunkenness, we must start from this principle, without a just appreciation of which we cannot understand the formation of human character,—the principle that every individual exists in two distinct phases: phases which are distinct to whatever depth you analyse the character of man, and which remain distinct throughout every development and extension of him, however manifold his powers become. These phases may be difficult to name, but they are not difficult to identify and recognize, and I care more for things than for words. One of these phases is the man as the subject or seat of his own natural emotions, and the other is the man as the seat or subject, or object, or what you will, of what other people make him know and feel. I mean the man as a seat of the set of feelings that make up conscious life; and the man as a unit, under influences dominating his spontaneous powers. The man feeling, seeing, enjoying, suffering; and the man held by the influence of other minds and compelled by them to reflect their feelings and sights and enjoyments and sufferings, not as he chooses but as they choose; so setting up within him reflections of their feelings and views and enjoyments, which compete with his own natural feelings and views and enjoyments, and are often antagonistic to these darlings of his nature.

How shall I best express this antithesis? Perhaps if I call the feelings, views, &c., imposed on the individual by society, "common sense," it will be best. Many people use this term vaguely, and half fancy it means vulgar or ordinary sense. But common sense means the sense capable of being common to two or more individuals; in short, the sense we seek to impose on each other and are impatient if we do not succeed. Let us then call the sense imposed on the

individual by his fellows *common sense*, and the sense which the individual has naturally within him as his own native bent to this or that feeling *individual sense*.

If you want to thoroughly realize this division of the feelings within, you may look to the lowest or the highest of your mental life. At its lowest, individual sense is that sense which makes you think it is worth while for Nature to keep you alive; and that there is a great deal in your particular self which makes it worth more consideration than the selves of other people. On the other hand, common sense is that sense which will very readily do without you shortly after you are gone. This is their meanest and least worthy field of opposition. Look now at their opposition when in their highest refinement. In its highest refinement the individual sense asserts its claim to govern philosophy: much to the disgust of common sense. The philosophy of individual sense is the intuitive philosophy: the philosophy of the man feeling that good and right are truths of nature within him. The philosophy of common sense is the utilitarian philosophy. In the common-sense mouth of Hobbes it says, "Good and evil are names that signify our appetites and aversions." In that of Locke, it says, "Good and evil are nothing but pleasure and pain." In Bentham, "Take away pleasure and pain . . . and . . . justice, duty, and virtue, are empty sounds." In Helvetius, "Il lui est aussi impossible d'aimer le bien pour le bien que d'aimer le mal pour le mal." This philosophy is the philosophy of men looking at their neighbours with the common sense which their fellows have implanted in them. They see their neighbour or by reflection see themselves, and their attention is upon the individual, regarding him as he goes to what he thinks good or pleasant and recedes from what he thinks bad or painful. And they see that it is surely a matter of going or coming, attraction or repulsion, whether you call it good or pleasure, bad or pain. And so it clearly is from that point of view. But it equally surely is not so, if instead of the notion of an outsider attracted or repelled, you contemplate within, and in your individual sense feel that the feeling of goodness in your act is not the same as the feeling of pleasantness.

So neither of these "philosophies" convinces the other, nor ever will until the millennium. Next note this important truth, that individual sense and common sense compete with and oppose each other for power over the stores of memory. So that, according to their respective hold upon those stores, the man's readiness for use by himself and others is different in different people. A person who has strong individual sense—which is much, but not quite, the same as saying an emotional, vivid person—reaches best the stores he has in his memory when his emotional nature is aroused and lively. Otherwise there is darkness in his chambers of imagery. If an actor or speaker, he acts or speaks best when not dyspeptic and dull. On the other

hand, a man whose sense is chiefly that common to himself and others, a kind of man who never means more than other people say—which is much the same, but not quite the same, as saying a dull common-sense kind of man—has the advantage of possessing what he has in a way independent of his feelings at the time. He does not want a spirit lamp to light the chambers of his imagery. Despises it. It is diffuse daylight in such a mind. There is no unfairly kind illumination of one side of things, as there is when the light radiates from a glowing centre.

Now memory needs to be understood. Many suppose that when they, after a long interval of time, remember anything they remember the thing itself; they think they go right back and touch the thing with their memory. But see if this be so. Rather when a thing occurs which is to be one of the few things long remembered,—such as your first meeting those lovely eyes, &c.,—the thing comes again in the mind because it made so much impression, and then it comes again—no, not it, but the former recollection of it: partial, and tinted, and spotted, as if seen through a bad glass, so that you want to see those lovely eyes again.

And if this poor memory of the thing does not come a second time into the mind it cannot a third. Of course! you say. Very well; but your "of course" ought not to be so easy as not to perceive that this explains the fewness of the memories that remain from remote life, and the distinctness (apparent) of the few that persist. For if memory went back and touched the bygone things, why should it not equally touch all the things you once dwelt upon? Yet how limited is the range of memory into the distant past. And why? because it reaches not the things of the distant past directly, but only by the steps which its former acts planted in the interval. So that it steps by its last step to its last but one, and so on and on. And where it has stepped often enough it can step again towards a long bygone incident. But where it has never stepped it cannot after a certain lapse of time step at all, but so much of the past is in oblivion. Hence you must ponder upon what you want to remember.

Now, as to these steps of memory. When that which recalls the bygone incident is the individual sense—that is, the spontaneous life of the mind—then this step of memory is only available for future use of the individual sense or spontaneous life. When common sense—that is, the external influence of others—raises reflective knowledge of a thing in the mind, and this knowledge is remembered, the step of memory is under the power of common sense.

And in different minds individual sense, or common sense, may so preponderate that in one man the ways of memory are chiefly under individual sense, or the spontaneous life of the mind. Such are, amongst actors, those the late Mr. Phelps called "stomach actors," who act well when not low and dyspeptic. On the other hand, in

some people the memory is nearly all under common sense, and has to be questioned out by external influence or requirements.

Now every act of memory under individual sense makes a stepping-stone whereon the spontaneous life of the mind may travel in the future. Likewise as to common sense. Thus is the plan of the mind enriched in either case, and common sense has its ways, and individual sense its ways; but individual sense is the spontaneous life of the mind, and what it lays hold upon constitutes the lustre of the individuality if any. The labyrinth of its memories is yourself,—your identity in the lapse of years. By the repetition of its acts of recall one year certifies another, reaching and continuing the memories transmitted through from before. On its longest worn tracks you travel easiest, hence old age remembers the long remembered things.

On the other hand, the things taught you by the sense imposed on you by others are put together, at school and otherwise, like the parts of a building, so that you are thus so far edified or built up, put together under the effort of your will; effort which is often painful. Look at the face of a schoolboy at sums, if you don't remember the pains you took. What is thus put together by the will is reached by effort of the will. These are the things others can demand of you and expect you to know. But the individual sense is a different kind of thing, and goes to work a very different kind of way—a way of its own. Its duty in the mind is of an importance that is overlooked by common sense. Common sense never understands the individual. No individual ever thinks himself quite properly understood; that is why he goes on making a fuss, political or otherwise. If an eloquent man, in vain he promises silence. The long-practised phrases must flow. They must take some form or another. Just—if I may compare humble things with exalted—as in the case of your cook with his well-seasoned "stock." Anything may be had on short notice; so that if you want oxtail, the tail can be put in, and you have oxtail. But pray take something.

The individual sense has to make what is called a *self*, or *ego*, or *ich*, or *moi-meme*, out of scraps and fragments, which are the experience of "one's" life. Think how you believe your mind to be one continuous thing. Yet how, pray, did it become so? Was it continuous in the origin and course of its activity? The life of one's mind is a most broken thing. First, it is banded by sleep with darkness across its light, as a tiger is striped. And as to its waking times, the individual sense flits from object to object, catching this into consciousness, then that, with intervals between the glimpses: glimpses now of what the eye sees, now of what the ear hears, now of what is bygone, as you "think" of one thing after another: the memory serving you with views tinted or spotted by your relation with the thing remembered, so that you see imperfectly *instar speculi inequalis*. Thus, as you ponder, attention fastens upon this or that revolving in your mind, and if there is "much in you," the revolving

is large and active, and if you are "sound" it is fixed on true things, things capable of certainty. But some things not capable of certainty must have a share of attention, or you lose the element of good luck. Luck requires a power of attention to things not capable of certainty. That is the reason why those who put all their attention into things capable of certainty, over-scientific students, turn out so very unlucky in after-life.

But how do you suppose these scraps in your consciousness join themselves into an *ego* or self, a "mind" which seems to every one to be one continuous thing? You cannot find an analogy for it, unless you remember how the glowing end of a burning stick when whirled round quickly looks like a bright ring; or how as you go quickly by a park-paling the chinks in it show you a continuous view of the park on the other side. Each chink gives you a small part, but the eye has a power of gathering these parts together, and making the park on the other side of the paling appear, as it is, continuous. It is the same power of the eye (really weakness of it) which you remember in the thaumatrope; that spinning toy with a jockey on one side of the card and a horse on the other, which, when you spun it, put the jockey on the horse; or that more wonderful elaboration of the same thing in the wheel, that, whilst you looked through chinks in it at the pictures inside, and the wheel was going round-and-round carrying the chinks before your eye, made the people in the pictures hand their heads to each other, or give away each other's legs all round.

There is in your mind a power that does the same by the scraps which come into it daily. And this power is the individual sense. It creates the circle of oneness in you. Your mind acts the thaumatrope. In some the spin is fast, in others slow. As the circle made by the revolving spark arises in the imperfection of vision, so the circle of oneness of the mind arises in imperfection, which cannot follow the causing movement, and hence asserts a settled unity—the individual sense. Now be sure that the common sense imposed by others would never create an individuality in the mind. It does not spin, and is not deceived by individuality; the individuality is made by the thaumatropic spin of the things that have pleased you in bygone time. They spin into oneness because the quickness of that which causes your mind is too quick for your mental eye, and the dance of them is the pleasure of your life as a man, as distinguished from the molluscan pleasures of the self-supporting appetites.

We are getting near the Queen's Counsel and the potman. The potman is chiefly molluscan, with a thaumatrope scarcely worth speaking of. The Queen's Counsel must have a brilliant thaumatrope, whirling one client in after another, and making them hand over almost anything except their heads and legs upon occasion. And this thaumatropic spin is the joy of life, and he who has tasted that joy will not be easily contented short of its realizing illusion. How does

this thaumatrope begin spinning? and what keeps it going? What is the effect of quickness of it? and what of slowness of it? In the one case life is vivid and bright, but in the other you seem to see between the scraps of which the show is made up, and it might be the 9th of November. For the chief place in such a tawdry set-out appears plainly not worth the having. Nay! you would not be a Bishop, or even a Judge, and as to what you are, there is no saying how tiresome it is. When this kind of weakening and spoiling of individual sense has taken place to a serious extent, the person is what is called "morbid." His estimate may be correct, but it is reached by weakness of the spin of his vital power, and hence is not a thing to give pride or pleasure. Who then can help him? He may go to a friend, and try to get his thaumatrope a twirl from outside, and if the friend can make a joke or two, or arouse feeling in any way, there may be slight temporary revival; but if the friend has only common sense to offer, that won't spin the thaumatrope. All the influence that the common stock of sense can have won't raise the strength of the drooping individuality. The common-sense man may tell you what he knows; but perchance you know more than he. Perchance you know too much. And knowledge is not power unless there is individual sense to use it.

Such experience does its sufferer at least this good, that he, for the time at least, knows that the vigour of his individuality belongs to nature, and is a thing he can no more call up by his will, than he can create oxygen or gold. Like its Maker it is, and it is what it is. This reality is the best and the worst of individual sense.

This absolute nature of the individual sense when at its best exalts the mind of a man so that he becomes a seer in the highest meaning of the term. Common sense levels all to one common view. Throughout history they have contended, and throughout social life they contend now. Among the lowly and numerous it is preposterous not to be subject to their common sense. In exalted life too much common sense leaves unexplained the exaltation. Common sense in a Cabinet of Ministers of a great nation unites them with the many. But if the nation has to gather up its energies to a supreme act, as of one individual will, too much common sense may make the ships go half-way up the Straits and then come back. True Cæsar said, "*Maxima fortuna minima licentia est.*" But none knew better than he how such licence is least for tergiversatile common sense.

Doubtless, if you will, individual sense in ordinary minds is more likely to be nonsense, and common sense good sense. But their opposition should lead us to study the very different bases of power or influence which they respectively work from. Common sense can take good care of itself because of its hold on the language understood by the numerous and lowly, our masters. So that common sense prevails in common interests: it is *interrealized*, if I may coin the

word, between people. But individual sense being the life of the mind has its strength in the man's self independently. And this is most unfortunate when individual sense is morbid, because as an actual sensation it overpowers common sense within that particular man. For common sense is as to each man an abstraction, not real in any one, but interrealized by common consent of two or more.

Thus an individual came to me and wanted to know what could be the matter with him, that when he entered a room or a church some one was sure to cough or sneeze. I tried common sense on him, showed that when a good many people are under the influence of each other's presence the chances are that one or another has a cough or a sneeze which he is keeping in for the general good, but which a trifle would let off, especially if the door were opened. I might have talked to the wind. His sensitive emotional nature made him feel the cough or sneeze in his very heart; but what I said only went into his ears, and became, at best, a second-hand reflective affair, remote from the heart. Common sense was not a matter of feeling.

Although it sounds like a paradox, yet it is true that common sense does not keep you sane. *Sanity* depends on correctness of that individual life of the mind which I have called *individual sense*. Many people suppose they are most sane when they think hardest. But sanity is an affair of the unreasoning faculties. And you think your way out of it easier than back again.

We get but slowly towards the question why the sot drank. As yet we have seen that—

1. Individual sense and common sense are distinct in the mind from its lowest to its highest.
2. Individual sense and common sense compete for powers over the memory, and acts of memory arising from either throw the mind under the one or the other, so that some minds are very much subject to the one or the other.
3. Individual sense composes the unity of the mind, as a thaumatrope composes a unity for the eye, and it is subject to slow times, but prefers quick times.
4. Individual sense is a reality within the man. Common sense is an interreality realized between men, not in any man.

You would not understand all this from the cut-and-dry analysis of mind they give you in a philosophy class, where they suppose all people to be alike. True, all people are alike in a way, very much as spider-webs are alike;—great spider-webs and little spider-webs, with the threads pretty similar, and always with Mr. Spider ready to take advantage of any one caught. But there is a difference in people's *inclination*, as it were, which word itself infers that if you did not prop them up they would fall in different directions, like similar figures with their centres of gravity in different parts of them. If you make due allowance for natural inclination, you will know how common

sense has less power over individuals than it is customary to suppose. Life is one long contest of the individuality against the teachings of common sense. The schoolmaster tries to teach the boy the things known amongst men: rational truth; the interreality which founds the social world. The boy's individual sense seeks constantly to escape; struggles so that youngsters with strong individuality fairly groan over their lessons.

As the youth comes through his training all that is fresh and young and individual still struggles against the common and accepted, otherwise his consciousness tells him machinery will master motive power. Here comes the difference between Queen's Counsel and potman, for if the tutor has well and continuously done his work, and if the lad has proved capable of yielding the individual sense before the common sense in due degree, then true adulthood is at length reached, and slowly comes that great change of personal life, when the history of boyhood, which was a story of its own little recollections of itself, becomes, you know not how, converted, so that the past is no longer *his* past, but the past of his race and nation, and he looks back to the dawn of human history and does not even mark the time when his personal life struck in, and he is strengthened by the highest and best that is common amongst men. But perhaps to the potman this change never comes. Doubtless many never become adult in this noble sense, and for our question of the influence of alcohol we must recognize this difference of capacity and of history.

To make a Queen's Counsel you need both strong individual sense and much capacity for common sense. A just combination of these constitutes what is called *intelligence*. This intelligence is supreme over both individual and common sense, above their highest, above their contending philosophies, intuitive and utilitarian. Intelligence has no philosophy. For purposes of expression it leans to the utilitarian philosophy, as being most expressible. Different degrees of common and individual sense, justly proportioned, constitute different degrees of intelligence. Amongst Englishmen this state of balance is fortunately the rule, so that Englishmen are usually intelligent, if not all very much so. In Ireland the individual sense prevails. They wage war as individuals; a little spirit excites them much. In Scotland, common sense preponderates. They are Liberals, and fond of education. They take a deal of whiskey without much harm. Moderate degrees of excess of individual or common sense, such as those to be met in average Irishmen and Scotchmen, are not serious. But you get more marked disproportion in some minds. Thus, some persons have very little indeed of individual sense, but they have large capacity for common sense. These are what, when young, are called good dull boys, and, as they grow up, make up into good mathematicians, as to whom Goldsmith's and

De Quincey's opinion may be noted. Other persons have neither individual sense nor fair average capacity for common sense. These are and remain dolts, and, with all the amount of other people's money that School Boards may spend in keeping debased Queen Anne buildings over their heads when young, they will make very good potmen. Alcohol does not do them much harm, nor teaching do them much good. In their fevers, as Dr. Stokes says, they bear alcohol well—they need it. Their failing is a want of external support to their pluck when under protracted trial.

Unhappily, also, you may get strong individual sense with little capacity for common sense. Here, as a rule, you may look out for trouble of some kind. These are the born intemperate. Their intemperance may take a good direction, for which all men bless them, and call them good geniuses; but their intemperance may take a turn in the direction of self-indulgence, and if you are to save them you must recognize their danger early, and begin early with your means. Keep them from alcohol. Make them sign the pledge. They readily do so, being naturally intemperate. Watch intemperance in childhood, and attend to children who show much individual sense. Their blood is too stimulating, or goes too freely to the brain. That set of nerves, which narrows or widens the blood-vessels, controlling the supply of their stimulating contents as the magistracy controls very properly the licensed victuallers, allows too much license to the brain. Such children get almost tipsy on their own spirits. Not that individuality in a child is bad. It is a good thing if balanced by sufficient common sense. See that it is so by imparting common sense quickly, and in large proportions. Perchance you may thus enlarge their capacity for common sense; I hope so, but am not sure. For common sense is an abstraction, and individual sense a real thing in the mind. But we need not fear a sound individuality. It is wanted as much as melody is wanted in music (*pace* Wagner), or as the proper nature is wanted in the growth of a tree. For a tree rises into its form partly to meet the force of the wind, and partly to seek the light of the sky; yet there is needed within it its own nature, keeping it in due shape according to its kind. So each man must, besides all that outer influence brings to bear upon him, carry his own sense. It is as useful to him as an auxiliary screw to an ocean-going ship.

And now for the power of alcohol. *Alcohol weakens common sense in its opposition to individuality.* That is its blessing and its curse. Its blessing to the many it blesses, and its curse to the many it curses. It may act on the liver; it may feed. But many things act on the liver, and good food is not scarce. If, recognizing the hopelessness of the sot when once he is a sot, you inquire why he drank; it was not for his liver, nor for food; but because in some form or other, without reasoning it out as I have reasoned it out, he has found the power of alcohol. The power of alcohol in the world is due to the fact that

it keeps down the oppressive power of others, and of their common sense, over the individual sense; and so makes a man better company to himself and others. It places a man's individually-stored memory more within his own power; raising his individuality temporarily but with danger. Makes the coward sham brave; makes the dull a little lively. You will observe the effect easily after dinner, when the wine has gone freely round. Individuality is up; common sense down. It is to the waiters a jackdaws' parliament—all talk, none care to hear. Before dinner he was a welcome scapegoat who would open his mouth to speak. See how aptly the peculiar power of alcohol is recognized in drinking "toasts." No prince even would drink his friend's health in water. He takes that which will spin his own and his friends' thaumatrope a little swifter, and keep down the common-sense influence of business relations. This is all very well at dinner; over toasts, but is very much the opposite of well when men in business take the now too frequent mutual glass of sherry. It reduces the perception of their common-sense relations, and puts the man whose mental balance is inferior into the power of the man whose balance of individual and common sense is more stable.

You observe the effect in sickness. In a fever the sense of individual strength is failing, and pluck gives way. Muttering fear becomes horror and violence; then alcohol will bring back the man to his own help. You make him again come to himself and believe in himself by its aid. The delirium so violent was as that of a shying, timid horse. Alcohol gives the patient courage, and he is fearless and quiet again. In short, it is a medicine of the mind, with some power over the body. And those whose human life, like that of my fish and whole-meal and water man, is stunted and overpowered by observances imposed from without,—a too great influence of the imported sense of others upon them,—a little alcohol will pick up their spirits, and make them act a little more of their own sense in confidence in their own nature. Giving even temporarily a stronger and more pleasant thaumatropic play, it sets up in the memory steps more numerous and agreeable; so that the man's mental stores are more within his own reach, and he passes the inevitable twenty-four hours more to his own just satisfaction.

But as to those whose common sense is small, and their individual sense great, alcohol acts upon them as a poison of the soul. Naturally unchecked by common sense, the poor creature enjoys the spin of his own mind until it is a passion so to do. And alcohol reduces the naturally deficient power of common sense upon him; and thus as he takes it he becomes more-and-more wrapt up in the pleasures of his individual sense, until he is known to be a sot; and when the horrible discovery is made to him he has not even common sense enough to see that this result has put him down as an individual for ever. So he fears common sense; fears his own conscience and the opinions of

others, until he regards his conscience, not as a guide, but as a foe from whom to run, just as rogues see the policeman, not as a protector, but as a sign to decamp.

And Morbid Anatomy has him. His membranes are thick, and he has a lie at the bottom of his soul; and the lunatic asylum and the coffin are ready to receive him.

Unfortunately as to these two classes, those that may and those that may not drink alcohol, the indications are usually reversed in these people from their own point of view. For inevitably the man who is overpowered by his fellow's common sense will not have pluck to think so. And the chances are that under pressure he will readily sign the pledge. Whilst the fellow whose individuality has overpowered his little common sense will not be able to perceive this fact, and he will hold the pledge in scorn until he is a sot. Hence it is better for any one to take advice in time on the subject of alcoholic stimulants. Let him ask the family doctor, who has access to his friends and knows his constitution, and can learn whether there are signs of inherent weakness, and, if so, whether it is weakness of individual sense or of common sense, or of both. The balance is so arranged that a little alcohol, as Sir James Paget very ably showed, does most people no harm. Yet the question is peculiarly a question for each person himself, seeing that there is undoubtedly darger to many, and equally undoubted advantage to many others, in its use. And my object in this paper is to show that it is a question not to be left to rudeness and fanaticism, but one requiring the largest consideration of those highly artificial relations under which civilization now places variously-natured individuals.

Rudeness and fanaticism have failed. Drunkenness prevails in spite of teetotalism, whilst the pledge inflicts useless self-torture. Let the legislature be urged to carry out its plain duty,—in giving powers to put the sot under control, and so do the most beneficial act to vast numbers of suffering families that ever was done by any legislature. For the family-destroying sot is the most pernicious criminal in the land.

WALTER MOXON.

VII.

THE ACTION AND USES OF ALCOHOLIC DRINKS.

IN endeavouring, with any hope of success, to form a true estimate of the value of alcoholic beverages, we ought to possess a knowledge of their precise action in the animal economy, and to be able to judge correctly of their effects in individuals according to the different

circumstances of life. It is a remarkable fact, however, that physiologists have not yet discovered the destination of alcohol after its introduction into the stomach—that is to say, what ultimately becomes of it in the system. Although spirit to the amount of millions of gallons is annually consumed in this country, yet after it has passed the human throat, its history is involved in the utmost obscurity. It is true that its pernicious effects are generally only too apparent when imbibed in large quantities; in some persons it may seem to be productive of fat, whilst in the larger proportion of the community its dire consequences on the liver and other organs are only too well known; in some exceptional instances it appears to be taken in inordinate amounts with perfect impunity, and where this occurs, it must be decomposed in the system, and its constituents or new products eliminated, leaving behind it no apparent hurtful effects. In moderate doses it may either do harm or good; where the effect is beneficial it is supposed to act either as food or as material in the production of heat.

The scientific and physiological discussion of the question, as well as the known poisonous effects of alcohol when taken in large quantities, may be put on one side until fresh light break in upon us; in the meantime, medical men and others must be constantly asking themselves the question, whether or not alcoholic drinks are useful adjuncts to the ordinary diet? We all usually answer this question by the rough-and-ready method—the state of our feelings. Then arises another important query—how far should our feelings be our guide? Now, if most persons analyze their sensations after the imbibition of any alcoholic drink, they will soon discover that to describe the effect produced upon them by it as stimulating is a misnomer, and that, consequently, the employment of the expression almost begs the whole question as to its operation and value; for there can be but little doubt that it is owing to this misapplication of the term stimulant to alcohol, with many conveying an idea of strength, that causes it to be so universally recommended, and taken with so much satisfaction. If a person feels low and a glass of wine produce a pleasurable effect, it is easy to regard it as a stimulant, and as having afforded some proportion of strength.

Let us see if this really be the case. The present is not a fitting opportunity to discuss the exact amount of stimulating effect possessed by alcohol—that is, its power in exciting the nerves and the brain to increased function and activity; it may therefore suffice to declare that its stimulating effects may be regarded as *nil* compared with those which may be styled its sedative or paralyzing ones. In a word, alcohol, for all intents and purposes, may be regarded as a sedative or narcotic, rather than a stimulant. And it is this property of alcohol which renders it of so great value in certain temperaments, and under many trying conditions of life. The stimulating effects

compared with the sedative are nearly in the same proportion as in chloroform, opium, and some other narcotics. Alcohol may be taken by the patient at the recommendation of the medical man under the false name of stimulant, and benefit may accrue from its use; but its value may depend upon properties of which the patient at least is unconscious.

A few examples may suffice to convince the reader of the truth of this proposition. A severe attack of toothache will speedily disappear under the soothing influence of a glass of brandy and water, or rather whiskey and water, which, according to present fashion, has usurped the place of the older medicinal and respectable spirit. It surely sounds very like railery to recommend a sufferer, groaning under the miseries of toothache, to take a stimulant for his already over-excited nerves. He requires a sedative, and he finds it in his grog. A larger dose of alcohol is as complete an anæsthetic as chloroform, so that a drunken man may have his teeth knocked out in a brawl and be quite unconscious of the disaster. If, then, alcohol can relieve the severe neuralgia of toothache it must assuredly have a corresponding effect on those who take it for various other purposes; when, therefore, these persons like it, and declare they feel better for it, we are bound to ask in what way do they feel better. Do they mean that all their faculties are stimulated to renewed effort by it, and therefore, for a time, strengthened and improved? Does a man who is engaged in an abstruse problem find assistance in its solution from the bottle of wine by his side? Do students who sit up late working for college prizes find aid from alcohol? I have frequently asked the question, but have never yet found it answered in the affirmative. Would a musician or singer find his touch or voice improved by the so-called stimulant? Assuredly not. As an instance in point I may quote the case of a gentleman who, being about to perform a solo on his violin at a public concert and feeling nervous, was advised to take a glass of wine. This he declined, declaring that he dared not, for although it would give him courage to stand before his audience, it would at the same time cause him to blurr his notes; while rendering him unconscious of his degradation, by benumbing his sensibilities, it would also take the edge off his bow. In like manner I have heard sportsmen declare they have added little to the weight of their bags after being tempted to linger long at luncheon over their beer or wine; and cricketers, also, are often seduced in the same way to lose their game. It is a common experience that field labourers will reap less corn and cut less hay after their supply of beer. If it were a stimulant they would be too readily plied with it by their masters. Every medical man, too, must be familiar with that class of wretched and ever to be pitied women who give themselves over to drink until, lost to all sense of shame, they soon pay the penalty of their folly in a premature death. In these cases the habit has been formed and fostered by the facility afforded by alcohol

in gaining some oblivion from a painful sensation, be it physical, mental, or moral. When all the world is dark around, and the sensibilities are keen to wretchedness and unkindness, a little alcohol will deaden the feelings; herein, then, dram-drinking reveals the secret of its charm. Amongst the lower classes, too, when death comes amongst them, and they are overcome by sorrow, it is no uncommon thing to see all the friends of the deceased considerably the worse for drink. Is their sorrow so pleasurable to them that they fly to alcohol wherewith to stimulate it; or must it not be evident that they recognize it as a narcotic? How can they drown their troubles in the bowl if there be not Lethe in it? If it be said that the expression *In vino veritas* implies that wine brings out the characteristic qualities of man, I should assent, but with this explanation that by paralyzing the controlling power it allows liberty to the passions to have their full sway. But surely, so far from rendering the senses more acute, the benumbing effects of wine have always been known, for does not a very ancient book declare that "every man at the beginning doth set forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse"?

No further evidence is required to remind the reader of the true properties of alcohol, or to convince him that the appellation which it has so long borne of stimulant is erroneous. Were however the facts not before us, we might be sure that an article so universally consumed must be sedative or narcotic. This we might assume from what we know of the longings and wants of the human race; it would, in truth, be a marvellous fact to find any people on the face of this earth craving after a stimulant. Is not the universal refrain of humanity one implying trouble, anxiety, and never-ceasing toil? and is not its aspiration that of repose? A holiday is a cessation of labour, and the highest hope of many is to reach that bourne where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest; or even, as in the heaven of some, to have existence without consciousness. The universal cry of the children of men has ever been that of the Lotus-eaters—

"There is no joy but calm."

We may be assured that mankind are ever seeking after those things in nature which soothe their aching spirits, and that they would hail the discovery of such substances as opium, Indian hemp, or tobacco. It were strange indeed if we found a people given over to a stimulant or a drink which sharpened their senses. It cannot be—alcohol must take its place with all the other substances which man has found to soothe him.

Although, as before said, the utility of alcohol must be judged of by the practical results of experience, yet it is important to clear the ground, as I have attempted to do, of the many erroneous views which are held as to its action, for by these means we shall arrive at a better

decision as to its value in individual cases. Having got rid of the notion that alcohol being a stimulant increases function, and is a remedy for the weak, we need no longer attack the heresy which a short time ago gained some hold in the medical world, that in alcohol would be found the universal remedy. The dictum was short and logical. All persons who are ill are weak, and therefore all require alcohol. Now if we change its name from stimulant to sedative, the conclusion fails, for the premisses are false. And by so doing we are by no means objecting to the use of alcohol, but merely denounce its employment on fanciful principles. If we are guided by experience in its use as medicine or diet, it little matters what character we give it, for I am not aware that its effects, either physically, morally, or socially, would be more deleterious if called a sedative rather than a stimulant. We should however, by changing the epithet, no longer be led by an erroneous name to order a young school-girl wine because she looked delicate, or an old person an extra glass because he was not so strong as in his prime. This very loose reasoning and practice has brought much discredit on an article so valuable as wine. Weakness in the usual sense is no gauge for its administration, for in such a disease as inflammation of the lungs it is often given with marked success; and yet this is a malady where there is a rapid growth of cell elements; a process therefore arrested by a so-called stimulant, assuredly a self-evident contradiction.

As regards the use of wine and spirits as articles of diet, it were better to form a decision on no theory of their action, and assuredly not on their assumed stimulative properties, but leaving the scientific question at present apply ourselves to the consideration of facts, experience, and practice. There are some persons who positively declare they cannot digest a meal without wine, whilst there are others in whom alcohol as certainly arrests the process of digestion. Those who take a moderate amount at meals and other times—on whom I can rely—add support to the view which I hold as to its sedative action. They say they feel the benefit of a glass of wine or a little spirit at the close of the day, not to spur them on, or to enable them to perform their daily duties better, for it would have no such effect, but rather to quiet and refresh them when their business is over. They feel fatigued as the day wears on, their brain irritable or head throbbing, and a glass of wine sets them right; but then their work is done.

The arguments which I have used to determine the properties of alcohol, while by no means detracting from its value, would yet if rightly understood, I feel sure, go far to bring about the reform which the country so much requires. If alcohol be not a stimulant and a direct giver of strength, it need in no wise be taken by the strong and healthy. But at the present time there is a prevailing conviction in the minds of English people that alcohol in some form or other is a necessity of life—often and often do patients say to the doctor, "I cannot take

beer, nor wine, nor spirits, what shall I do? Numbers of persons injure themselves on principle, and if they are weak consider the three articles just mentioned appropriate to the corresponding degrees of their debility. If the doctrine that alcoholic drinks were not a necessity of diet could be accepted and strictly acted on, the remedy for intemperance is nearly found. Only let it be understood that children should be brought up without the use of fermented drinks, and that these need not of necessity be taken by adults, but that their use and amount should be regulated by circumstances, and the great curse of our country would be far on its course towards removal. In judging of the use of alcohol by the community at large we must be guided in the same way as we are by other habits of mankind. We see persons enjoying themselves in various ways, eating and drinking all kinds of food and beverages, occupying themselves with amusements of every description, and yet none of these would be allowed in Utopia. They get through the world, although indulging in certain habits, and declare themselves well—where, then, is the appeal against their procedure? If I, personally, am consulted as to the propriety of ordering alcohol in any individual case, if there be no experience to guide me I am impelled by the principles I have enunciated. I believe alcohol soothes a worried nervous system, and by preventing wear and tear actually supports the frame, but, discarding the notion of its stimulating properties, I denounce its use in delicate children and in women who feel "low." I also strongly prohibit its use in the early morning; in fact, those who then wish for it have already imbibed too much. I always suspect people who require "something" about eleven in the morning. Indeed, the man or woman who has an acute consciousness of the hour of eleven is a being both physically and morally lost.

SAMUEL WILKS.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT.

I.

IN GERMANY.

Bohn, November 15, 1878.

IT is our purpose to give the reader a view of intellectual life in general in Germany, so far as it affects progress in civilization in all its aspects. We begin to-day with the delineation of the factors by which the outward life of the nation is mainly determined. But we do not at present use the word social in all its bearings, reserving the consideration of several of them for another time. In the present article we restrict ourselves to characterizing social life so far as it is connected with political life.

There is no country of Europe in which there are so many political parties as in Germany. The German Reichstag gives the best idea of this. It contains no less than seven parties, with several subdivisions. But the changes that have recently taken place show that this division is not at all fixed. In January, 1877, a legislative period came to an end; the Reichstag elected on 10th January, 1877, should have lasted till 10th January, 1880; it was dissolved on 11th June, 1878, the new elections took place on 30th July, and the Reichstag met for its first session on 9th September. In order to form a correct judgment on political and social conditions, you must be acquainted with the constituent elements of parties, their programmes, their strength, and the foundations which their leading principles have among the people themselves. A knowledge of the changes in parties will contribute essentially to furnish a criterion for forming a judgment.

The German Reichstag numbers, since 1874, when Alsace-Lorraine began to send representatives, 397 members. Speaking generally, there is one representative for every 100,000 inhabitants. But as every separate State sends at least one, and eight of the twenty-six States have not as many as 100,000 inhabitants, a precise adjustment was not possible, since the Constitution bore the character of a compromise, and therefore the size of the electoral districts is very unequal. Subjoined is a list of parties and their comparative numbers at the elections since 1871:—

Parties.	May, 1871.	Feb., 1874.	Mar., 1877.	Sept., 1878.
National Liberals	116	150	126	99
German Party of Progress ...	44	49	35	26
German Imperial Party	38	31	38	56
Liberal Imperial Party.....	29	—	—	—
Conservative (since 1877 Ger- man Conservative)	50	21	40	59
Central (Ultramontanes).....	57	94	96	103
Poles	13	13	14	14
Social Democrats	2	9	12	9
Alsace Protesting Party	—	15	10	11
Alsace Autonomists.....	—	—	15	4
The Löwe Subdivision	—	9	9	4
Democrats	1	1	2	3

So far as these parties may be briefly characterized, their tendencies are as follows :—The National Liberals are the party whose aim has always been to unite Germany under the lead of Prussia; to put an end to the dualism which, before 1866, on account of the rivalry between Austria and Prussia, frustrated every attempt to give Germany national and liberal institutions, and to let Austria go her own way, as an ally of Germany. To the German "Nationalverein," of which Herr von Bennigsen was president, and is still the leader, the merit chiefly belongs of having effected the agreement which has taken place. The National Liberal party clings, first of all, to the German Empire; its first political principle is to do its utmost to make its external position strong, and to strengthen and develop it internally by liberal institutions, but without turning things upside down, and having regard to existing factors. It does not desire to absorb the separate States, to restrict their chartered rights, but to give the nation unity on a basis of law, by a uniformity of the penal and civil codes; next, to place the National Government on an independent footing, by the creation of institutions which are not dependent on an individual; it desires an Imperial Ministry, to see the revenues of the Empire independent of the contributions of the separate States, whereas, at the present time, one-fifth of the Imperial expenditure is covered by the matricular contributions of the separate States, levied in proportion to their population.

This party approves in all respects of the foreign policy of the Government, but reserves to itself the right to consider its proposals, and to accept or reject them accordingly. From 1871 up to the present time, the decisions of the Reichstag have rested with it. For the period between 1874 and 1877 this is evident; it regularly had the majority, as there are not generally more than 250 members present. In case of the presence of a larger number, it only needed the co-operation of some one other party, which has not failed in the case of important political questions, as will afterwards be shown in detail. But also from 1871 to 1874, and from 1877 to the present time, it has turned the scale, for no one of the other parties has the majority, even in ordinary cases. The grouping of parties is such, that without the consent of the National Liberal party the Government cannot obtain a majority, so long as it maintains the political and ecclesiastical standpoint adopted since 1871, and does not adopt any essentially different standpoint on other important questions, of which more by-and-by. Notwithstanding this state of things, which for the last six years has been still more conspicuous in the Prussian Landtag, not a single member of this party, either in Prussia or the Empire, has received a ministerial portfolio, or has been appointed to one of the higher independent offices. Although, therefore, not absolutely identical with the Government, without even any immediate influence in it, it has been the party, both in the Empire and Prussia, on which the Government, and especially Prince Bismark, had to rely, and has relied; it has been the party which obviously represented the views of the mass of the educated portion of the nation. In the autumn of last year, Prince Bismark conceived a plan of assuring himself of its support as a Government party, by conferring ministerial posts on some of its members, and of forming it, in connection with the "Imperial party," into a safe majority, with the help of which he could carry out his projects of reorganization of the imperial jurisdiction, and reform of the system of taxation. The Imperial Chancellor wanted relief for himself, for, according to the constitution of the Empire, he alone is responsible for the Reichstag to the Government; of course only morally responsible, for no legal responsibility exists. He wanted to have a general substitute, who would be his representative in his absence, or when he did not wish to act himself; he desired also to have a special representative for particular branches. In addition to this, the intention was, by the introduction of indirect taxes, to make the Empire independent of the contributions of the separate States, that the matricular contributions should cease, and that thereby the States should be in a position, by the assignment

of some existing taxes and the reform of others, to relieve the communes. It is indisputable that the communes in many districts are taxed to the utmost extent of their ability. The rule is, that the communal taxes are in proportion to the direct State taxes; but the communal contributions, for instance in the Rhenish provinces, amount in many places to 300 per cent. in some cases, and in Westphalia to 700 per cent. In Prussia, for an income of from 3,000 to 3,600 marks, there is an income-tax of 90 marks; for every 600 marks above this, up to 6,000, there is a tax of 18 marks; then in a higher proportion, afterwards in lower: for example, one who has an income of from 6,000 to 7,000 marks, pays 180; up to 12,000, 324. But it is not only income that is taxed—land, houses, &c., are taxed also; in the case of houses, the assumed value of rental is taxed by the commission appointed for the purpose. In the Rhine provinces, where living is dear, it is scarcely possible for a family with 6,000 marks, not belonging to the artisan class, to live in a town, for it would often happen that the land, house, government, and communal taxes would amount to 700 marks. The project of reform, therefore, *is undoubtedly good, and is sure to be popular*. This must be borne in mind in order to understand the course of events since January, 1877. If it now be asked, How is it possible that the National Liberal party was weakened by nearly thirty at the elections in July? in order to comprehend it, and to gain an insight into the political views of the German nation, we must acquaint ourselves with the other parties.

Next to the National Liberals, the German Party of Progress is considered the most liberal. Although taken altogether it represents a national policy, its tendency is to assert certain principles through thick and thin—for example, absolute freedom for the individual in trade and commerce, free-trade, abolition of all duties; the control of the income and expenditure of the year by the representatives of the people, and therefore an annual settlement of the strength of the army; opposition to indirect taxation, State railways, &c. It is the party which considers itself to be in possession of all political wisdom; it carries its principles so far as to endanger the Government, and most of all when they know that a measure is sure to be carried without their co-operation, and even when it is very advantageous to themselves, they say to the head of the Government, We remain true to our principles. This party, then, finds strength in negation. It has enjoyed the peculiar privilege of having hitherto, in all decisive questions, voted with the enemies of the Empire. Since 1875 a section has separated from it, which, under the lead of Wilhelm Löwe, well known in 1848 as the member and president of the Rump Parliament at Stuttgart, has taken a middle course between the Progress party and the National Liberals, but sides chiefly with the latter.

There are two Conservative parties. One of them, since 1874, after various attempts and adopting various names, calls itself the German Imperial party; the other, since 1877, the German Conservative. The former comprised at first chiefly the members belonging to the Silesian aristocracy, other families allied to them, and a number of officials. It is pre-eminently the Ministerial party; its programme as a whole is to support the Government; the younger son of the Chancellor and his intimate friends belong to it. With the exception of being above all things at the service of the Government, it is thoroughly patriotic, not illiberal; most of its members might, provided that Liberalism enjoyed officially equal social privileges, even belong to a Liberal party. A special section of this party and the analogous one in the Prussian Landtag, where they call themselves Free Conservatives, is formed by those Catholics who adhere moderately to Infallibility and the ecclesiastical laws of Prussia, and who have acquired the designation of State Catholics. This party cannot be reproached with laying too much stress on Liberal theories; it is, on the contrary, ready to sacrifice whatever the Government finds necessary.

The German Conservative party is composed of very various elements. It includes the adherents of the regulations respecting the States of the Empire, now finally abolished, who consider the modern state of things, especially liberty

of the Press, free-trade, &c., to be deeply injurious to society; the strictly orthodox Lutherans, who not only see evil in civil marriage, but in all the recent action in ecclesiastical matters—who regard the adoption of Presbyterian and Synodal elements in the Lutheran Church, the legislation against Ultramontanism, as the causes why discipline, order, and religion have, as they say, disappeared; and the people who are an embodiment of particularism, who are opposed to every extension of the rights of the nation, lest their own country should suffer. Except on some special questions, it cannot be said that the party is very clear as to its aims. It sides in general with the Government, as is to be expected of a party which at the present time, among fifty members, numbers fourteen superior officials, General von Moltke, a pensioned general, and a number of landed proprietors, who are chamberlains.

The name "Centrals" designates the party which used to call itself the Catholic Section, the Clericals, and Ultramontanes. Its composition is peculiar. Fourteen Bavarian, fifteen Prussian, and a few other aristocratic names; twenty Roman Catholic priests; sixteen legal officials, one of whom has a sinecure; five lawyers, a number of merchants and tradespeople, &c., of various grades, form, under the lead of the former Hanoverian Minister Windhorst, a party who are opposed to everything national which tends to advance the interests of the nation and the State, and side with everything which tends in the opposite direction. The interests of the Church, with the leading personages, is only a signboard; enmity to Prussia, animosity towards an Empire with a Protestant Emperor, are the actuating motives, and the unthinking mass goes with them. It is characteristic that the ten defiant Hanoverian Guelphs, all Protestants, have joined this party, that the Alsace Protesting party regularly votes with it, also the Social Democrats, &c.

A few words will suffice to portray the remaining parties. The Social Democrats are well known; so also are the Poles, whose sole object is to protest against everything German. The fifteen Alsatians are divided into three groups: Ultramontanes; Protesters, who think they can benefit the country by simply protesting against things which cannot be altered; Autonomists, who submit to the inevitable, and thereby seek to obtain as much liberty for their country as possible.

There are a number of members belonging to no section; but in order that all shades of opinion may be represented, some people, to whom Sonnemann, the proprietor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, belongs, form a group, correctly delineated by Dr. Bamberger on the 12th October, by the words:—"The special degeneracy of Social Democracy, which singularly enough fraternizes with the Bourse; in the morning it takes its fill at the breasts of capital, and in the evening sings the Marseillaise with the working classes; I mean that combination of pomade and petroleum which exhales the most repulsive of all odours."

For a more precise acquaintance with our political life, it will be needful to see how the members of the various parties are distributed throughout Germany. This will be best accomplished by means of the table on page 167, in which we have indicated at the same time the variations at the elections of 1874, 1877, and 1878. In Prussia, the different provinces are indicated.

From this table it appears that in Prussia the Rhine provinces are seven-ninths; Westphalian one-half; Silesian one-third; Bavarian almost seven-elevenths Ultramontane. (In the Palatinate no Ultramontane has ever been elected, in Upper Franconia only one out of five, in Central Franconia, only one out of six.) Further, it is obvious that the Ultramontane party has reached its highest numbers—there can be no thought of an increase; that in Baden, where the Catholics number two-thirds of the population, in Hesse, where they are nearly one-third, in Wurtemberg, nearly one-third, the Ultramontane successes are not in proportion to the Catholic population, and that, therefore, there is no cause for a reasonable statesman to go to Canossa from fear of the Ultramontanes. Of the proportion of parties

STATE.																				
National Liberal			Progressist.			Ultramontane.			Conservative.			Imperialists.			Socialists.		Poles.			
1874	1877	1878	1874	1877	1878	1874	1877	1878	1874	1877	1878	1874	1877	1878	1874	1877	1878	1874	1877	1878
Prussia	10	8	2	8	7	...	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	4	2	4
Berlin	...	...	...	6	4	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Brandenburg	12	4	1	2	4	4	...	3	9	12	3	3	3	3	...	2	1	...	...	...
Pomerania	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	9	7	12	1	3	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...
Posen	3	2	3	...	...	...	...	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	10	11	10
Silesia	8	7	8	4	2	1	10	13	12	2	2	3	11	8	...	1	1	...	...	...
Saxony	12	12	9	2	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	4	5	7	...	...	...	...	...	...
Schleswig-Holstein	13	11	8	...	...	...	1	2	1	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hanover	3	5	5	...	...	...	1	8	8	...	...	3	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
Westphalia	3	5	5	...	...	...	2	2	1	2	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Hesse-Nassau	9	8	7	2	2	2	28	28	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Rhine Provinces	5	7	4	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
1. Prussia	82	72	50	32	23	15	52	54	21	35	53	23	32	3	3	3	14	13	...	14
2. Bavaria	10	12	12	5	3	1	32	31	...	...	...	1	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...
3. Saxony	7	7	5	4	2	3	...	...	...	4	4	6	3	5	6	7	...	...	...	...
4. Wurttemberg	9	3	2	1	1	1	3	3	...	...	...	4	4	8	9	...	...	...	...	...
5. Baden	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
6. Hesse	11	11	8	...	...	1	2	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7. Schwerin	7	6	6	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
8. Strelitz	4	4	2	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
9. Weimar	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10. Oldenburg	3	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
11. Brunswick	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
12. Meiningen	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
13. Altenburg	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
14. Coburg-Gotha	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
15. Anhalt	1	2	2	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
16. Rudolstadt	2	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
17. Sondershausen	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
18. Waldeck	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
19. Reuss, the Greater	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
20. Reuss, the Lesser	...	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
21. Schaumburg	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
22. Lippe	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
23. Lubeck	1	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
24. Bremen	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
25. Hamburg	3	3	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...

IN THE STATE OF			In the Year.	Total Number of Valid Votes.	For the National Liberal Candidates.	For the Ultramontanes.	For the Progressists.	For both Conservatives.	For the Socialists.
PRUSSIA	...	...	1874	2,933,393	802,362	772,562	306,222	593,770	136,028
	...	...	1877	3,138,683	777,715	751,686	263,212	677,317	206,336
	...	...	1878	3,494,842	715,895	775,437	282,830	1,063,203	184,434
BAVARIA	...	...	1874	806,774	217,251	479,907	59,091	30,239	17,462
	...	...	1877	736,847	185,539	396,591	58,444	40,719	26,473
	...	...	1878	677,915	163,659	367,294	16,976	52,004	19,601
SAXONY	...	...	1874	266,711	62,526	2,734	43,372	59,917	96,571
	...	...	1877	348,539	96,747	1,830	43,053	78,566	127,700
	...	...	1878	347,699	69,034	1,795	39,754	102,250	134,313
WURTEMBERG	...	...	1874	233,676	91,469	46,522	18,989	44,979	8,954
	...	...	1877	254,381	65,023	50,525	9,583	87,195	8,148
	...	...	1878	258,206	35,257	48,844	10,430	106,468	6,071
BADEN	...	...	1874	232,931	119,498	96,822	—	11,375	3,516
	...	...	1877	242,145	125,900	89,179	2,679	21,545	2,527
	...	...	1878	223,823	105,331	61,887	—	45,656	479
HESSE	...	...	1874	129,844	85,507	30,369	—	8,354	5,501
	...	...	1877	138,631	67,906	24,652	8,495	14,540	11,975
	...	...	1878	123,134	67,288	21,037	8,968	14,453	11,499
In the whole of GERMANY	...	...	1874	5,259,155	1,616,440	1,564,999	479,151	810,109	339,738
	...	...	1877	5,535,785	1,569,431	1,392,644	432,291	977,766	481,008
	...	...	1878	5,801,127	1,389,316	1,332,597	395,185	1,502,461	415,485

Also, 1878, in Germany: other Liberals, 146,651; Popular Party, 78,156; Particularists, 159,105; Protesting Party, 103,954.

in society, the figures indicating their representatives give interesting results. (See table on page 168.)

It can escape no one who studies these figures attentively, that the liking for law—the Conservative tendency—has everywhere increased. What is the reason of this? The answer to the question will afford explanation of the political sentiments and tendencies of the German nation. We confidently assert that there are *no special political reasons for the increase of the Conservative votes and candidates*. This is shown, first, by the fact that their political aims are not different from those of the National Liberal party; they have supported the Imperial Chancellor with equal alacrity; the National Liberals as well as the Imperial party have sided with the Prussian Government against the refractory Romish hierarchy. In the spring of this year they all supported the laws demanded by the Chancellor, and on the passing of which he made his continuance in office depend. In the second place, the legislation of which the Conservatives now complain the most is by no means the work of the Liberals alone; it did not even chiefly originate with them, but with the Conservatives themselves. In the years from 1867 to 1871, the National Liberal party was never the dominant one; the Liberals altogether never had the majority; and yet the trades' ordinance, the law relating to joint-stock companies, and a number of other measures to which all mischief is now ascribed, were passed during that period. It is false to say that recent legislation is altogether the work of the Liberals. In the third place, the National Liberal party has always, in unison with the Imperial party and the Conservatives, adopted all the measures which the Government considered of great importance, and has always been opposed to the Centrals and, with the exception of the Imperials and Conservatives, to the Party of Progress, &c. Thus, for example, the law about the organization of the army, the prevention of the improper exercise of ecclesiastical offices, the law relating to the attestation of civil marriage, about the Landsturm, the great laws relating to judicature, the constitution of courts of justice, criminal cases and civil cases, the innovations in the penal code, the law about the deputy for the Imperial Chancellor, &c.

We cannot be surprised that, in view of these facts, Prince Bismark should have conceived the project, before mentioned, of reinforcing and regenerating the Prussian Ministry, and relatively the central Imperial authority, by the addition of some National Liberal members. In the autumn of 1877, Herr von Bennigsen accepted an invitation to visit the Chancellor, and the visit was repeated at Christmas. Everybody was in suspense. Germany entered on the year 1878 with the feeling that something extraordinary was about to happen; the Conservatives clenched their fists in readiness, for they foresaw the advent of all sorts of disasters from Ministerial Liberalism; the Centrals were beside themselves, and even the Imperial party was disconcerted. The new year came in, nothing particular happened, the Reichstag was convened for the 6th February; instead of the expected Liberal Minister, the tobacco duty was proposed to the House. The opposition when this was found this out, the revelation made by Prince Bismark that he aimed at a tobacco monopoly, the debates in the Reichstag, the proposition for legislation about the Chancellor's deputy, the measures laid before the Prussian Parliament and the debates on them—all this brought about a situation of affairs such as Germany has rarely seen. The Prussian Minister of Finance and the Minister of Trade resigned; after various futile attempts a new Finance Minister was found in the person of Hofrecht, Mayor of Berlin, and Maybach, formerly President of the Imperial Railway Board, was appointed Minister of Trade; Count Eulenberg, the Prussian Minister of the Interior, who had had leave of absence, was dismissed, and replaced by a cousin of the same name; Count Stolberg-Wernigerode, one of the richest and oldest of the Prussian magnates, lately ambassador at Vienna, was nominated Chancellor's Deputy and President of the Prussian Ministry; sundry chiefs of Imperial departments were entrusted with the deputyship for the Chancellor for their provinces.

A great deal has been said and written about the arrangements and negotiations between Prince Bismark and Herr von Bennigsen, but neither of them has felt any obligation to report them to the public. What Von Bennigsen has told his party does not surpass the limits of general discussion. So much is certain, that Bismark entertained expectations as to the attitude of the National Liberal party which were not fulfilled; that he made no promises himself; that the intention was to make Herr von Bennigsen the Chancellor's deputy, with the post of Prussian Minister; and that Herr von Forckenbock, who has been President of the German Reichstag since 1874 and is now Mayor of Berlin, and Baron von Stauffenberg, should come in as well. By the beginning of May it seemed as if the ill-humour was appeased, and peace restored. Then Hödel's notorious attempt on the aged Emperor took place; a few days afterwards a law against Socialism was laid before the Reichstag. After its rejection, and with a few exceptions by the National Liberal party, the second horrible attempt, by Nobiling, occurred, from which the wounded Emperor escaped, but had for a time to leave the conduct of affairs to the Crown Prince. By the order of the 11th of June the Reichstag was dissolved, and the new elections ordained for the 30th of July. Whether the Government really thought, as it gave out, that even after this second attempt the National Liberal party would not consent to any special law against Socialism, or only made a pretext of it, cannot be determined, nor is it to the purpose. It is indisputable that the official and officious organs all over the Empire, with very few exceptions, gave the word of command not to elect Liberals; it was openly declared that the moment was come for forming a large and secure Government majority. The electoral contest was the most vehement which Germany has experienced; in many places the populace was stirred to its very depths. In some quarters no means were spared—lies, calumny, personal attacks, &c. And the strangest thing of all is that all parties united against the National Liberals; the most curious alliances were seen: Centrals and Socialists almost universally in league, and the fact was sealed by a formal agreement at Mainz by the well-known Ultramontane Canon Moufang. The German Conservatives coquetted with the Ultramontanes, in order, when they obtained a majority, to sacrifice the Prussian ecclesiastical laws, and everything which they assume to be inimical to religion. The elections afforded evidence that the people were deeply disaffected; that in many places they were dissatisfied with the conduct of their representatives, and the tendencies of the parties to which they belonged. It was a fact, which must have opened everybody's eyes, that in Hanover the National Liberal party lost three seats to the Guelphs; that in the provinces of East and West Prussia, which the Progress party regarded as their bulwark, they did not retain one of their seven seats; that the National Liberals lost six; that the two Conservative parties gained thirty-seven votes, the two Liberal parties lost forty-six, and the Ultramontanes, Protesters, Particularists, Democrats, and Socialists retained their forces undiminished.

The new Reichstag met on the 9th of September; its first session closed on the 19th of October. Its sole object was to *pass the proposed law against the dangerous attempts of the Social Democracy*. The result was that, on the 19th of October, the law was passed by a majority of 221 (including the National Liberals, of whom only three were wanting, other Liberals, and the Conservatives) against 149 (among these were all the Ultramontanes, the Progress party, the Poles, the Alsations, the Particularists, and Social Democrats). On the 22nd of October it was published, and it has since been enforced as widely as possible. This has made it clear that the majority in the Reichstag has respected the Conservative tendencies of the nation. No clear-sighted person can fail to see that the nation is satisfied with this result. The audacity of the Socialists, their vulgarity and villany, the tone of their press, in which they have thrown dirt at everything which men hold sacred, the shamelessness of their conduct everywhere, the tyranny with which they put down the opinions of the workmen who were opposed to them, had become intolerable. Workmen as

well as employers are relieved from a load ; every one felt that the system of exciting the working classes against the rest of society must come to an end, if the state of things was to be improved.

The latest session has indicated a second interesting fact, namely, the official reconciliation of the Chancellor with the National Liberal party ; for in the session he placed it on the same platform as the Conservatives, recognized its aims, and invited it and the two Conservative parties in future to go hand in hand and support the Government. This time it actually did so ; all disputed points were so arranged by means of compromise with consent of the Government, that the latter could look forward to the acceptance of its measures.

How was it possible that Bismark, ignoring the past, should take this course ? The question is easily answered. Bismark is the most practical of politicians. He saw that now, as before, the centre of gravity lay in the National Liberal party. Without its co-operation he knew that he could not pass the Socialist law ; a second dissolution of the Reichstag would hardly have resulted in the election of one differently constituted, as all that was possible had been done by agitation, party zeal, influence, &c., on all sides ; there was nothing for it but to "*faire bonne mine au mauvais jeu*," and to make peace with the National Liberals. This was the more easily effected, because the men among them who, up to that time, had been riding their theoretical hobbies and only recognizing practical needs when it happened to suit them, had learnt from the elections, that though perhaps in a few districts the people had done despite to their own opinions, the nation, as a whole, had no notion of putting up with an intolerable state of things for the sake of fine-spun theories. After those gentlemen who in May had declared an exceptional law to be impossible, had considered it quite reasonable in October because the nation wished for it, Prince Bismark had no reason whatever for rejecting an alliance with the National Liberals, for practically he had gained the victory, since the party went his way, and not he theirs.

But there was one method of getting a majority without the Liberal party, namely, the league of the two Conservative parties with the Ultramontanes, whose union would have produced a decided majority. It has occasionally been thought of by the ultra-Conservatives ; indeed a member of the old Conservative party has spoken in the Reichstag of a league between his party and the Conservative elements among the Centrals. There was a great talk among the people that Bismark intended to gain over the Centrals and thus to be able to dispense with the Liberals ; then, with the new majority formed of the Imperials, the German Conservatives, and Centrals to carry all his measures for the reform of taxation, &c., but as an equivalent to sacrifice the Prussian ecclesiastical laws, &c., and to propose as great a reaction as possible in the legislation relating to trade and commerce. Was there any foundation for these reports ? We will try to answer the question, but in connection with another : how is it that it is possible in Germany to suppose that the statesmen who on one day occupy a certain standpoint, can occupy a directly opposite one the next ? We shall thereby come to a right understanding of the true causes of the differences between the Chancellor and the Liberals, and be able to form a judgment of the real political situation.

The chief occasion was given for these ideas by the negotiations which Bismark carried on with the Nuncio Masella at Kissengen. They were shrouded in mystery. How do matters now stand in Germany, and especially in Prussia, with whom the final decision rests ? The *Culturkampf*, as it is called (the state and effects of which we described in detail in the July number), has been a decided advantage to the Ultramontane political party. Its leaders, especially Herr Windhorst, have succeeded in persuading the mass of the people that it is a struggle for religion, the liberty of the Church, and the like. They have the masses so well in hand that they can use them as they will for their political purposes. If peace were concluded between the Pope and Prussia the clergy would practically acknowledge and obey the law as a

matter of course. But this would deprive the leaders of a pretext for saying that the Government must be opposed, because the Church was oppressed, for the stupidest of the working class would not long be able to comprehend how the infallible Pope and the Government could agree, and yet that Herr Windhorst and his colleagues should feel bound to continue the contest under the pretext of religion. Again, when the agreement with Rome is brought about, the Pope of course, with or without the express request of the Government, will order the bishops to revolt, and the bishops will give the same orders to the clergy. Hitherto the ecclesiastical authorities have been powerless; in order to gain over the masses, they had to let the chaplains with their press do as they pleased; complete anarchy had set in. In short, if the *Culturkampf* ceases, the influence of the Centrals will cease with it. This is the reason why hitherto the Jesuits and the Ultramontanes have opposed an agreement. Whether Leo XIII. will succeed in coming to terms without the Central party, or eventually against its will, will be seen before long, as from the latest notification in the officious *Provincial-Correspondenz*, directed against the Centrals, there can be no doubt that the negotiations are still going on. The Ultramontane party, in order to make sure of gaining the day, has during the last few weeks changed its tactics, and poses as the guardian of liberty. Nothing can be more absurd than to see a party which swears by the Syllabus, which does not hesitate to appeal openly to their leader as authoritative in parliamentary debates, which rejects liberty of the press, liberty of conscience, and liberty of public teaching as heretical, professing to be the guardian of civil liberties. But the history of Germany since 1848 makes it more absurd than ever. The Ultramontanes have been everywhere the most faithful allies of the reactionary governments when they were agreed on ecclesiastical matters. There can be no question that they would be prepared for any reaction if the Government would yield to their demands. They would soon come to terms with the Ultramontane portion of the people. For the people who could be told in 1869, "Infallibility is impossible," and in 1870, "We have always had it," can be told that black is white to-day; they have been so well drilled since 1870 that anything can be done with them. But there is one difficulty in the case, that the Government cannot possibly accede to their wishes. In order to be prepared for whatever may happen, this party has had resolutions submitted to the people—this has already been done at meetings of electors at Cologne and other places—which declare: "Even if the *Culturkampf* is over, the Centre must not give up its mission; it must still be the guardian of civil liberty." They are still riding the same hobby-horse, the attainment of equality (*Pärität*).

The want of clearness in this department is also one of the characteristic symptoms in Germany. In every circle and everywhere there are a great many persons who, in spite of all assurances to the contrary, are of opinion that the Government is not quite in earnest in enforcing the laws against Ultramontanism. The view prevails even in Government circles; it is incredible, but yet true, that a few months ago a president could state that it was not the intention of the Government to enforce one of the regulations made by itself. The people do not know where they are; thousands of people know that the officials could occasion unpleasantnesses. If it is supposed that the wind will change, they prepare themselves accordingly.

To these symptoms of our political condition others may be added. It is well known that for four years there has been a depression of trade which affects all classes; in many neighbourhoods there is scarcely a person, who has any property at all, who does not suffer from it. It was first felt by the larger manufacturers, this of course affected the working classes, and in course of time it spread to the smaller manufacturers, the artisans, farmers, &c. There are as yet no signs of improvement. We know by experience that man never seeks the causes of evils in himself, but always in outward circumstances. So in the present case, the mischief must arise from the laws.

Some make the customs answerable for the depression of the iron, coal, and woollen trades, &c. The artisans and tradespeople attribute it to free-trade, the law of free settlement, &c. A large number of others make the joint-stock company laws answerable for the swindles of previous years. It is not our present purpose to investigate whether these opinions are correct or not, we have only to state facts in order to describe the prevailing political views. It is a fact that there is scarcely a class of the population, scarcely a neighbourhood in Germany, which, affected by the general distress, is not in a state of discontent. Every one wishes for change. This explains how it was possible, at the last elections for the Reichstag,—as in Germany every man of twenty-five has a vote,—that such a change should come to pass, except in the Ultramontane electoral districts, which act on the word of command from the clergy, and which were told point-blank that the Liberals and the *Culturkampf* were to blame for everything. If a candidate was not very well-known to the electors, but agreed with their political views, and declared himself in favour of those modifications of the law on which, according to the prevailing views, an improvement in the state of things depended, a new election seldom took place. The number of one hundred and eighteen new deputies eighteen months after the previous election affords sufficient proof of this. A large portion of the electors expected, and still expects, that the Reichstag should cure every ill. People forget that a political state of things like that existing under the German Bundestag from 1815 to 1866 cannot come to an end without great convulsions. German unity since 1871, not only under the Empire, has demanded changes and measures on many points deeply affecting the inner life of the nation, for which in general several decades are required. Then the state of things took place, especially in the years 1871 to 1874, when the milliards received from France produced a real paroxysm in trade. The Government of the whole country and the large States, especially Prussia, paid back their State loans with hot haste, and compelled the holders of State securities, who did not know what to do with their money, to take shares in commercial undertakings, whether sound or unsound. There was quite a rage for getting rich by means of high dividends. An entirely new system of coinage and of weights and measures, a complete change in the system of the issue of bank-notes, &c.—all this, things which were necessary and excellent in themselves, conspired to cause disturbance when the crisis set in. Instead of the previous importunity about the development of the Empire, there was a loud call to desist from further legislation, to stand still, even to some extent to retrace our steps. People now see nothing but mistakes everywhere. If, finally, we look at the *Culturkampf* which the Ultramontanes turn to account in stirring up the passions of the people, and the ferment in the Protestant Church, also produced by artificial methods, we have a picture of the present state of feeling in Germany. Combined with the good qualities and aims, always to be found among the German people, we have satiety, gloom, ill-humour, discouragement, discontent, disappointment, self-interest, egotism, particularist tendencies. Hitherto, the objects of and means employed in internal policy and legislation have necessarily been destructive, and, so far as new measures are concerned, of a liberal tendency; but now the tendency of the malcontents is conservative, and as regards the Liberals reactionary. There are no more valid and cogent reasons for this change of tendency than for the peculiar conformation of parties. In many large circles they want no more innovations, and desire to see some of those introduced abolished. The most striking proof of this state of feeling is afforded by the downfall of the Party of Progress, whose cry is for liberty and free institutions. Although absolute free trade is their principle, and this is a vital question in the Baltic provinces, they have not retained a single seat in East and West Prussia, and their numbers are so reduced as to be doubled by each of the Conservative parties.

We are not of opinion that things will soon mend. If this is not the case,

neither will there be any improvement on one point from which our internal calamities have to some extent arisen for many years past. We allude to the want of harmonious working between the chief factors in the legislation and in the administration. Tacitus says (*Germania*, chap. xix.) of the ancient Germans: "*Plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonæ leges.*" At the present time in many cases, the good administration of good laws is wanting. We are not of opinion that in Prussia, and therefore in the Empire, a parliamentary system of government like that of England can be expected. If any one expects this at present from a Hohenzollern he will be disappointed, though no one could possibly adhere more loyally to the constitution than the Emperor William has always done. We go further, and say that the personal labours of the Prussian kings are a benefit; the well-being of the country to a great extent depends upon them. But practically the position of affairs is peculiar. The Ministers in Prussia are morally answerable to the Landtag, and when the debate on the budget takes place every year, they are effectually reminded of it, especially by the Ultramontanes. The Ministers have to carry out the laws, and there can be no doubt that the Crown has no legal power to dispense with them, unless there is an authorization for such a proceeding in the law itself. But the Ministers are also personally responsible to the king, and this is as firmly adhered to as in the days of absolutism before 1848. As a result of this it may happen any day that a Minister may, at the king's command, have to justify himself to him for pure administrative acts, or at any rate to report upon them. But the way to Court is not only not identical with a formally legal course, but often tends in quite a different direction. It is incredible what attempts were made by representations to the king, and complaints laid before him, to prevent the law of July 4, 1875, relating to the right of the Old Catholic communities to Church property, from being carried into effect. That such a state of things is obstructive is beyond all question. Can any one maintain that the position of a Minister would not be improved if he belonged to the dominant political party? A Minister who is not supported by the majority of the members, let him be ever so meritorious, is an upper servant of the Crown. But the subject has another aspect, which was particularly obvious in the last elections for the Reichstag, and in nearly all the recent supplementary elections to the Prussian Landtag. The masses look at what is for their own advantage, especially under the circumstances we have described. The National Liberal party, undoubtedly through the fault of the individuals who were summoned, has lost much of its prestige, from the circumstance that it did not obtain any seats in the Government. (From this we may conclude that those people have been permitted to have too much influence who cannot forget the time of the Prussian conflict before 1866, and who have not freed themselves from the influence of a few persons who take it as a matter of course that they are to accept nothing from others, but that all must bow down to their doctrinaire theories as the highest wisdom.) Nothing is more fatal than to let the right moment slip. Everybody who knows anything of life must be aware that the party in power can influence the general elections as well as the constituents, except in the decidedly Ultramontane districts. A party which has nothing to offer will not maintain a lasting influence over the masses. If we are to have a firm, sound, and permanent policy in Germany, the National Liberal party must reorganize itself; it must learn clearly to understand what the people want, and what will be for their advantage; must cease to attach importance to mere catchwords; must bear existing circumstances in mind; must make common cause with those parties which, taken altogether, have the same national ends in view, the Conservatives; and as the reward for this they will render a majority for the Government possible, and will demand and be permitted to have a powerful representation both in the Imperial Government and the Prussian Ministry, in proportion to their numbers and the provinces they represent.

FRIEDRICH VON SCHULTE.

II.

IN RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG, November 16, 1878.

The Assassination of General Mesentzev.

LET me first revert to the tragedy which gave us all such a shock. As time goes on, the hope of discovering and punishing General Mesentzev's murderers grows less and less. If the detectives were not clever enough to catch them when the traces were fresh, what chance is there of overtaking them now that they have had time to destroy every proof of their connection with the crime? Indeed the horrible deed was so well planned from the beginning that there never was much probability of its authors being brought to light. Society, after trying to comfort itself with false rumours about their capture, seeks now to entertain itself with new versions about the real cause of the murder. Though the revolutionists do not deny having committed the deed, but even boast of it, calling it an act of *justice*, there are people who do not believe their statements, and attribute the crime to motives of personal revenge, arising in quite another quarter.

To understand this complication, one must remember that the head of the police, besides his official business, has a secret sphere of activity, not less important than his public one. He is the supreme judge of delicate and scandalous family affairs, since whenever the parties so involved wish to have the matters decided without their being made public, they go to him. He has the power of granting to the unhappy wife the passport which her husband refuses her, or of obliging the husband to allot her a yearly allowance, notwithstanding that she declines going back to him. He interferes in similar ways in other cases. For instance, he takes proceedings against young spend-thrifts whose extravagance threatens to ruin their parents; or he represses the disagreeable creditors who dare to trouble the peace of useful statesmen, and so on. Such doings as these, which have a strong likeness to the method of ruling adopted by Haroun al Rashid, who went disguised among his people to learn their true wants, satisfy one of the parties, but they displease the other. Along with the obliged and benefited persons, one must naturally expect discontented ones.

Reasoning on these grounds, it is said that one of the bad husbands whose wife obtained General Mesentzev's protection, resented such an interference, and plotted revenge. The statement runs that he had contrived a complete scheme for making a fortune by taking advantage of his wife's reluctance to live with him, asking from her a high price for her liberty. This design nothing except the power of the head of the police could have prevented him from executing, but that power was brought into play against him. May it not be possible, it is asked, that such a man, frustrated in his scheme, resorted to violence from a feeling of revenge? This tale, though very incredible, has just one proof to support it. An eye-witness of the crime, a gentleman residing in the street where it took place, and two young men, who were walking at that moment in the garden of the Michael Palace, allege that the criminals had the appearance of men belonging to the upper classes, that their dress, their air, and the way in which they lounged in their vehicle, testified that they were used to high life, and could not be humble people in disguise.

Now the greater part of the revolutionists certainly do not belong to elevated circles, and it is difficult to imagine that fanatics capable of merely political murder could be found among the few aristocratic members of the community. This one circumstance speaks in favour of those who look for the foes of General Mesentzef in the higher ranks of society. But, on the other hand, the mere impression produced on the beholders cannot be accepted as a real fact, at least not until it is further strengthened. The state of mental agitation into which people are thrown by seeing an act so dreadful as assassination is not favourable to a calm estimate of its particulars, and it is hardly conceivable that the witnesses, whose first thoughts naturally would be divided between helping the victim and pursuing the assassins, had the leisure to scrutinize the deportment and manners of the latter. Besides, an act of private revenge would scarcely have been so cleverly organized. How on that supposition could all cabs in the neighbourhood have been hired and sent far away, and the policemen of the quarter be in their turn otherwise employed? This could not be done by private means! So far then there is no ground to disbelieve the revolutionists, when they claim the shocking act as their own.

Action of "The Reds."

Since its perpetration the party have refrained from fresh deeds of blood, but, on the other hand, they show themselves increasingly active in publishing their pamphlets and proclamations. All the endeavours made by our two kinds of police—the public and the secret—to discover the authors of these publications, and especially to find the printing-offices of the party, have been as yet in vain. This mysterious underhand press continues flourishing in spite of laws and prohibitions, and attempts at detection. It makes use of the penny post, and propagates its productions nearly as freely as are permitted publications. Thus, immediately after General Mesentzef's death, it issued a proclamation entitled "Death for Death," which contained what purported to be an explanation and a justification of the act. It was alleged that public opinion completely erred in looking on it as a political murder—in believing that General Mesentzef was slain only for being the head of the police. The revolutionary party, it stated, is not so wicked as that. When it condemned a man to death, it was only for personal guilt, and it never acted unjustly. General Mesentzef had been guilty of cruel and illegal proceedings against political prisoners, and that was the cause why he was executed. But if the secret judges thought fit to choose for that act the day succeeding the execution of Kovalsky at Odessa, we may be sure it was certainly done in order to frighten the Government. However, in spite of these representations, the supposed victim (Kovalsky) was really a criminal who had deserved his fate.

Side by side with these explanations, the "Red" party go on vociferating against Government and all organized society, vowing to exterminate every supporter of the actual state of things. Seeing the impossibility of getting rid at once of all their numberless foes, they divide the latter into several categories, which are to be attacked one after the other. Among those put in the most dangerous category are included the liberal and honest men who are truly devoted to the Government, and they are to be fought first of all. Dishonest officials or despots are not held to be nearly so prejudicial to the revolutionary aims: their acts foster discontent among the people, and so increase the number of the enemies of the Government. Further, women are declared to be the most useful auxiliaries, being more enthusiastic and more capable of complete devotion to a lofty idea than men. For this reason, the members of the community are bound to employ all means to gain more female adherents to their organization.

These secretly-published writings do not fail to exercise a certain influence over the public mind, strengthened by the fact that they circulate in spite of strong prohibition. If the issue of them were allowed or even tolerated people would attach much less importance to them, viewing them as among the

common eccentricities of the human mind. But their printing being elevated to the rank of a serious crime, liable to the severest penalties, it is natural that the obstinacy with which their authors defy the agents of power should seem to be a proof of their strength. Seeing that the Government is powerless against them, utterly failing to find out their printing-office, timorous people are inclined to suppose that it will not be able to protect them against the predicted dangers. In this way the threats of which this party is so lavish really frighten a great number of the readers of their publications. One may see this in the sort of rumours that keep circulating in this city, though they are mostly told as jests. For instance, one frequently hears that the revolutionists intend to blow up St. Petersburg, or certain portions of it, by means of dynamite, which pretended chimney-sweepers will put into the chimneys. When such tales as this are told in society, some indeed of the hearers profess to disbelieve and to laugh at them; but others do not conceal their terror, and confess that they look suspiciously at every chimney-sweeper who passes them in the street with his black face, seeking to discover in him at once an equally black design.

The Hunt for the Assassins.

The capture of the murderers would certainly calm the public mind, and give us more faith in the police; but it is very unlikely to happen now. The reward of fifty thousand roubles promised by a liberal patriot to the discoverer of the criminals has been of no avail, only giving rise to misunderstandings and a number of droll stories. The desire to gain so large a sum, and at the same time confer a real benefit on the State, is apt to mislead the sight and confuse the understanding; and it is curious how often—especially at first—striking likenesses in people to the unknown criminals were perceived, and the police duly informed of the discovery. These affairs generally terminated either by a complaint to the magistrate on the part of the supposed criminal, or by a monetary compromise between the parties. In either case, the clever detective, instead of suddenly growing rich and honoured, as he expected, had to pay a fine to the injured person. At one time, when the chase was most ardent, some courage was required for a man to mix with the crowd in public places if he had the misfortune to resemble, in the slightest degree, the description of the murderers. It was especially dangerous to have a fair complexion along with black moustaches, for these were the chief marks of the false coachman, who drove his accomplices so swiftly away from pursuit. Such a combination not being very common here, the private detectives paid their exclusive attention to it.

Moscow—where patriotism is always in advance of public feeling in its cold, cosmopolitan rival—did not fail to display its zeal in this case, and the hunt there for the assassins had a more animated character than in our northern capital. We may, as a specimen, give here one of the episodes of which Moscow was the scene.

A Mr. N—, occupied day and night thinking and dreaming of achieving this heroic capture, met one day in a restaurant a young man unhappily endowed with fair hair and dark moustaches. They quickly became acquainted, drank together a bottle of wine, and came naturally to talk about the St. Petersburg drama. During the conversation, Mr. N— looked closer at his companion, and the dark moustaches troubled him. "May it not be *he*?" Mr. N— asked himself. The talk grew livelier, and as it did so the suspicions became stronger and stronger. Fresh bottles of wine were ordered in hopes of eliciting the truth during the talk, but the stranger drank and disclosed nothing. This failure led Mr. N— to give him another rendezvous for the next day. On that occasion he asked some friends to join them, and judge independently if his suspicions were not well founded. The company assembled, looked narrowly at the guest, and felt convinced that he must be the coachman. In order to make quite sure, Mr. N— had included in his invitations a disguised policeman. "Well," he asked the latter after dinner, "what do you

think?" The answer was, "I think him very like the man." After that, the company hired a carriage and went to take a drive in the Park. Here they again refreshed themselves at a public-house. On their return to the restaurant they threw away disguise, and said to their companion plainly, "You are the coachman; we know it!" The stranger, amazed at such an accusation, protested that they were mistaken. But Mr. N—— kept on shouting, "To the police-station! to the station!" The stranger, being arrested and examined, was found to be a peaceful Bulgarian, having all his papers in order. He naturally enough complained of the wrong that had been done him, and the affair had to be brought before a judge, where it ended by a reconciliation being somehow effected between the parties.

The General's Successor.

General Mesentzef having been murdered in performing his duty, everybody thought that it would not be easy to find a successor to him. Several candidates were successively designated by public opinion, it being each time rumoured that the proposals had met with a refusal. It is hard to say how far such reports were true, but, as the choice finally made by the Emperor has gained general approval, the former failures are not to be regretted. General Drenteln, who now occupies the post of head of the police, is known as a man of great firmness of character, and of honesty in his opinions. He is nearly sixty, and by education and views belongs to the old military school of the Emperor Nicholas. Obedience to superiors, and the maintenance of military discipline, are the first and the most inflexible rules of his conduct. He himself never discusses orders, doing what he is bidden, and not even staying to reflect upon the danger he may personally incur in fulfilling the orders. Endowed with the valour of a true soldier, we may be sure that he will no more fear the dagger of the revolutionists than tremble at facing a foe in open battle. It is certain that the sort of panic which is taking hold of a portion of the official world will have no influence upon his mind. His past life is in this respect a guarantee for the future.

It may be interesting to give some particulars of him. He took part, being then a captain, in the Hungarian campaign of 1849, and some years later commanded a brigade in the Crimea. In 1863, he was at the head of the troops stationed near Vilna, and contributed to the pacification of Poland. In 1872 he was named head of the military at Kief, and last year he was invested with a command in our army in Bulgaria. These appointments have familiarized him with all sorts of danger, hardening his nerves against fear. He suits perfectly the first requirements of the new functions which are now devolved on him, but it is not so certain that he will understand as well some of the political and more delicate matters. To manage in a satisfactory way the family affairs we spoke of above, with other business of the same kind, requires a diplomatic tact and shrewdness which open-hearted soldiers seldom possess. General Drenteln may consequently find impediments in his way quite new to him, and more difficult to conquer than either Hungarians, Poles, or Turks.

Repressive Legal Measures.

The first consequence of the terror with which this murder struck the Government was the speedy enacting of rigorous laws, and the taking of extraordinary measures. Public feeling fully supported the authorities; nearly all the organs of the press pronouncing themselves in favour of the utmost severity, and demanding the penalty of death against political criminals. Violence on one side generally calls forth violence on the other, while, as everybody knows, nothing leads so swiftly to cruelty as fear. Each time supreme power fails to break down opposition, its agents attribute the failure to weakness, and declare that the penalties are not severe enough. The fact seems strange to an observer, but it is undeniably true, that Governments never imagine the bare possibility of their having themselves been too exacting; they never suppose

that liberty and toleration could cure the evils they find themselves confronted with. At any rate, Russia certainly shows no power of doing this, and, having once entered on the dark path of rigour, there is but little chance of any stopping short in the pursuit of it. The prosecutions of the Nihilists, now carried on so long, not having succeeded in destroying the movement, the Government evidently thinks that it has not sufficiently frightened them, and believes that their growing boldness can only be checked by proclaiming the certainty of death for the offence. Imprisonment and Siberia fail to influence,—what remains then but to try military executions?

Thus a new law has been issued, according to which all political crimes accompanied by proceedings of violence, that is, attempts to murder or open resistance to authorities, are to be tried before courts-martial. Since its proclamation, no fresh cases have arisen to which it could be applied, and its partisans accordingly see in this circumstance a proof of its efficacy. They affirm that the threat alone has been sufficient to prevent new crimes. On the contrary, the opponents of violent measures argue that the law will in the end have no effect whatever. According to their view, fanatics who are ready to sacrifice personal freedom and individual careers to their idea, will not shrink from incurring the risk of death. We have just seen in Germany that the capture of Hoedel, and the fate to which he was irrevocably doomed, did not stop the murderous hand of Nobiling. The same perplexities will occur every time men act under the impulse of a creed, be it a true or a false one. The aim which revolutionists and Socialists believe they have in view is the good of humanity, and, though they misunderstand the matter completely, using the worst means possible for such an end, they are nevertheless possessed of the dogged obstinacy of those who do not strive exclusively for personal advantage. In fact, persecution only strengthens their faith, while the desire to revenge the sufferings of the victims among them emboldens others to pursue the fight.

What, then, is to be done? Is the State to let its foes alone, and allow them to undermine its foundations without resistance? The Nihilists will accept no terms, but insist on subverting the whole political and social order now existing. How can any Government be indifferent to them, or tolerate their doings? These questions show the great difficulties of the case. On the one hand persecution only fans the flame, and on the other weakness may lead to utter ruin. The wisest way seems to be a middle course between the two extremes. A strong Government ought not to let itself be influenced by fear, and lose its presence of mind. It should be able to distinguish between grave and venial offences, not treating both with equal severity, or reserving rigour for the first. The undeserved importance attached to every act classed under the rubric of political crimes is very far from serving the true interests of the State.

At first political culprits were taken before the ordinary courts, but were tried without a jury. Afterwards these cases were transferred to special courts at the Senate, but the latter tribunals also failed to satisfy the Government. Despite the high station of the judges, they were unable to command the deference of the accused, and, in the course of last winter, most unpleasant scandals arose in the Senate. Some of the culprits brought before it refused to go through the ceremony of trial, declaring that it was only a pretence, their condemnation being resolved on beforehand. They greeted the venerable Senators with the grossest insults, and when the police were called to hurry them away, they offered an open resistance, engaging in actual fight in the hall. The court was at a loss how to get out of the difficulty. At last it was decided that the rebels should not be again placed at the bar, and accordingly they were adjudged, in their absence, guilty of contumacy. However, the Senate felt disgusted with its task, and asked to be delivered from such a duty. Then, last spring, it was thought best to create special courts for the trial of political offenders, choosing the judges from among the officials of a lower rank; but before the nominees had time to enter upon their functions, the disorders at Odessa followed, and the murder of Mesentzef induced the Government to

change its mind once more, and to decide, finally, to submit all such cases to courts-martial.

At the same time, the Government published a touching appeal to society, adjuring the public to second its endeavours to secure order and legality. This communication, which was inserted in *The Official Messenger*, and was copied thence into all the papers, chiefly dwelt on the patience and toleration which it was pretended had been shown for so long a time towards those concerned in the criminal revolutionary propaganda, adding that that patience was now exhausted. The duty of the Government, it said, was now to prosecute and punish the disturbers of public tranquillity, and this it declared it was resolved to do unflinchingly. This appeal was specially addressed to the young rising generation. Government hopes that our youth will not listen any more to bad suggestions, and not give up a prosperous career for the pursuit of wicked and unattainable aims.

Society responded to the appeal by sending a great number of addresses to the Emperor. They came from nearly every provincial town in Russia, and represented every class. They invariably contained the warmest protestations of fidelity to the Crown, and expressed the strongest indignation against the disturbers of the public peace. The protestations, though in their form somewhat monotonous and wearying, expressed truly enough the state of the national feeling. The revolutionists find but little sympathy with the bulk of the people, and the great majority decidedly prefer the actual *régime* of *gendarmes*, with all its bad features, to the one the Socialists wish to introduce in place of it.

The Nihilists and Family Life.

It is well known that the Nihilists have their own particular creed, not only as to political matters, but also as to social and family life. Among other things, they reject wholly the old-fashioned doctrine of conjugal love and fidelity, declaring that love is free, and jealousy a bestial feeling, unworthy of man. Some years ago this theory was put in the foreground of their propaganda, and they took infinite pains to get it adopted as an article of faith. The journalists as well as the novel-writers of their school were continually expatiating on the meanness of jealousy, which was considered by them as another form of the unworthy love of property. The heroes of these novels generally renounced their wives as soon as the latter felt inclined to give them successors in the marital relation, and often pushed their generosity so far as to feign death in order to free the ladies. In short, a Nihilist is no more allowed to look upon his wife in the light of the old Church beliefs and established social traditions, than he is permitted to trust in God and hold the immortality of the soul. These two superstitions are deemed destined to go into the past hand-in-hand, and neophytes are required to reject them both at once.

This being the ideal of the party, it is worth while to see how far practice corresponds to principles, and whether it is such an easy thing to renounce bestial feelings in order to become "a man" in the sense attached to the word by the progressive party. A recent trial before one of the courts throws some light on this question.

The two brothers Enkouratofs—Dometi and Pimen—had shown from their infancy the most tender fraternal feeling. The one could not live without the other, each always sharing the other's joys and sorrows. Belonging by birth to the gentry, they possessed, if not a large fortune, at least the necessary means of easy existence. However, while still very young, they were caught by the wiles of the revolutionary agents and espoused their cause. It is true this fact was only formally proved in the case of the elder brother, Dometi, but there is little doubt that the younger shared the same views. Unless it had been so, the great harmony between them, which was testified to by all the witnesses, could not have existed. True to one part of their doctrine, Dometi married a plain peasant girl, but in spite of the other prescriptions he loved her passionately. Unfortunately the tastes of the brothers accorded too well on this

point, for Pimen fell in love with his sister-in-law. If he had not professed the Nihilistic creed he would most likely have thought of going away from her sight and crushing his guilty love, but as it was he did not dream of such a course. Why should he? On the contrary, he went on living under the same roof with his brother's family, all the time never hiding his feelings. He set himself to conquer his sister-in-law's heart, and, not admitting any rights on the part of her husband, he pleaded his cause without scruple. Dometi, when he became aware of this, was so far consistent that he did not ask his brother to leave their house. His wife remained attached to him and did not like Pimen. She told her husband the persecutions she had to endure from his brother, but though he pitied her, he did nothing to relieve her. This sort of thing went on for years. Pimen did not check himself even in his brother's presence, asking him with desperate prayers to give up his wife. Dometi always answered that he would make the sacrifice if his wife really preferred Pimen, but, if that was not the case, he could not compel her to make the change. The most curious part of the affair is that, in spite of all such scenes, they went on living together, Dometi allowing the unheard-of pretensions of his brother as a natural thing. At last Pimen required that the wife should make no distinction in favour of her husband, but treat them both as brothers. The strange couple consented to this, in order to calm Pimen's mental disturbance. But the concession only irritated him the more, and led to the final catastrophe. One night Dometi was aroused from his sleep by the desperate screams of his wife; she came running into his bedroom crying out that Pimen meant to murder him. The latter followed on her heels, looking so fiercely that Dometi, seizing his revolver, fired at him before he well knew what he was about. The shot proved to be fatal. So soon as that was ascertained the unhappy Dometi hastened to deliver himself up into the hands of justice. The case produced a great sensation, and the verdict of *Not guilty* brought in by the jury was greeted with general approbation. But in spite of that verdict, looking at the case from the moral point of view, the accused cannot be let off so easily. Why did he let things go so far, and not take measures to cure his brother's madness? His answer would be to point to the Nihilistic doctrine. But it would be well for the younger members of this sect to look more closely into this case, and let it enable them to realize the practical consequences of their unnatural principles. The closest friendship joined to the firmest convictions as to the truth of those doctrines was powerless to cure these two brothers of jealousy. This feeling, reputed by the Nihilists as inhuman, asserted itself with a strength which broke down every artificial barrier. May we not conjecture that it will always be so, and that man's will is as powerless in changing moral laws as physical ones?

Position of Women in Russia.

If the activity of the Nihilistic party remained without visible result, it would of course be easy to look on it with indifference. Unfortunately it is not so inoffensive, but does a great deal of positive evil. It has unmistakably frightened the Government, and so put a stop to the liberal reforms which are still so much required. It also makes the innocent suffer for the guilty. Take as an example the question of the education and career of women. It has been mixed up with Socialist subversive theories till the majority of the governing class do not see any difference between the one agitation and the other, and put them in the same boat. Whenever the revolutionists grow more than usually troublesome one is sure to hear of a new impediment being put in the way of women; while any concession made in favour of the latter always coincides with more peaceful political periods. It is easy to give proofs of this. At the last troubles the victims were the female doctors. But in order to understand the injustice done to them by the last measure affecting their rights, it is necessary to enter into some particulars with regard to the education and position generally of women in Russia.

It is not generally known in foreign countries that Russian women enjoy a degree of civil equality with men, holding a position much superior to that of the sex in other European States. Our national institutions, it should be remembered, did not follow a course of gradual development, but proceeded by leaps from one stage, and often from one extreme, to another, without intermediate periods. The absolute power granted to the monarch enabled him to realize immediately the reforms he thought fit to order. Not being obliged to consult his people's wishes, or preparatively to influence public opinion, he had only to legislate. Peter the Great may be called the first emancipator of women. He set them free from the confinement in which they had before lived, not being allowed to see any man but their husbands, their fathers, and brothers; he also ordered them to put on European dress, and appear in public at the balls, called *assemblies*, which he organized at St. Petersburg and Moscow. This *ukaze* caused much discontent, the public appearance of women being considered no less a sin than the shaving of beards in men. However, the Czar's orders were not to be trifled with, and his subjects, though they grumbled, obeyed.

This first step was soon followed by others. After the Czar's death, a woman, Catherine I., for the first time ascended the throne of Russia. As soon as the sceptre was entrusted to female hands, the Empresses naturally thought of bettering the condition of their sex. Peter the Great's own daughter, the Empress Elizabeth, who reigned from 1741 to 1761, granted to them civil rights equalling those of men. Since that time, there has not been the least difference made between the sexes in relation to the rights of property, to legacies, &c. Girls are no more subjected to legal guardianship than boys, while husbands have no more right to dispose of their wives' fortunes than the latter have to dispose of their husbands' property. A woman's possessions are held quite as independently as a man's, and when she marries they remain her own as heretofore. For selling or mortgaging, the husband must get her formal consent, given in the same terms to him as to a total stranger. He cannot receive at the post-office money which is addressed to her, and, indeed, his signature is nowhere accepted in lieu of hers. In one word, he has no legal right over her property, and she may do with it whatever she pleases, without at all asking his consent. After her death, he inherits the seventh part of her estates, and the fourth of her personal goods, that being the proportion which falls to her share of his property if she survives him.

This law gave rise to very curious cases before the emancipation of the serfs. As the nobility had alone the right to possess peasants, when a girl of the nobility married a tradesman, though she did not lose her privilege, she could not transfer it to her husband and her children. Her husband was not allowed to manage the property, or to exercise any authority over the serfs; they belonged specially to his wife, and after her death the village was sold again to a nobleman.

There occurred another class of instances still more strange. Some landladies married their own serfs, without condescending to set them free; when they did not feel satisfied with the behaviour of their husbands it was still in their power to offer them as military recruits, or to banish them to Siberia. Such occurrences were but exceptions, which did not represent the normal course of life, but we quote them in order to illustrate all sides of the question. But the common effect of the independence to which the law had elevated women was to give them a habit of reflecting and of calculating, and generally to develop their ability for business. Being free to dispose of their fortune, they learned to manage it without always relying on the help of men, and from the end of the last century downwards it has been no uncommon thing to see great riches amassed by women. Not only did they attend to their lands as well as control their serfs, but they sought often an additional branch of revenue in the establishment of manufactories. Nearly any one here could easily name several ladies of his acquaintance who had in these

ways become the founders of large fortunes. Long before the emancipation of the peasants, it was quite a common thing to see the husband engrossed with his official duties, while the whole management of the estate, including manufactures and commercial operations, devolved on his wife. To-day a considerable number of landed estates still belong to women, and are governed by them. If they do not show themselves very able agriculturists, at least they are more patient than the generality of landowners. They go on applying their old systems of cultivation, but they try hard, and do not give up completely, so saving agriculture from utter ruin. These landladies belong mostly to the old generation, educated during serfdom, and are unable to understand the conditions of free labour; which is the reason why they cannot obtain the same profits as their mothers and grandmothers, and why they find the world sadly changed for the worse.

It is a fact deserving to be noticed, that in the historical course of events woman in Russia was put in possession of civil rights before it had been thought necessary to give her any education. In this way it came to pass that she learnt to manage business without having had any school lessons, and that many of the remarkably practical female managers in the beginning of our century had no notion whatever of spelling or writing. But let us go back a little in our retrospect.

The first monarch who cared to further the education of women was Catherine the Great. She founded in 1764 the so-called Convent of Smolny, an institution partaking of the features both of the nunnery and of the boarding-school. It contained five hundred pupils, the one half belonging to the nobility, the other to the *bourgeoisie*. The education there extended over twelve years; the pupils entered the Institute at the age of six and left it at eighteen. During the whole time they were entirely secluded from the world, seeing their parents only twice a week, during an hour allotted for receptions. Those young girls were specially under the patronage of the Empress, and though in her treatment of them she made a great difference between the two classes,—giving in everything a manifest preference to the nobles,—the *bourgeoises* could also count on her protection.

Later, the Empress Marie Theodorovna, widow of Paul I., devoted herself still more exclusively to the same object, founding several other institutions of this kind for girls, and bequeathing her large fortune to their support. Those are the funds upon which they chiefly exist up to the present time, their administration forming the special Department of Female Education, styled the Tenth Section of the Emperor's Chancery.

These institutes were for nearly a whole century the only schools in Russia for girls, maintained by the State. The parents who did not wish to part completely with their daughters for many years (the term of their stay was gradually reduced from twelve years to nine in some institutes, and even to six in some others) had no other choice open to them than to send them to private schools, which were both expensive and unsatisfactory in the educational results. French, music, dancing, and deportment occupied the foreground, leaving little room for more serious studies, and fitting the pupils only for women of the world.

At last, in the year 1855, the Government laid a solid foundation for the secondary education of girls in establishing the present gymnasias. The initiative of this great benefit for the middle classes was taken by the present Empress, who wished to transfer to her new country the German day-schools, which she had seen work well in her own land. A committee appointed for that purpose began by acquainting itself officially with those schools in Germany, and also in Switzerland; and after making several modifications it presented a project, which was sanctioned by the Empress, and immediately carried out.

Society welcomed the new schools with great joy and gratitude. In the beginning they were chiefly used by the middle classes—the families belonging to good society being afraid at first of sending their daughters into bad

company. But gradually such prejudices were got rid of, and with every year the gymnasia count a greater number of pupils received from the aristocracy. The school-fees being very small (in the beginning they amounted to only forty roubles per annum, though since increased to sixty), the schools are open to people with very moderate means, and there is undoubtedly a mixed class sitting on the benches. But as the course of studies is higher and more serious than in other establishments, and the masters the best to be had, parents overlook these social inconveniences. Besides, as the gymnasium is only a day-school, with very little time given for recreation, the company of fellow-pupils cannot exercise a moral influence like that arising in boarding-schools, where the scholars spend together months and years. It may be as well to go into a little more detail on this subject, as nothing is known of it in England.

The gymnasia are divided into seven classes, besides a preparatory grade. To be admitted into the seventh the pupil must be able to read and write not only in Russian, but also in French and German. English is not obligatory, but optional. Then come history, geography, arithmetic, geometry, and equations of the first degree; physics and natural history, and the arts of dancing and drawing. The programme of the higher classes includes religion, which an orthodox priest teaches to his flock, while Catholic and Protestant clergymen are charged with the same office for pupils belonging to their confessions. An examination precedes the passage from each class to the next above it, and the pupils who do not give satisfactory answers go back for another year. If they fail the second time, they have to leave the gymnasia. Those who finish the whole range of studies receive a diploma, which confers the right of teaching and of occupying places as governesses, that is, of being *dames de classe* in public and private schools. These places, though poorly remunerated—the salary of a *dame de classe* is 350 roubles a year—are very much sought after. It is considered more respectable to serve the State than private families, and, further, the diplomas give a right to a pension after twenty-five years' service. Girls educated either at home or in private schools, who wish to possess the same rights as the pupils of the gymnasia and the institutes, must submit to an examination established by the State for the purpose.

The diplomas, besides opening a way to the pedagogical career, are also required for admittance to the higher schools, which take the place so far of the university studies which Russian women are so ardently striving after nowadays; for no sooner was their secondary education put on a solid foundation, than they began claiming the benefit of a superior education. At first, the Government opened to them the doors of the universities, but as there broke out disturbances amongst the students, in which the female pupils, strange to say, played a prominent part, this favour was soon withdrawn. The attempt has never since been renewed. Then arose the question of founding special institutions in their behalf, but the university, which is their ideal, remains still a desideratum. In its stead there exist the *Pedagogic classes*, forming the complement of the gymnasia and governed by the same administration. The studies there last two years, the first twelvemonth being devoted to theory and the second chiefly to practice. Since last winter, a third year has been added to the programme, and the studies have grown more severe. A progymnasium furnishes the pupils, whom the future governesses teach for practice under the guidance of specially appointed professors. They are obliged to explain and defend their methods in a conference composed of the masters and the directorate of the establishment. After terminating their studies, they are generally appointed as professors in the capital or the chief towns of the provinces.

However, as all these schools prepared only for the career of teaching, there remained still a great number of girls who, feeling no inclination drawing them that way, wished to gain their bread in other directions. Medicine soon became the favourite study of many, and Zurich was the promised land for which the neophytes longed. The great success obtained by our first female doctor, a

lady named Souslof, who brilliantly finished her studies at Zurich and forced the Russian faculty to confer upon her the diploma of a physician, encouraged other girls to follow in her steps. Unhappily, revolutionary emissaries established themselves in Switzerland, thinking this a good occasion for increasing the number of their adherents. They made Zurich a centre of their most active propaganda. Many of the girls who went there for the purpose of studying had not mental strength sufficient to keep them from leaving the straight path, and were caught in the nets of the political agitators. Instead of learning science they devoted themselves to the cause of revolution, and many led a very immoral life. At last, the Government grew so indignant at seeing such a great number of revolutionists coming from Zurich, that it prohibited female students from going there any more,—that is, it declared that the Zurich diplomas would not any longer give the right to pass the complementary examination in Russia.

Meanwhile, a new institution, supported by private gifts, had been founded at St. Petersburg. A section for women was annexed to the Medico-Chirurgical Academy, the Government after much hesitation giving its sanction. The course of studies lasts five years. Before the first set of scholars had finished their education, the war declared against Turkey demanded extra medical service and the pupils of the Academy offered themselves. They were accepted and ranked under the *Red Cross*, and according to the testimony of numerous wounded officers and soldiers, these female doctors proved very useful. Last spring the upper class finally passed their examinations, but the diplomas conferred on them did not quite answer their expectations. At the foundation of the institution, the Government did not state precisely the rights its degree was to give, promising to work out the question later. Five years had elapsed without making the point clear. Were the students to be placed on equal terms with men having finished their medical studies, or would they have only the rank of qualified accoucheurs with the privilege of treating children? All this was left undecided.

While the question remained in that state, provincial assemblies or *zemstvos* hastened to engage women as rural doctors, and to entrust to them the care of hospitals. Medical assistance had always been scarce in the provinces, especially in the villages, but after the needs of the war so greatly increased the demand, the want was felt with still more intensity. The local administrations gladly seized the opportunity. The new physicians seemed to acquit themselves satisfactorily, and were actively at work for nearly half a year, when the follies and the crimes of the revolutionists occurred unexpectedly and threw a shadow on them. Soon after the murder of Mesentzef there was issued a prohibition forbidding women being appointed as doctors, and ordering the *zemstvos* to replace them by men. It was alleged that the pupils of the Academy of Medicine were not yet in possession of full doctor-diplomas, and that this question must be solved before they could be placed on an equal footing with their male competitors.

The provincial administrations, among which that of Novgorod played the foremost part, received the announcement with astonishment, and showed great displeasure. They were satisfied with their female doctors, and did not know where to find substitutes for them. They energetically protested against such an order, besieging the Governor of Novgorod as well as other officials with their petitions. The Governor refused to interfere. Then the *zemstvos* resorted to the press, and poured out their claims and complaints through the daily papers.

The agitation has not been without fruit. A committee was named to consider the matter. After a long debate, it decided unanimously as follows:—“Though the right of women to practise medicine has not yet been recognized by the legislative power, the committee, acting on the assurance of professors that the pupils of the Academy possess all the knowledge required for the medical profession, will entreat the Government to confer on them those rights.”

So far well, but, unfortunately, the ultimate decision depends on the doings of the revolutionary party, and some fresh misdemeanour on their part may again alter matters. Such a state of things ought to teach prudence. To obtain peace, concessions must be made on both sides, and the young generation ought to make its choice. If women want to gain new rights, to study and work in the branches hitherto allotted to men alone, they must not harass and anger the Government by joining its foes. If they prefer revolutionary propaganda and secret organizations, it is quite useless to ask for universities and so forth. Running after two hares is the best way of catching none.

The Liberals and the Government.

Generally speaking, the Liberals are placed now in a very difficult position in Russia. As spectators of the desperate battle fought by the Government against the revolutionists, they are obliged to confess that neither of the combatants is in the right. Both sides have recourse to weapons which must be deprecated, and the more one has at heart the cause of order and legality the more the errors committed have to be deplored. Exasperated by the audacity of its foes, the Government admits not the slightest difference: the least attempt at criticism, though made in a friendly spirit, is considered a serious offence, and speedily punished.

As a specimen of this recrudescence of sternness we may quote the interdiction of sale to which *The Golos*, our leading daily newspaper, has again had to submit. This punishment has become a favourite one with our censorship, and is readily applied on every occasion. It has two advantages: first, it tells directly on the pecuniary interests of the editors, which is the best bridle for keeping them quiet; and secondly, the reasons for it do not require to be publicly explained, which is very convenient for the administration. Official warnings and the suppression of newspapers must be accompanied by a statement of grounds, and the articles which have called forth such measures must be specified. The interdiction of the sale of single copies is not subject to these formalities. The central censorship has the right to apply it whenever it thinks fit, leaving people to wonder at the cause, and to try and guess which of the articles lately inserted has provoked the anger of the Government. In most cases the readers are quite at a loss, and often contradictory rumours are spread concerning the cause. Personal aggrievance is the first motive every one thinks of. When the penalty was inflicted on *The Golos* last August, no one knew the reason of it, and the mystery has never been cleared up. But on this last occasion the censorship deviated from its ordinary course, being at pains to explain its anger and to mark out the guilty article. This gives us the means of judging what is forbidden in its eyes.

The article is one which treated of the law against Socialists adopted by the Parliament in Germany, and puts forward some general views which would be called truisms in other countries. It expresses itself unfavourably upon the persecution of ideas, saying that violence never can conquer them, and that the police ought to content itself with repressing acts, leaving thoughts alone. It adds that intolerance of ideas is very prejudicial to the welfare of States, quoting as an instance the fall of Napoleon III.'s Empire, which it says was as much the result of the revolutionary elements as of the prowess of the German armies.

If the Government forbids remarks of this kind in regard to other countries, what is to be inferred? First of all, we must suppose that they have been regarded as being broad hints meant to apply to Russian matters, and as indirectly blaming our Government. Even in the time of Nicholas it was allowed to write about foreign affairs, and it is well known how the publicists took advantage of the permission for treating national subjects under cover of foreign ones. Nowadays this childish artifice is abandoned as derogatory to writers, and such suspicions as these seem ridiculous. But admitting even that there are grounds for them, and that the writer in putting forth those old maxims

had in his thoughts Russia more than Germany, is it prudent to show that the Government condescend to read between the lines and take to themselves strictures addressed to others? Moreover to persecute or to impose silence upon liberal and moderate views, is to render the greatest service to extreme ideas, of which those views are the most formidable opponents. Revolutionists do not fear violent proceedings. On the contrary, they welcome them as the best means of fostering discontent and urging the people to revolt. What this party dreads most is a calm discussion of their aims and ways from the Liberal point of view; and they are very grateful to the Government for a touchiness which delivers them from such an ordeal. One cannot help wondering at the blindness of those to whom they owe it.

If a further proof is needed to show the reputation of cleverness which the revolutionists have acquired, an anecdote circulating throughout the city, and given out as perfectly authentic, will afford it.

An official was sent to one of our southern towns on a mission which had some reference to political crimes and was therefore unpleasant to the revolutionary party. Upon his arrival he received several anonymous letters in which he was warned to renounce his task. He paid no attention to these threats, and having successfully ended his labours returned to St. Petersburg by a through train on the Khartow-Moscow railway. At St. Petersburg he learned that his trunk had disappeared. The agents of the company excused themselves as best they could, promising to institute an active search. The lost trunk was found the next day, and at once returned to its owner. It had, apparently, been left by error at one of the intermediate stations, but it was quite safe, the lock not being injured. The gentleman opened it, and found in it all his things—except the papers required for drawing up his report. They had disappeared, and, instead, there was a note, to the following effect: "You have disobeyed our orders, but, as you have done us no serious harm, we only inflict on you a light penalty in depriving you of the materials for your report."

I am far from vouching for the truth of this tale, though it meets with much credence in society; but even supposing it to be a fiction, does it not show the high opinion prevalent among us regarding the ramifications of the Radical party? Their numbers and their close organization are now accepted as matters of fact, and people generally suppose that the party has accomplices everywhere, as well in the public administration as in private circles. If only the half of these suspicions are well grounded, is this the time for persecuting and dreading Liberal ideas? Would it not be wiser to ask all to join together in fighting the common foe than to engage in angering the most faithful defenders of order? Unfortunately governments do not, any more than individuals, always adopt the wisest course, and that is the cause of many disasters which they have to deplore when it is too late.

T. S.

CONTEMPORARY LITERARY CHRONICLES.

I.—HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE EAST.

(Under the Direction of Professor E. H. PALMER, M.A.)

WEST and East (Cassell, Petter, & Galpin) is a narrative of a tour through Europe and the Holy Land. The route taken is that advertised by Messrs. Cook and other tourist agents, and the information is a guide-book, not pure and simple, but interlarded with poetic or Scriptural quotations and such thrilling personal incidents as the following—all occurring on one page:—"We saw a large snake sunning itself in the grass;" "We lunched under a splendid lemon-tree." "In the garden lay a dead jackal which at the first blush (*sic*) I took to be a fox." The author signs himself "Rich in Peace," and the volume is evidently a first attempt at book-making. We hope that he will not be again tempted to enter into competition with Murray's or Baedeker's Handbooks, which are much more interesting and far more useful works.

Miss Seguin's *Walks in Algiers* (London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co.) is a book of very different quality, though professing to be a sequel to or substitute for the ordinary guide-book. It is in fact a pleasantly written and complete account of the history and general characteristics of the town of Algiers and its neighbourhood, with a vast amount of collateral matter. The author has made good use of the works of other writers, especially French, fairly acknowledging the sources from which she has drawn her information, and supplementing their statements by the results of keen personal observation. As a winter residence for invalids, especially for those affected with pulmonary and rheumatic complaints, Algiers holds a high rank, as the statistics given in the opening chapter prove. How to get there, and what to do when there, occupy the next three chapters, after which we come to the more generally interesting portion of the work, the history of the town and country itself. The earlier parts of this history—the founding of Carthage, the Roman Conquest, the mountainous kingdoms, the Libyan Christian Churches, and, later, on, the Arab Invasion—are to a certain extent commonplaces; but the account here given of Algerine piracy and Christian slavery in Algiers will be new to the majority of readers. The extent to which these Mussulman ruffians held the whole of Europe in terror for nearly five hundred years may be judged from the fact

"that there were at one time forty thousand Christians in slavery in Algiers, all prizes captured in piratical expeditions; that the pirate fleet consisted of three thousand sail; that during one space of six years, from 1674 to 1680, three hundred and fifty English ships alone were seized by the Algerines, and no less than six thousand English subjects sold into slavery, or ransomed only at exorbitant prices; when we hear that some of these unfortunate persons languished for scores of years in their miserable captivity, subjected to the most cruel treatment, suffering hardships inconceivable, starvation, and blows;

when we find that amongst the number of these unhappy slaves were many men of rank and influence, and of all the nations in Europe; when we consider that the insult and injury thus suffered by Christendom were inflicted by a small and semi-barbarous state, without revenue save what was taken in piratical enterprise, possessing but a handful of troops, and they foreign mercenaries."

Spain seems to have made the most attempts to break up the nest of Corsairs, but usually with unfortunate results, and the glory of releasing Europe from the terrorism of the pirates was reserved for Great Britain. On the 27th of August, 1816, Lord Exmouth, who had been sent with a fleet of five ships of the line and some smaller gunboats, burnt the Algerine fleet together with the arsenal and storehouse, and obtained the surrender of all the Christian slaves and the final abolition of Christian slavery in the State. Recovering from their defeat, the Algerines soon commenced their old insolent and lawless behaviour, and actually succeeded in exacting tribute from several Christian States, France among the number; but an unwarrantable insult to the French consul at length roused that nation to arms, and on the 3rd July, 1830, Algiers finally fell into their possession, the surrounding Beys sending in their submission immediately afterwards. The book also contains a spirited sketch of the French occupation, and an interesting account of the career of Abd-el-Kader.

Fergusson's Temples of the Jews (John Murray).—It is now thirty-one years since Mr. Fergusson first broached his theory of the site of Herod's temple at Jerusalem and of the Holy Sepulchre. This theory may be briefly stated as follows: The "Dome of the Rock," the edifice supposed by tradition to cover the site of the Holy of Holies of the Jewish temple, is really a building of the time of Constantine: *ergo* it is the Church of the Holy Sepulchre raised by that monarch, and not the temple at all: *ergo* the cave under the rock is the Tomb of our Lord: *ergo*, as tombs were outside the city, this is outside the walls: *ergo*, the temple must be pushed to the south-west corner: *ergo* the hill is Mount Zion. This theory has had the advantage of being adopted in the "Dictionary of the Bible," as if proved beyond doubt. In all this length of time, however, Mr. Fergusson has made no converts, and the only important architectural authorities who have written on the subject, Count de Vogue and Professor Willis, entirely disagree with him. There are no less than sixteen proposed restorations of Jerusalem, but only three, Fergusson, Thrupp, and Lewin, place the Temple in the south-west corner of the Harem area.

The objections to Mr. Fergusson's topography remain precisely the same now as they were when they were stated thirty years ago by Catterwood, Bartlett, Williams, and others, particularly the following:

1. The sacred cave or excavation under the Sakhra, if it be a tomb, is a separate and isolated one, and does not form one of a number or system of tombs, such as other known Jewish places of sepulture are, and such as the tomb in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre has been lately proved to be.

2. The rock itself is identified by the author with Mount Zion, which he then places outside the city walls. The notion of Mount Zion being *outside* the city must be somewhat startling even to a student whose ideas of Jerusalem topography are derived merely from Sunday School lessons.

3. And this is perhaps as conclusive as any, from a common-sense point of view. Mr. Fergusson asks us to believe that while Solomon had a comparatively level area on which to build his temple, he chose either to place it in a hole or to build up arches to set it upon.

4. That we must believe that the church erected by Constantine, after being burned, pulled down, destroyed, and rebuilt so many times, presents now exactly the same features as at first.

5. Constantine, in fact, never built a church over the site of the Holy Sepulchre at all; he only adorned the existing structure with columns, &c., and placed a large church to the east of it.

To these very weighty objections, not one of which Mr. Fergusson answers satisfactorily in his new book, we may add certain others furnished by Major Warren's recent work. Warren entirely failed to discover any traces of the eastern wall supposed by Fergusson to exist, although he carefully searched for

them. He made a contour map of the Harem area which shows that the hill has a slope of one in five; Mr. Fergusson discourteously dismisses these as "imaginary contours," but a glance at Major Warren's map will prove that it represents the real contour of the rock, and proves Mr. Fergusson's hypothetical site to be a depression if not a hole. Another result of Major Warren's long and careful investigations is to prove the eastern side of the area to be the most ancient structure, and the south-west corner—Mr. Fergusson's original temple—to be a comparatively modern erection.

The Phœnician mason marks found by Warren on the stones, evidently *in situ*, at a depth of 80 feet below the present surface, and outside the limits of Fergusson's site, would also seem a formidable argument against the latter's theories. The arches and substructures found by Warren on the north side of the platform, and which in all probability form part of the north cloister, are assumed by Mr. Fergusson, without a shadow of evidence, to be part of Constantine's church of the Anastasis. The substructures called Solomon's stables, too, which were supposed to be very ancient, are acknowledged to be too weak for the support of a mass of buildings, and to these the author triumphantly appeals as proofs that the temple platform could not have been raised above them. These Major Warren has demonstrated to be modern reconstructions.

The great fact, however, to which Mr. Fergusson appeals is that the Dome of the Rock itself has the character of a Christian building of the time of Constantine, and therefore, he argues, cannot be the building erected by an Arab Caliph over the traditional site of the Jewish sanctuary, but must be that erected by Constantine over the Holy Sepulchre, *i.e.*, the church of the Anastasis. In this argument one most important factor is omitted; the early Arab Caliphs had no art. There was no such thing as Arab art, and never has been! When the rude conquerors had founded an empire, they were compelled to call in Byzantine and Persian aid: the administration of the empire was Greek, and the very official language for some time Greek. As for their architecture, it was Byzantine, due to Byzantine architects in the Christian countries, as in Palestine and Persia, where Persian influence dominated as in Bagdad. To cite no more instances, there are the ruins of an early mosque at Ras el Ain in Cœlo-Syria, with an inscription still legible recording its erection by a Byzantine Greek architect. Abd ul Melik, the builder of the "Dome of the Rock," according to all historic testimony, must have employed Byzantine architects, as Persian architects were out of reach, and Arab architects did not exist. The octagonal chapel, such as the Dome of the Rock is, was a favourite style of edifice at the time: what more natural than that it should have been adopted? Mejir ed Din, in describing very minutely the process of the erection, distinctly states that the building was erected *on the plan of a small shrine covering the traditional site of the judgment-seat of David*, one of the Byzantine shrines which had probably escaped destruction, and which Abd ul Melik's clerk of the works used as an office. Nor must we forget that a great quantity of the *débris* of the former Christian edifices of the city were available for building purposes, and would no doubt be used. To say that because the Dome of the Rock bears traces of Constantine's style, it must necessarily be of Constantine's time, is to say the least unreasonable.

Mr. Fergusson avers that history bears out his theory. Let us test this statement by reference to a single page of historical extracts (from those collected and published by the Palestine Exploration Fund in their Quarterly Statement for January, 1878) on the position of Sion in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

1. The Bordeaux Pilgrim says in bad Latin:—"After leaving the Palace of David . . . in order that you may get out of the wall from Sion, as you go towards the Neapolitan gate (*i.e.*, the gate of Neapolis), on the right hand . . . are the walls of Pilate's Prætorium; *on the left is the hill of Golgotha.*"

2. Eucherius says:—"The city is shaped nearly circular. . . . Sion commands the city like a citadel . . ." (this would never have been said of Mount Moriah, which is considerably lower than Sion).

3. The Onomasticon says that the sepulchre is on the north of Sion.

All this testimony is fatal to Mr. Fergusson's theory, which must of necessity fall to the ground if Sion is where tradition now places it.

The testimony of the Arab historians is also very precise; and if we accept the theory here advanced, we must pronounce their accounts deliberate falsehoods.

If, as the author asserts, the site of the Holy Sepulchre was deliberately changed from the Sakhra to the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, it implies a widely-ramified conspiracy of Christians and Saracens, involving the collusion of priests, monks, and even Jewish pilgrims—a collusion kept up at least as long as the building of the sham Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

In short, Mr. Fergusson asks us to believe that a tradition unanimously given by Jews of all schools, Christians of every sect, and Mohammedans of every denomination, is worthless.

Tent Work in Palestine is the first outcome, if we except the Reports published in the Journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund, of the survey of Western Palestine. That such a book would be published was, of course, certain. Neither the committee nor Lieutenant Conder were likely to lose an opportunity of showing in a popular narrative the nature of the work on which so much time and money have been spent. It is only the nature of the work which is here shown: the work itself, the great map, the reduced map, the enormous bulk of scientific notes and memoirs, are in the hands of the printers and will be given to the world later on. The absence of these makes it impossible to criticize, with the fulness which their importance deserves, Lieutenant Conder's conclusions, some of which seem ingenious, some probable, and a few far-fetched. We may, however, state at once that the general result of the survey, a most important and happy result, is to show the minute geographical accuracy of every part of the Bible. This seems at last to be established beyond a doubt. That oldest of Doomsday books, called after Joshua, is, topographically, rescued from the hands of those who would consign it to the limbo of old-world traditions, and becomes a geographical authority. The lost towns whose names occur once for all in the lists of Joshua, reappear in the Arabic name lists of the survey. Such shadowy places as the Rock Etam, the Cave of Adullam, Gilgal, Bethabara, and others being considered past looking for are found. In the unchanging East, where nothing ever is forgotten, the old towns have retained their names. There seems every reason to believe that when the map is published and the name lists accessible, every town mentioned in the Bible, in Josephus, or the Talmud, will be recovered.

This is great gain by itself: gain more than enough to justify the committee of the society for the expenditure they have sanctioned; but there is far more than this. The book is full of interest. There are chapters on Samaritans, in which the author, who is always full of ideas, defends their own statement that they are no other than descendants of the Jews, bringing forward arguments which are ingenious if not conclusive. But, indeed, there seems no good reason for questioning the Samaritan tradition. No one has ever seen a Samaritan without acquiring the conviction that he is a Jew by descent. There are chapters on the native customs of the fellahin, on those of the Bedáwin; on various districts of the country; on the present condition and future prospects of the country; and on Jerusalem. The whole book is full of descriptions of scenery which are perfectly delightful. Dean Stanley, in his "Sinai and Palestine," alone surpasses this young officer of Engineers in the power of bringing a landscape before the eyes of his readers. And even the Dean does not show a more passionate feeling for colour and form.

One is naturally anxious to know what views Lieutenant Conder takes upon the vexed questions of Jerusalem topography. It is gratifying to find that he is wholly free from the heresy of Mr. Fergusson, whose theory, indeed, he does not even condescend to notice. Had not that gentleman only recently published a new and more elaborate statement of his astounding theory, we should have been inclined to think that he was ashamed of it, and inclined to let the whole thing be regarded as a freak of genius, a *tour de force* in architectural reasoning. As we pointed out above, what the arguments of Willis, Williams, and others left undemolished of the Fergussonian absurdity had been finally destroyed by Warren's discoveries. Lieutenant Conder's rock-levels put the finishing-stroke, if that is necessary. It seems to us that Mr. Fergusson has received the *coup de grâce*. Apart from all other arguments, that of Eastern immutability, as is well shown by Lieutenant Conder, is most important. Immutability is the most striking law of Eastern life. The Bible becomes a living record to those who have heard in men's mouths the very phrases of the Bible characters. The name of every village is Hebrew: each stands in the dust-heap into which the ancient buildings beneath

its present cabins have crumbled, and the old necropolis is cut in rock, near the modern site. For thousands of years the people have gone on living in the same way, and in the same place, venerating the same shrines, building their fortresses on the same vantage-ground.

This is the case in Jerusalem as well. Antonia is still a barrack. The fortress of the upper city is still a fortress; on the rock-scarp of the "Tower of the Corner," a corner tower now stands; the upper market is a market; the lower market is a market; the temple area is still a sanctuary; the Rock of Foundation is still covered by a sacred building. These things are not, in themselves, proofs, but they are confirmations.

Lastly, it remains to be said that the volumes are illustrated by many woodcuts from drawings made by the writer. It is to be lamented that perhaps the worst map of Palestine ever issued should be allowed to disfigure the pages of what is on the whole one of the best books on the country ever written.

Captain Burnaby's *On Horseback through Asia Minor* (Seventh Edition : Sampson Low & Co.) is a very interesting book. The author is already well known by his former books of travel, and the fact that the work before us has already reached its seventh edition shows how thoroughly he is appreciated by English people. Indeed, he has seldom been more amusing and full of anecdote than in this account of his ride into the little-visited parts of Asia Minor. Captain Burnaby, like all travellers who have seen much of the Turks, is full of praise of their honest, simple, hospitable manners, when beyond the corrupt influence of the capital. "People in this country," he writes, "who abuse the Turkish nation, and accuse them of every vice under the sun, would do well to leave off writing pamphlets and travel a little in Anatolia." In the preface we are told, "I met people of many different races—Turks, Armenians, Greeks, Turkomans, Circassians, Kurds, and Persians. They almost invariably received me very hospitably." Equally striking is the testimony of the English Vice-Consul at Angora. A friend of his, an Englishman named Thompson, was travelling from the Black Sea to Angora. In one village he found the "khan" full, and so proceeded to pass the night in the open air. But presently he was awakened by an old Turk, who inquired why he was sleeping there, and, hearing the cause, said, "This is not right. A stranger, and outside the gate. Come with me." Taking Mr. Thompson by the hand, the Turk led him to his house, gave him a clean bed and breakfast, waited himself upon his guest, and would not receive any remuneration. "Now," added the Consul, "the Turk was a Mohammedan and Mr. Thompson a Christian; if the Turk had been in England, and had found himself placed in a similar predicament to Mr. Thompson, do you think that there are many Englishmen who would have behaved so generously to an utter stranger?" It would be useless to multiply extracts. Indeed, the book so abounds in pithy stories, that we are tempted as we turn almost every page. The passages between the English servant and Osman are admirable in their way; and here we must notice that the portrait in this edition is no longer that of the author, but that of his servant, Radford. The chapter "In Memoriam" briefly sketches his life. In Captain Burnaby's service in all his travels, he seems to have run no ordinary risks, and to have preserved the same coolness throughout, thinking only of his master, and never shrinking from danger or hardship. Typhus, contracted during the retreat of Suleiman Pacha's army, proved fatal to the poor fellow forty-eight hours after landing in England. The genuine sorrow with which his death is mentioned does honour to both master and servant.

The appendix is devoted to the designs of Russia in Europe and Asia, and to the recapitulation of the cruelties alleged to be practised by the Russians on various occasions since the Crimean War, substantiated by extracts from English official documents. Captain Burnaby, no doubt, knows Russia well, is able to speak the language, and has travelled further in that country than any Englishman living. Such a man is undoubtedly qualified to form an opinion upon Russian politics, and that opinion he here fearlessly expresses. He would have had England interfere on the occasion of the fall of Plevna, and earnestly entreats his countrymen not to permit Russian intrigue to prevail in Afghanistan and Persia. Indeed, if we rightly understand his drift, he considers it our duty to annex or "protect" the greater part of Asia, lest it should fall into Russian hands. Whether this process, which practically means undertaking the management of

all the countries between Cyprus and our present Indian frontier, would not cost rather more than it is worth, is for the British tax-payer to determine. If we lose India, no doubt we lose everything. But India, we have often been told, is bankrupt, and to annex half Asia to protect it seems not unlikely to lead to the bankruptcy of England.

Mrs. Batson Joyner's book (*Cyprus, Historical and Descriptive*, adapted from the German of Franz von Löher, with much additional matter: W. H. Allen & Co.) is very exactly described as "adapted from the German with much additional matter." We are inclined to think that Herr von Löher's simple narrative of travel could have made its way very well alone, without all the "additional matter" with which it has been encumbered. At one moment the reader is noting with real interest the impressions of an intelligent explorer: at the next he is bewildered by Syrians and Phœnicians, Amasis of Egypt, and Teucer of Salamis, Ptolemy and Tacitus, Venetians and Turks, Philip of Navarre, Marshal Felinger, and Hugo de Giblet.

Of all the various masters of the island, the Knights of St. John seem to be the only ones whose memorial is not perished with them. The best wine in Cyprus is still named "Commanderia," and in it Herr von Löher duly drinks "to the health of the brave knights." "From them likewise," he informs us, "the islanders learned how to preserve the little birds called becaficos, by simply plucking them and packing them in jars filled with wine. The wine soaks thoroughly into the flesh, which becomes slightly hardened, and of most delicious flavour. Great numbers of these delicate little birds are killed in Cyprus."

Indeed the account of the fare of the island is better than we should have expected, while fever is, strange to say, scarcely mentioned.

The account of the traveller's reception at Eastertide, by a simple and hospitable Greek family, is very pleasant, while it is strange, after the usual European experiences of Turkish officials, to read his enthusiastic account of his "zaptieh," and of "my good friend, the pacha." The dry, burning heat of the summer months, during which all the people do is to ask "how long it will be before the rain comes again?" is admitted even by so confirmed an optimist as Herr von Löher, and must, we fear, remain a terrible objection to our permanent occupation of the country. The restoration of its once famous forests may, no doubt, restore moisture to the climate, and the eucalyptus may work wonders with the malaria, but the trees are not yet planted, and when planted their effect can only be gradual. Yet when we read of the olives and vines, the cotton, sugar-canes, and silk-worms for which the island was once celebrated, and note how evidently our author enjoyed his ramble in the period immediately preceding the British occupation, we begin to hope, in spite of the bills of mortality with which we have lately been so assiduously furnished, that English enterprise and science may still make something of Cyprus.

Emile de Laveleye: *L'Afrique centrale et la Conférence géographique de Bruxelles: Lettres et Découvertes de Stanley; Les Egyptiens dans L'Afrique équatoriale*, par Bujac, avec deux cartes (Bruxelles: Librairie Européenne, C. Muquardt).—In his short sketch of the brilliant future which awaits Central Africa, M. de Laveleye has found a congenial subject. With admirable clearness he summarizes the action of the Congress of Brussels, and explains the objects which their new expedition is intended to attain, by establishing a chain of posts connected with the seaport of Zanzibar and with each other, by means of which civilization may gradually be introduced into the almost unknown region beyond the great Lake Tanganika. A road will, it is hoped, connect these stations ere long, and for the meantime M. Laveleye ingeniously suggests that elephants might be used for transport, instead of the crowds of native porters without whom travelling is at present impossible. But of all these he confidently speaks as mere temporary makeshifts, precursors of the railway which "will certainly be constructed before the end of the century." These words open strange perspectives, to use an expressive Gallicism; but, not satisfied with that, M. de Laveleye proceeds to point out that by steamer up the Nile we may already in two months reach the great lakes of Central Africa, especially if the conjecture of the explorer Gessi prove to be correct. This gentleman, an Italian engineer, acting as lieutenant to Colonel Gordon, after an exploration of the Lake Albert Nyanza, discovered that the Nile, immediately below the point at which it leaves the lake, divides into two

separate streams. One of these, we know, passes through the mountainous region called by the Arabs Bahr-el-Djebel, where the rapids at the Egyptian station of Duffi render navigation impossible. But the other branch, it seems probable, is no other than the river Iel, which passes to the west through the country of the Niam-Niam tribe, and joins the main river at the point where it forms the great morass full of floating islands. If this be true, it will be possible for steamers to pass directly from the sea into Lake Albert Nyanza, to which lake, thanks to the exertions of Sir Samuel Baker and Colonel Gordon, the Egyptian empire now extends. It is difficult for us to form any idea of the immense extent of these two inland seas, the Victoria and Albert Nyanzas. Between them lies the most magnificent scenery that can be seen anywhere in the world, while further on, one degree south of the equator, lies the mountain region of Ankori and Rowanda. Here we are assured the scenery of the Alps and the fresh verdure of the Tyrol are to be found under an equatorial sun, combined with the cool climate of an Indian hill station.

Space prevents our following M. de Laveleye's interesting account of the other African rivers, the Congo or Lualaba with its enormous volume of waters, and the Zambesi, Livingstone's river, with its marvellous cataract "where smoke sounds," as the natives say. The remainder of the volume is devoted to a translation of some of Stanley and Pocock's letters, and an account, by M. Bujac, of what has been done by the Egyptian Government in extending its dominion, putting down the slave trade, &c., under the Khedive's able proconsuls, Baker and Gordon. We are so accustomed to connect the name of Egypt with the Suez Canal, the Pyramids, the Daira and Moukabala, and Messrs. Goschen, Joubert, and Rivers Wilson, that we forget that Egypt is becoming one of the great empires of the world, with the enormous advantage of a main artery of commerce ready-made in its famous river, and of a totally virgin country beyond, whose commercial resources are enormous, and only wait for Europeans to develop their riches. The rest of the world has grown old, but Africa has remained young. "A hundredth part of the efforts," writes M. de Laveleye suggestively, "which the conquest of India required, would suffice to found here an empire, grander, more productive, and less exposed to attacks from without, than that of the East India Company."

Emile Banning: *L'Afrique et la Conférence géographique de Bruxelles*. Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée, avec 3 cartes et 16 gravures (Bruxelles: Librairie Européenne, C. Muquardt; Merzbach et Falk, éditeurs, Libraires de la Cour, 45, Rue de la Régence).—At a time like the present, when all the great Powers of Europe seem engaged in interminable and unprofitable disputes, it is a relief to find that one small State is sufficiently peaceful at home to be able to find leisure for the promotion of civilization abroad. A Geographical Conference, it will be remembered, met at Brussels in the year 1876. Six of the Great Powers were there represented, although merely by private individuals, and, under the able presidency of the King of the Belgians, it was then determined to send a new exploring expedition to Africa. An executive committee, consisting of Sir Bartle Frere, Dr. Nachtigal, the African explorer, and M. de Quatrefages, vice-president of the Parisian Société de Géographie, was constituted, and nearly all the nations of Europe have since that time formed committees with a view to providing the necessary funds. The expedition will start from Zanzibar, and will proceed to Lake Tanganika, founding upon the road three permanent stations. The English establishment on the shores of Lake Tanganika will, it is hoped, form a fourth link in this chain, and enable the central and most important station to be established at Nyangwe. This town, which many of our readers will hear of for the first time, is almost exactly in the centre of Southern Africa. Livingstone, Stanley, and Cameron all bear witness to its immense importance, situated as it is upon a large river which communicates with the Atlantic, and being already a great centre of trade among the various tribes of the interior.

M. Banning gives a short but very clear outline of what has been hitherto accomplished in African exploration, and, as Englishmen, we may feel proud that so large a part of this work has been accomplished by our countrymen. He describes the characteristic habits of the Negro tribes, and, indeed, glances at all the motley races which are to be found in the "Great Dark Continent," from the Abyssinians, with their grotesque Christianity and strange parodies of the old feudal system of Europe, to the slave-dealing Arabs and Portuguese of the Atlantic coast. It is to

the prevalence of the slave trade, rather than to any peculiarities of climate or national character, that the degradation and barbarism of the native races of Africa is due; and we heartily wish the Belgian mission God-speed in its effort to destroy that hateful traffic, and to introduce civilization into the remote basin of the Lualaba. Three excellent maps accompany this volume.

II.—MODERN HISTORY.

(Under the Direction of Professor S. RAWSON GARDINER.)

EITHER the depression of trade or the pre-occupation of political excitement has cast a blight, at least as far as historical literature is concerned, on the publishers' announcements of the season. To make up a decent list of recent or forthcoming works, it is necessary to have recourse to one book which is a republication of articles contributed to periodicals some thirty years ago, and to another book which, though relating to English history, is written by a German, in his own language and for his own countrymen. In these two instances, however, the quality makes amends for the quantity. Dr. Mozley's essays (*Essays Historical and Theological*: Rivingtons, 1878), and Professor Stern's recently completed Life of Milton (*Milton und seine Zeit*, von Alfred Stern: Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, 1877, 1879), stand equally above the line of ephemeral literature.

Dr. Mozley's Historical Essays—this is not the place to speak of those on theological subjects—relate to three personages whose characters and career retain an ever-fresh interest for every generation of Englishmen—Strafford, Laud, and Cromwell. His book is certainly not one which a wise teacher would place in the hands of an ingenuous youth desiring to acquire a fair idea of the moral and political movements of the seventeenth century. But for the experienced student of history, who knows how to supply what the author has omitted, it would be difficult to name a more positively refreshing book. Dr. Mozley was a hard hitter, and if his defence of his own position was none of the strongest, few writers have been able to strike so decisively on the weak points of an adversary's case. When Dr. Mozley was still in his boyhood, a sister characterized him exactly as he unintentionally portrays himself in these Essays: "There is mostly a good deal of justice in his observations, yet the decided, unqualified, and determined way in which he expresses them, makes them appear amusingly extravagant." In his praises of Strafford and Laud, if not in his fierce attack upon Cromwell, there is undoubtedly "a good deal of justice." Written at a time when Hallam and Forster were the predominant spirits of history, Dr. Mozley paints Strafford and Laud in the light of their own ideals. He allows that the ideals were not perfect, and he skips over with suspicious rapidity the facts which make against his favourites. He informs us how Strafford bearded the Irish Parliament, without telling us of the unrepresentative character of that assembly, which made the effort easy. He says nothing of the long delay in the trial of Mountnorris, or of the King's broken promise in the matter of the Plantation of Connaught. On Strafford's proceedings in the critical year 1640, his narrative is ludicrously inadequate; and in accounting for Laud's animosity against the Prynnes and the Leightons, he forgets to say anything about the effect of his iron discipline upon men like Sibbes and Winthrop. Nevertheless his argument moves in no mean circle. He tells of the men whose lives he sets before us as they wished to be if not exactly as they were, and it is the first canon of biography that the knowledge of a man's aims is the only safe key to the knowledge of what he is. Nor is it only on the biographical side that Dr. Mozley's contribution deserves respect. Every generation of historians brings with it some prepossession of its own, and the prepossession of the generation in the midst of which these Essays were written

was a belief, implicit if not expressed, that the Constitution, as it started into life in the year 1688, was the rule of all things human and divine in the beginning of the seventeenth century. With a restrained force that is all the more impressive, Dr. Mozley turns this notion inside out, till it becomes absolutely ridiculous. Still more gratifying is the candour with which he rejects all false supports for his own arguments. The ecclesiastical policy of Laud, he states boldly, was an aggressive policy. It attacked an evil condition of things, and was unhappily worsted in the encounter. His dealing with Cromwell is indeed less satisfactory. Puritanism is to him so unspeakably odious, that he cannot sympathize with it sufficiently to understand it. But even here his searching criticisms are of the kind to do good to the heart of the lover of truth. When he persists in calling Cromwell a hypocrite, he carefully explains that he does not mean an ordinary liar. What he means is that he was a hypocrite in the sense in which the word was employed by Bishop Butler. The religion of the Puritans, he holds, "was the form, not the reality; it allowed them in immoral practices, and, indeed, was itself in some respects immoral. By some force, some energy of delusion, they believed a lie." Those who would reject such a conclusion, as being little more than can be said of all religion as grasped by minds limited by human imperfection, may nevertheless thank Dr. Mozley for setting before them the problem which has to be solved before a final judgment can be passed on such deeds as the slaughter of Drogheda, and the expulsion of the Irish from their homes.

It is not without significance that Dr. Mozley, in balancing the Puritan statesman against Strafford, does not seem to have troubled himself to look about for a Puritan thinker to balance against Laud. To fill up the void we can now have recourse to Professor Stern's *Life of Milton*, of which the concluding volumes have recently been issued. It would be too much to say that he has grasped all the elements of the history of the time. He has not succeeded in penetrating into the inner life of the party opposed to Puritanism. Whatever his title may profess, his book is a biography of a single man in relation to things around him, and not a complete history of the time in which Milton lived. The book is fairly and dispassionately written. The poet's weaknesses as well as his strong points are well brought out, and the whole work is written in a style which carries the reader on insensibly from page to page.

Professor Stern justly sets aside the theory of Milton's life which has been advocated by Professor Seeley. He does not allow that he represented equally the two great movements of the Revolution, the movement for the supremacy of a representative assembly, and the movement for moral and intellectual culture. Milton, he holds, cared for the latter with all his heart. His sympathy with the former was forced, and adopted, without much inquiry, from the men around him. Even in the "*Defensio Populi Anglicani*" Professor Stern detects unreality in the sweeping sentences about parliamentary government, which quite prepares him for the advocacy of a self-electing council at the eve of the Restoration. His work is calculated to present to us Milton's character as a whole, as it has never been before presented. We are not called on to excuse or to defend, but simply to understand.

After these two books it is not necessary to say much of others relating to the period with which we are here concerned. Mr. Hamilton's "*Quarter Sessions*" (*Quarter Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne: Illustrations of Local Government and History*, drawn from original records, chiefly of the county of Devon: Sampson Low & Co., 1878) is one of that valuable class of works which tell us in an unpretending way of those social phenomena which underlie the political facts of history. It is to be hoped that his example will be widely followed. He has helped to supply a want which every historian feels to exist. It is possible that, in some such field, Mr. Spencer Walpole might find useful occupation. He has evidently mistaken his vocation in appearing as the author of *A History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in 1815* (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1878). His book shows signs of considerable industry, and of a fair and candid spirit; but he has failed to make it interesting. In other words he has neither narrative power, nor philosophic thought. He does not distinguish what is important from what is unimportant. His book may perhaps be useful as a work of reference, but will hardly attract many readers. The story of the Manchester Massacre, of Hone's Trial, and of the passing of the Reform Bill, are told with a dull laboriousness which compares most

unfavourably with the same stories as they appear in Miss Martineau's "History of the Peace," a work which was reprinted not very long ago in a handy form by Messrs. G. Bell and Sons, a firm to which we owe the reappearance of the introduction to that work, under the title of *A History of England*, A.D. 1800—1815.

One more book dealing with the same period as that which has occupied Mr. Spencer Walpole remains to be noticed. It would be hard to judge Lord Teignmouth's *Reminiscences of Many Years* (David Douglas, 1878) by the ordinary canons of literary criticism. It is simply the outpouring of an old man's memory. Things unimportant, and people about whom nobody cares to hear anything whatever, appear in strange juxtaposition with events like the Battle of Waterloo and persons like Wilberforce and Macaulay. The book is one well adapted to the practice of judicious skipping, but it is one in which the reader who does not skip in too wholesale a manner is certain to find plenty to amuse and interest him.

III.—ESSAYS, NOVELS, POETRY, &c.

(Under the Direction of MATTHEW BROWNE.)

THERE are many signs that in the literature of the primary controversies of theology we have come to a pause. Of *Proteus and Amadeus*, a Correspondence, edited by Aubrey de Vere (C. Kegan Paul & Co.), it cannot be said that it is all of it flogging dead horse, and a great deal, both of the writing and the thinking, is both beautiful and helpful; but, on the other hand, thoughtful readers, well up in late discussions of the bearing of Evolution on Theism and Christianity, will hardly find that this correspondence between a Roman Catholic tutor and a gentleman who was formerly his pupil pushes matters any further. It is well worth looking into, and more than looking into; but the elder of the two writers of the letters betrays that he has been leading a somewhat out-of-the-way life, and has not been a great miscellaneous reader. In one of his arguments he challenges proof that a monkey can throw a stone. A foot-note by his antagonist contains an answer to the challenge; but the puzzle is, that any intelligent man should be unaware of the real facts. In another place the question whether all birds sing instinctively the specific note of their kind is settled in a very offhand way. We are positively and distinctly informed, by those who ought to know, that though a skylark or a thrush (say) will sing the characteristic song of its kind, however it be brought up, a bird which has not learnt of its parents, or of other birds, will sing an inferior, uneducated song. There is hardly a page in which the form of the writing, that of confidential letters, does not do, perhaps, some injustice to the matter; so that probably the book will grow upon an attentive reader. But the anxiety of the editor, or of Amadeus, to keep close to "Catholic truth," i.e., to a certain concatenation in "Catholic" theology, goes far to spoil his argument with those who think the chain can be broken. The great want, however, which most persons will feel in this volume, is the want of novelty. They will exclaim, "Style and manner are fresh; and here and there is something that looks new; but, for the rest, all we can say is—*connu*."

The fact that for the present the higher speculation has come to a pause, is no doubt a fine opportunity for ill-read and feeble-minded persons who are afraid to look either backwards or forwards except in one direction each way; but in the meantime another result has shown itself. The many currents of Doubt have been quietly threading their way into unaccustomed tracks. There was, of course, something very good and wholesome in the Laureate's counsel, too familiar now to be quoted at length—

"Leave thou thy sister, when she prays,
Her early heaven, her happy views,
Nor thou with shadowed hint confuse
A life that leads melodious days," &c., &c.

But still there was something odd in putting this counsel of caution into a poem like "In Memoriam," in which one might then say the quintessence of recent "Doubt" was bottled up for family reading. But what has become *now* of the value of this counsel, as applied to selection in general literature? The questions of the hour have broken bounds, and are now, one may say, varying the image, the common tools of poets and novelists. They are everywhere. The only safe prescription for leaving your sister when she prays her early heaven, her happy views, is to shut her up from literature altogether. Nobody has stated the great problems with more naked force than Mr. Browning in, say, his last poem of "La Saisiaz." True, he is not a writer for ordinary young ladies, especially if they get hold of a copy like ours, in which there is a confusing repetition of pages; but girls talk to each other—the clever to the simple. And it may safely be affirmed that there is not one novel in fifty in which the old-fashioned landmarks are not in some way slighted or confused, while there are a great many in which they are indirectly criticized in ways which "thy sister" must be very dull to miss. Now is this state of things better or worse than open conflict of principles and evidence?

It too often happens that good books at once suggest to the reviewer a kind of treatment which though disproportioned to the canvas at his disposal, does not show itself to be wholly so till he takes up the brush and confronts the easel. This is apt to be the case with works of the order to which Mr. John Morley's *Diderot* (Chapman and Hall), and Dr. Francis Hueffer's *The Troubadours* (Chatto and Windus) pre-eminently belong. That fresh departure in the function of the man of letters which men like Voltaire, Rousseau, and Diderot may be laid hold of to illustrate; the quaint contrast in the midst of similarity between such books as Johnson's "Rasselas" and Voltaire's "Candide," both pessimistic, and both with that odd jumble of ideas and impressions which went to produce "Paul and Virginia" and the "Man of Feeling," the "Indian Cottage," Rousseau, and Thomas Day; the curious relations between the new currents of thought in England and on the Continent; and many other related topics, rush into one's head in turning over the pages of a book like Mr. Morley's *Diderot*. But they must be laid aside, and a few sentences of direct comment must take their place. We fancy this study of the great, or at all events the very large, versatile, and good-natured Encyclopædist is too long, and that when Mr. Morley collects all these effective memoirs of his, he will find it useful to transpose much of his matter. There is nothing in any of them that can be called out of place or irrelevant, but the biographies and social sketches lose, as such, by juxtaposition with the far-reaching comments in which Mr. Morley, to the stimulation always, to the edification often, of the thoughtful reader, has allowed himself. On the other hand, we sometimes want a little more comment. There is something scarcely human (to English eyes) in the groping indecency of Diderot,—even in portions of Voltaire's "Homme aux Quarante Ecus,"—which we mention simply because it happens to strike us. Can this new vein—for new it really was—be accounted for, and put in a "human" light? We think it can. But Mr. John Morley cannot be expected to do and say everything. When he has completed this series of studies (which, for his own sake, we hope will be soon), he will have done a very useful piece of literary work, in which his (evident) aims as a propagandist have very rarely interfered with the simplicity of his vision, and the philosophic breadth and *largo* of his handling have left him free to interest and amuse as well as instruct his reader.

Mr. Hueffer's volume on *The Troubadours*, a history of Provençal Life and Literature in the Middle Ages, has well-nigh passed out of the region in which very brief notices are usual, but it belongs, like the book just referred to, to an epoch of new departure, and claims—we think justly claims—to be "the first continuous and at all adequate account in the English language of the literary epoch which forms its subject." The least agreeable part of the volume is the preface, in which the accomplished author exhibits a little of the *hauteur* of the specialist, in a somewhat maladroit way. Nobody worth criticizing (so far as we know), who has really studied a dozen languages, solved a few hard cryptograms in which different tongues were the basis, and looked at poems in the *langue d'oc*, would imagine that he could "master the language by plunging into its literature without any previous study of grammar or dictionary," or needs to be told that the *langue*

d'oc is difficult, or why. We have not examined the "technical portion of the book, which is chiefly concerned with metrical questions, in which the importance of Dante's scientific treatise for the classification of Provençal metres" is, to use Mr. Hueffer's word, "proved." It has occurred to us, that either a more directly "popular," or a more directly scientific method of treatment, would have conciliated a greater number of the ends Mr. Hueffer has in view; but in this we may easily be wrong:—

"The first troubadour known to us," writes Mr. Hueffer, "Guillem, of Poitiers, born in 1071, uses exactly the same grammar, the same structure of sentences, and even in all essential points the same poetic diction, as his last successor two hundred years after him. The cause of this unusual stability must be looked for in the fact already pointed out, that the Provençal was not, strictly speaking, a living language used by all, and for all purposes, but the exclusive speech of an exclusive class, reserved, moreover, for the expression of courteous love and chivalry. Even where, for the purposes of satire and personal invective, the terms of low life are introduced, they have to submit to the strict rules of grammar and metre.

"At the end of the thirteenth century, *langue d'oc* as the means of poetic utterance at least disappears again, as suddenly as it had emerged from obscurity."

Even without granting all this to the very full, we may be quite clear that there can never be, and never ought to be, a "popular" or "general" interest in the literature of the Troubadour epoch; and Mr. Hueffer has, to a rather strained degree, the sort of *reposada voz* in which Don Quixote addressed Sancho Panza; but even the "general reader," if he has a tincture of mediæval learning, will find the book interesting. A very good and full table of contents takes the place of the bad sort of index which is so common.

Mr. Charles Gibbon, well known as a novelist with a "school" to himself, has produced *The Life of George Combe*, author of "The Constitution of Man" (2 vols.: Macmillan & Co.). The book is as well done as it could possibly be by any one who was outside of phrenology, and reflects much honour on the discretion, industry, and conscientiousness of Mr. Gibbon. Combe himself was not a romantic figure, nor did his union with a daughter of Mrs. Siddons make his life a bit less prosaic; but he rubbed shoulders with hundreds of distinguished men and women, and played a part in the front rank of movements called liberal and progressive which we now speak of with calmness if not cynicism, but which forty years ago were treated as matters of life or death, and set friends and foes foaming at the mouth and filling the air with adjurations and imprecations. So there is plenty of good reading in these Memoirs, apart from the plums; such as this:—

"Pulszky gave a picture of the revolutionary party in England. When they arrive (says he) they are naturally irritated by their failure and unhappy position. They come to him and demand money; he has none to give them. 'You wear a gold watch, and no man ever knew the pains of want who could afford to keep a gold watch.' 'But we work. Come, and you will see Madame Pulszky and me always writing for our bread. If you cannot write, you must work in some other line.' But they do not like to work. They say, 'We will deliver Europe.' 'Very well; deliver Europe, but do not refuse to work till you have done so.' 'Let us form a committee to hurl the tyrants from their thrones.' 'Certainly, but a committee of penniless men cannot do this.' 'All Europe is ready to rise; our cause is the cause of all.' 'Well, suppose we form a committee?' 'Every member must be sworn on the dagger.' 'Nonsense, this is a conspiracy. I never was a conspirator, and never will be. Besides, the age of the dagger is past. You know that if any one of you should kill another with the dagger, he could not live in England. Let us dispense with oaths and the dagger.' The committee meet, furious speeches are made, and letters from the Continent are read, representing all things and everybody as ready for a rising. Resolutions are proposed, seconded, and adopted, to deliver Europe, and ordered to be sent to the committees abroad. The committee breaks up, and the one-half of them goes to the Austrian and Prussian ambassadors, and to the English foreign police, and sells a report of the proceedings for £5!"

Mr. Combe was a true Scotchman, and a man of great aridity of character. He tried to cover the sandy tracts of his nature with poetry and other genial things, and succeeded very well; but a thing of this kind done on principle, from a study of "my phrenological organs," can never rise to the point of delightfulness. Such a story sets us wondering what would happen if we were all to begin to try to

make ourselves up according to pattern. The most valuable portion of the book is, beyond dispute, the autobiographical; in which Mr. Combe presents us with a picture of Scottish middle-class life at the time when the eighteenth century was verging to its close—and, taking school life, church life, trade life, sanitary conditions, and other matters into account, the reader will certainly pronounce it a sickening picture—we may call it partly a sequel to Smollett's "Humphrey Clinker." The following entry from Combe's diary (in America) is too characteristic to be omitted:—

"SATURDAY, 27th July (1839); *ther.* 66°.—The weather is still delightful, and we spend our days thus: Rise at 5 a.m. I sponge myself all over with salt water, and use the hair-glove; dress; breakfast at 7; sit on the rocks and enjoy God's beautiful world, and worship Him in spirit and in truth, from 7.30 till 9. Prepare new edition of my system till 12. Sit on rocks till 1. Dine at 1. Sit on rocks from 2 till 3. Read De Tocqueville and Reviews till 5. Sit on rocks till 6. Tea; sit on rocks till 7.15; read till 9. Go to bed, and sleep a most delicious, sound, dreamless sleep, and awaken refreshed and happy next morning. I do not walk, because I cannot from lameness (caused by mosquitoes). If it were not for the mosquitoes, this would be a paradise of a place."

Of course a "philosopher" who could write like this deserved the name of old Jokeum ("Geo. Combe") in ways which his friends did not contemplate when they thus played upon his signature.

Combe practised with great success what may perhaps be described as the *serious-evasive* treatment of so-called Christian tests. He did not equivocate, in the Hume-Gibbon style, putting a sting into the tail of every other sentence; but would say, for example, that if Christianity meant the desire to obey the laws of God, and the love of man, he was an earnest Christian. He earned for himself the hearty contempt of Miss Martineau, and many other sincere persons in all camps of thought; but he appears to have been fully at ease in himself about his own policy. Of course he was not even a Theist, in the full sense of the word; but he was undoubtedly a man of sincere benevolence, fine purpose, great sagacity in social and political matters, and, in private, capable of degrees and kinds of self-control, patience, forbearance, and kindness, which too many of us can only admire and imitate at humble distance. We must call him both good and wise, and write him as "one that loved his fellow-men."

Whether George Combe did any good to phrenology may be doubted by its best friends. It is now under the cloud which Spurzheim foretold. Men of science turn from it, though the best of them admit the services rendered by Gall, and speak with great caution of the rest. The "intelligent" man of society thinks "there may be something in it, you know; but you must not push it too far." Of course it must suffer from those who trade upon it—the idea of any man's making a living by telling his fellow-creatures their true character is a *mauvaise plaisanterie*. Outside of professional phrenology, the mere *cranioscopia* suffers from many causes. For instance, nobody can judge of heads (or of faces) without long practice and much study, and a few errors go a long way to discredit a thing which most people are anxious to disbelieve. There is an absurd notion that there is "fatalism" or "mechanism" in phrenology. From *this* objection even its worst enemies, if moderately acute, should hold it harmless, since there is no hypothesis of life, no theodicy, no anthropology, which has, or can possibly have, any other tale to tell us than that the freedom of the will is conditioned and limited, however vaguely, by inherited character.

Mr. Gibbon has committed surprisingly few errors, considering the very technical nature of some portions of his labours. There is one droll oversight. The editor gives us what purports to be Dr. Channing's "development," but the examination of the organs leaves out the whole of the intellectual region. We may add that Combe was a very poor *cranioscopist*—it was *too* absurd to put down Dr. Croly's Causality as large. If it was, so much the worse for phrenology.

There has been a great deal of translation going on lately, especially translation of Goethe. Here are the *Poems*, translated in the original metres, by Paul Dyrsen (Asher & Co.). The volume is so well-known in the original, and for the most part so dear to cultivated lovers of poetry, that one need not specify the contents. What we did was to read the Introduction, in which the translator, who is both modest and conscientious, expounds his metrical theory; and then to read a

good many of the poems. Entering at random, we take the famous little Gretchen ballad, "Es war ein König in Thule," and find that Mr. Dyrsen renders it for us in this fashion:—

"A king in Ultima Thule
Was faithful to his grave;
His dying sweetheart truly
A golden cup him gave.

* * * * *

"Once more the old carouser
With love of wine was stung;
The cup, his sacred rouser,
Into the sea he flung.

"He watched the falling, drinking
And sinking golden cup;
His eyes were closing, sinking;
Drank never another drop."

We *might*, alas and alas! close the book here, but critics are aware that a translator may fail horribly in one poem and succeed beautifully in another, so we try "The God and the Bayadere." This is a crucially difficult poem; but what have those who know it by rote done that they should have *this* flung in their faces:—

"Listen to our solemn preaching:
Not your husband was this dead!
Bayaderes, that is our teaching,
Must not crave the flaming bed.
Shadows cast all living bodies,
And with them the shadows die;
*Such desire in wives not odd is,
But no others should apply.*
Blow trumpet and help us in our lamentation!
Ye gods, *we beseech you, this youth of our nation
Do welcome in flames! for we bid him good-bye.*"

We have examined the volume from end to end, and though there is here and there a hit, particularly in the "Rhymed Sayings," where the author has avowedly allowed himself more liberty, the general result is failure: melancholy, hopeless, horrible caricature. In determining never to give a single rhyme where Goethe gave a double one, and so on and on, Mr. Dyrsen set himself a preposterous task. His want of success is not at all surprising; but his courage is. So much laborious intelligence and skill might well find more feasible work, and we hope will do so.

Doubtless, there was hardly ever a time in the history of books, when there were not memoirs of men and women of letters; but the number of such memoirs published just now may be taken as one sign of an era of transition. It may also be said, and truly, as a suggestion, that the public of literary amateurs who consult such books, partly as guides to ambition, is greatly on the increase. One of the pleasantest, and, in some particulars, one of the best of the volumes before us, is the large octavo of 350 pages, which contain the *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson*, Author of "Sacred and Legendary Art," &c., by her niece, Geraldine Macpherson; with a portrait (Longmans, Green, & Co.). Mrs. Jameson was, of course, not a great writer, but she had a touch of genius; her books are still worth reading, and her life was worth relating. There is some caprice shown by critics in dealing with minor biographies—some of them having a theory which leads them to pooch-pooch the lives of all but the few men and women who can be definitely labelled as great. But, to recall a commonplace, almost anybody's life, properly told, is worth reading, and certainly Mrs. Jameson's is. The singular story of her husband's relations with her (Mr. Jameson was clearly of unsound mind); her heroic struggles in money matters; the side-lights which the narrative casts upon Lady Byron's "implacability"—these and other matters count for something, and the pathetic account of Mrs. Macpherson for not less. A postscript by Mrs. Oliphant half suggests that any profits which may arise from the sale of

the book will be set aside for the benefit of Mrs. Macpherson's children—at all events, we hope they will. The memoir is written with perfect good taste, both moral and literary; and though it is not a strong book, it has much interest for the student in literature and psychology, and is good reading for anybody. The portrait, by Mrs. Jameson's father, represents the lady when she was only sixteen years old.

Nothing in the recent aspects of literature more distinctly reminds us of the changes it has undergone than two reprints before us, which are of some consequence. The first is an edition in one volume of the memoir of John Wilson, entitled *Christopher North*, which was first published in two volumes in 1862, being "compiled from Family Papers and other sources by his daughter, Mrs. Gordon" (T. C. Jack, Edinburgh: and Hamilton, Adams, & Co., London). Even in 1862, these painstaking and indeed efficient and entertaining memorials of a very remarkable man fell a little coldly upon the general public, and now—to the new generation—"Christopher North" is little more than an echo. That he is not read more is very easily accounted for: he was a splendid improviser (let the word pass), whose prose poetry was heavily alloyed with mere rhetoric and commonplace, and who—except in verse, where he was usually tame though sometimes exquisite—could not prevent his animal spirits from running to something like bounce. Besides this, he never quite succeeded in leaving upon the reader's mind the impression of thorough conscientiousness. He certainly had no business in the Chair of Moral Philosophy at Edinburgh, when Sir William Hamilton was ready to fill it; and generally we may say that he wasted in efforts of combativeness and *camaraderie* fully half his power, both intellectual and moral. In spite of the mere *bulk* of what he has left, we fear the hard truth of the matter is that, comparing what he did with his splendid and in some respects unique genius, John Wilson was at least as much a failure as De Quincey or Coleridge—though, in truth, we have no particular fancy for the sort of criticism which would use the word failure at all in speaking of men of that rank and quality. Not the least unhappy part of the case is to be found in Wilson's relation with the odious Lockhart—you cannot manage to get the polecat odour out of your nostrils. Mrs. Gordon is a very candid as well as intelligent biographer, and though she prints a good deal that might with great advantage have been omitted, the volume is exceedingly well worth getting and keeping. The caricature illustrations are very characteristic. We miss "Crambambulee," but are not sure whether "The Goulden Vanitee," words and music, was in the 1862 edition or not. It is a first-rate song.

The other volume to which we alluded above is *Selected Essays*, by A. Hayward, Esq., Q.C. (2 vols.: Longmans, Green & Co.). These make together about one thousand pages, clearly printed, and most of them eminently readable. Mr. Hayward, having been more than once asked to reprint the whole of his essays (first, second, and third series), has preferred to give us a selection, including such topics as "The Pearls and Mock Pearls of History," "The British Parliament," "Vicissitudes of Families," "Rogers," "Sydney Smith," "Frederic von Gentz," "The Countess Hahn-Hahn," "Whist and Whist Players." For the purposes of the intelligent diner-out, the popular lecturer, and the journalist in want of amusing commonplaces, all the essays are worth reprinting; but on general grounds we can see no value in some of them, such as "Alexandre Dumas," "Henri Beyle," and the review of M. Taine's "Notes on England." In these and some others, there is little to disagree with, but nothing worth remembering except what is pretty well known to reading men. It is the "clubbable" good-society air of the whole which makes the book attractive; and the fact that, as the man said of the dictionary, "it goes from one subject to another a good deal." Of course Mr. Hayward has higher qualities than are displayed here,—or else, indeed, he could not have written the essays as they stand; but we cannot wholly forgive him for a few touches of something too much like cynicism.

We had noted a few small matters for comment or quotation, but must omit many. Did Buffon (vol. i. p. 64) write the "famous dogma," "Le style c'est l'homme;" or were his words these, "Le style c'est de l'homme même," or something like them? On page 341 of the same volume, Mr. Hayward's sense of humour has failed him. Having mentioned that Madame Hahn-Hahn sent him a work in MS. "upon the understanding that he was to engage a translator and a publisher," he proceeds to inform the general reader that "the manuscript never reached till two

years afterwards, through some unaccountable oversight of the *Foreign Office*. What will an unenlightened posterity make of this irrelevant charge against a Government department which has quite sins enough to bear?

The longest title we have seen for many a day is prefixed to a very agreeable, chatty volume of 350 pages, called *Recollections of Writers*, by Charles and Mary Cowden Clarke (Sampson Low & Co.). The reminiscences, which go as far back as old John Ryland, are by both Mr. and Mrs. Clarke, the former being dead; and the volume contains pleasant gossip about Lamb, Keats, Coleridge, Leigh Hunt, Godwin, Hazlitt, Macready, Mr. Carlyle, Douglas Jerrold, Charles Dickens, and, incidentally, a host of others. The best part of the book is that which relates to Lamb; and it contains some new and delightful anecdotes of him and his much underrated sister. Because Lamb loved good company, and "shed tears in the motley Strand for feeling of joy at so much life," it has been very idly supposed that he did not love the country—though how any human being could read him and carry away that idea in his head is more than surprising. These reminiscences do not set themselves to correct this impression; but they do it by casual touches. If Lamb were now living he would not be so fond of "the motley Strand," where the crowd is so thick that you can hardly speak without rubbing somebody's nose, and there is death in the air from the exhalations of living human bodies packed as thick as sardines. But in those days it was a different world. Vincent Novello, living in Oxford Street, could at an hour's warning picnic with Hunt in the fields that stretched from there to Hampstead. Very charming is the sketch of Lamb, Mary Lamb, and Miss Kelly wandering about the fields at Enfield, and sitting on a felled tree before a small inn, each with half-a-pint of porter in the pewter. And in spite of some weak and trivial pages, readers who know how to read will find this one of the pleasantest books of the season. The least pleasing part of it is what relates to Dickens; but the way to get the fun out of some jokes of his which appear dull and vacuous is to have his own works well in mind. For example, the Augustus Egg joke is *calqué* on one of the ways of the Cheeryble Brothers. The ninth chapter we advise every one to skip. We had nearly forgotten George Dyer, "the absentee," who walked into the New River in broad daylight; but he reappears in Mr. Clarke's reminiscences, and in a new light. To have such a "figure" well set down in your mind is worth a gold ingot,—worth many gold ingots,—for who can appraise the delicious inward chuckle that soothes the hour of pain or peril—and who can help such a chuckle that suddenly recalls the penniless, one-eyed, dingy, snuffy, golden-hearted old scholar, who said *abd—abd—abd* three or four times in a sentence, and usually wound up with "Well, sir, but however——"?

Cast in the same mould as Dyer, but with more fire kneaded into the clay, was Lord Collingwood—*clarum et venerabile nomen*!—none dearer, none nobler in all history; and English to the last shiver of his timbers and the last reef of his tops'ls. In what he calls "A Biographical Study," Mr. William Davies, author of "The Pilgrimage of the Tiber," &c., has taken Collingwood as a type of *A Fine Old English Gentleman* (Sampson Low & Co.); but he should have given more story, and less sermon. Still, merely as biography, the book is worth reading by those who have not learned enough of Lord Collingwood to love him and yet look up to his goodness with something like awe. We presume Mr. Davies wrote *Songs of a Wayfarer* (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1889)? He does not mention them, but he need not be ashamed of them. His *Lord Collingwood* is, we grieve to say, very stiff reading. Mr. Davies knows the old nigger joke: "Oh, massa! if floggee, floggee; if preachee, preachee; but no preachee and floggee too." Now, only to read of Collingwood is "floggee," very severe floggee, to ordinary flesh and blood; and then, just as the recovered heart begins to beat again and the tears to come, it is too bad to have Mr. Davies's "preachee, preachee," though the sermon is good. We really must quote, for the benefit of mere precisians who miss the core of certain questions, one of Collingwood's notions of good manners. It was venial, though wrong, to call a man "a d— fool" in a moment of anger; but it was deadly sin to say, "Here, you sir!" or "I say, you fellow!" There was true insight in this: and humour also.

Leigh Hunt wrote that he was *afraid* "The Indicator" was the best of his works—so hard was it for a man who had passed his life in the hope of being

ranked as a poet, to take much delight in his prose. We do not know if "Shirley"—a name more familiar in the days of young John Parker than it is now—will care to hear that we are *afraid* his poetry finds us better than his prose (because we have in England moved very rapidly, especially in theological matters, during the last twelve years); but he is hard to please who cannot be pleased with much that lies within the four corners of *Essays in Romance and Studies from Life*, by John Skelton, author of the "Impeachment of Mary Stuart," and other works (W. Blackwood & Sons). The papers headed "A Passage in the Ministry of Stephen Holdfast" would well have borne publication in a separate form.

The crop of even good essayists has never been a large one, perhaps not larger than that of the poets or the preachers who can be called "respectable," and the essayists of distinctly original flavour are a small class indeed. The *Country Parson*, whose *Recreations*, Third Series (Longmans, Green, & Co.) makes a welcome addition to the stock of winter reading, has this advantage, that he has always adhered to topics of common human interest, and treated them frankly and easily, without putting too great a strain upon the mind of the most casual reader. Some of these papers—for example, Dean Stanley, Charles Kingsley, and Norman Macleod—should (we think) have been left out or strengthened; at present they are mere reviews, with a slight tincture of the personal and biographical. But if a committee of three or four of the author's friends could be set down after a pleasant dinner with orders to select the best of his essays, the result ought to be a volume of about three hundred and fifty pages of writing which every one might cherish. The critics have done this ingenious writer much harm. Some years ago there was a dead-set made at him by a few writers of the insolent-brilliant school; every hack on the press took up the cry, and he has certainly lost some of the frank naturalness of egotism which was a great part, and a very proper and blameless part, of the charm of his writing. Charming and really good some of his essays are, let insolent-brilliant sloggers say what they will, and if the rest, who follow each other like sheep, would learn from him, instead of repeating the cuckoo cry of critics who have lost all taste for food that does not tickle and sting, they would do themselves good first, and be a little more credit to what we presume they would call their "profession."

"They also serve who only stand and wait" is the pathetic motto of two volumes entitled *Half Hours of Blind Man's History: or, Summer and Winter Sketches in Black and White*, by W. W. Fenn (Sampson Low & Co.). Mr. Fenn is by profession a painter who at past thirty was stricken with blindness, and, with true courage and simplicity of heart, set himself to make the best of his trouble by using his pen instead of his brush. The sketches contained in these two volumes are always readable and sometimes more than that, but we should think Mr. W. W. Fenn could do better—for his readers, at all events—by forsaking the beaten tracks of magazine-writers altogether, and making some of his own. Could he not give us still more, very much more than he has here given us, of the special "experiences" of a cultivated man in fitting himself to his new and painful position—some kind of autobiography of blindness, in fact? Or could he not give us much more than he has here done of artist-life, the life of the studio? Lastly, could he not write a series of landscape and other pictures in pen and ink—we mean descriptive papers which should, as far as possible, conform to the laws of the brush? This suggestion is made at random, and of course we do not at all hint that he should attempt the impossible, or, by any trickery, blur or confuse the everlasting lines of discrimination between an articulate art and an inarticulate one. But, as a painter, he must have seen a good deal of nature and of life, and perhaps have had practice in conjuring up "scenes" from history or fiction, and it *might* be possible for him to work the notion we venture to throw out in this rough shape. We put this hint doubtfully, because we have no measure of Mr. Fenn's insight into the respective laws and functions of the pen and the pencil; but we feel much more confidence in saying that a *detailed* account of the transition stage of his history would be deeply interesting.

The recent celebration at Manchester, with something like splendour and much noble feeling, of the golden wedding of the Rev. William Gaskell with his congregation, was not a literary event, but of course it made everybody (who knew of

the relation between them) think of his wife: the sweet novelist, who was taken from him and from us in the prime of her powers and in the middle of one of her best stories, if not her best, a few years ago. It is no mere customary phrase, that her loss was irreparable. "There is none like her, none," nor will be till after a good many of "our summers have deceased." She lay, if we may push metaphor so far, closer to the household heart of our best fiction than any novelist. She was very modern; altogether herself; and as little tinged with the transient moods of the time as could well be. We cannot read Mrs. Oliphant, excellent writer as she is, without many a pang;—she does not write happy, or happy-making books. Even when her writing is in the mouth sweet, it is too often felt as bitter below the diaphragm. This is a pity, for she has more than a touch of genius—however, she works too hard, and her hand has now fixed habits; also, on the whole, she is almost above mere casual criticism. The author of the "Sad Fortunes of the Rev. Amos Barton" might have kept as near the household heart as Mrs. Gaskell, if she had survived; but her place was long ago taken by the author of "Romola," and "Daniel Deronda." Mr. Hardy, if he had been a woman, might have done it in some respects; but "Cranford" he never could have written. What æons have we passed through since poor, simple "Ruth" raised storms in tea-cups, and men like Kingsley wrote to comfort the author and assure her that the good and wise were with her! But we are still in doubt whether society would not even now prefer the coarse *équivoque* which is so common in fiction to the straightforward handling of certain topics by Mrs. Gaskell in "Ruth." The only serious mistake we can recall of hers was the one she made in the *Memoirs of Charlotte Brontë*—an undoubted blunder, both in art and in true good manners: and the first edition had to be cancelled, some sort of apology being made (as we think we remember) by the publishers. The great charm of Mrs. Gaskell lay in the human-hearted singleness of eye with which she told a story—she made no speculative digressions, indulged in no innuendoes, did not try to be clever or literary, but went straight on with homely pathos or homely humour. Though her style is even already getting a little antiquated, fashions change in that matter, and simplicity like hers will win. The world will come back to her when it has tired of writers more subtle, more brilliant, and more profound. Leaving aside the earlier writings of George Eliot up to and including, say "Silas Marner," we can already count the pages of George Eliot which will in fifty years be as nearly obsolete as "St. Leon;" but that fate is not in store for "Cranford" or "Wives and Daughters."

There seems to be some sort of "law" in the publishing trade that novels shall in large numbers be issued in the summer-time,—for the holiday season. But even in seaside quiet (if there is such a thing) people out on holiday do not read as much as might be supposed; and the real truth, we suspect, is, that ladies and idle people wait till the long evenings to make downright love to the novels they have dallied with on journey or otherwise in the hot weather. At all events, we have a heavy batch of novels.

Mr. Hardy, one of the strongest of our novelists, if not the strongest, and a man between whom and Mr. Browning there are some affinities, has not wholly escaped the temptation to be "speculative," though it is only the smell of fire which has passed upon him. Perhaps it is rather that he makes his readers speculative than that there is speculation in his novels. He is an extraordinary writer; one of that rare class whose faults cannot be spared from their work. Where else are we to look for anything like the same amount of rugged and fantastic power; the same naturalness mingled with the same quaintness? Lift out, by way of experiment, what is pleasingly wrong in the work, and then see how you will be baffled in any attempt to supply its place. In *The Return of the Native* (3 vols.: Smith, Elder, & Co.), he still keeps close to what we may with strict propriety call his native heather—and very powerful indeed is his sketch of Egdon Heath. His Wessex rustics are framed on the old inconsistent but striking model, and who but himself could have drawn Christian Cantle—the flabby clown whom nobody would marry, and who was supposed to be "no man," because he had been born on a night when there was "no moon?" We are afraid we discern some tendency to repetition of types in the leading characters, and are not sure that this story is equal to "Far from the Madding Crowd" (of which the spell is yet strong upon us); but it is in truth not easy to criticize Mr. Hardy, until after you have a little

got over the weird effect of his trick of confronting Nature in her lonely greatness or lonely sweetness with men and women sordid and stunted, blundering and ignorant, and yet loveable or at worst likeable. It is utterly impossible to say, after a first or second reading, which impresses you most, the story and the "character," or the pictures of Nature, and though you feel that there is something wrong somewhere about the work, you are subdued even though you struggle. It is not easy to feel that the married life of Eustacia Vye and Clement Yeobright is natural, or was (we were almost about to say) possible; but you rise from a tale which is all but absurd in itself,—three tragic deaths, two marriages, and then a cheerful ending,—to wish the author a long career and grace to amend his errors and break himself of mannerisms which his enemies, and not his enemies only, will assuredly call affectations. To end, with some repetition—*The Return of the Native* is full of faults, full of power, and altogether of unique quality in its descriptions of Nature. A striking, and at first almost bewildering, effect is produced by the author's trick of first painting a scene with the broadest colours, and then bringing in his human figures as if they were an after-thought.

"To my Father and Mother I dedicate my First Book." This is the inscription of a decidedly noticeable three-volume novel, entitled, *For Percival*, by Margaret Veley (3 vols.: Smith, Elder & Co.). It is a common thing with young writers to crowd their early attempts with incident, conversation, and reflection; and *For Percival* is very crowded indeed—perhaps it would have been better if half the matter had been omitted, and saved for another time. Percival Thorne is a young man with whom Sissy Langton falls very much in love, and the time comes when they are engaged to each other. But an untruth told by Sissy for his sake—on a question of inheritance—has graver consequences than it was in her mind to dream of. They part, and Sissy dies (though not of a broken heart), leaving her money to Percival, who ultimately marries another girl, and is happier with her than he could possibly have been with Sissy, who never could have understood, among other things, his love of truth. There is in the story itself and in the telling so much "good intention," and so much success in the detail, that one feels sure at once of meeting the author again, and of finding then that she has gained in self-control, and in the power of distinguishing the new from the old, as well as in mere skill. But it may be said briefly for the present that *For Percival* is a very good novel, wanting neither in pathos nor in humour; and that the author keeps a high standard before her from first to last.

Angus Gray, by the author of "Scarscliffe Rocks," "Annie, an Excellent Person," &c. (3 vols.: Smith, Elder, & Co.) is written with, we were going to say, a careful avoidance of liveliness; and certainly the modern touch-and-go manner is nowhere present; a strict governess of the old school might have written most of the sentences; and the substructure of moral teaching is, perhaps, a little too apparent. But the whole tone is healthy, and there is some agreeable description of seaside scenery. It is a story of a girl whom her father has planned to bring up in "unconventional" semi-seclusion, and as far away from the usual risks of falling in love as possible. Of course, Nelly does fall in love, and marries, and her father learns a lesson. There is really something like a plot in *Angus Gray*, and it may safely be classed among good novels.

Auld Lang Syne, by the author of the "Wreck of the Grosvenor" (2 vols.: Sampson Low & Co.), may have things in it worth reading; but we have not been able to tackle it. The very first sentence runs thus:—

"In the embrace of a curvature of this noble island of Britain, where the coast beheld by the passing mariner shines before his eyes with the pearly gloss and delicate shimmer of marble; where the land shoots out into the sea, scorning, with its iron heel staunchly planted, the thunderous shocks of the hurricane or the more deadly tooth of the lipping calm, and bearing, on high at night its flaming beacon like the fabled giant defying the stars with uplifted torch; stands a town whereon no man with a mind into which soft thoughts may enter readily can gaze without stopping to reflect."

Out of breath with this long pull, we took a hasty dip a few pages further on, and this is what we came upon:—

"In the moonlight a lovely woman's face takes a sad and moving beauty.

"No blush glows through the pearl of the light upon it.

"Lips which are red as the rose in the sun are pale in this light, which denies passion to them.

"All expression of thought is chastened into pensiveness.

"Richness and sensibilities of lid and lip are refined into a subtle fragility.

"It is the true virginal lustre wherein beauty grows a vision, and passion dies on eyes and mouth."

In this case it is brevity which is the soul of the wit: and happening to read, three lines later, that "Jenny's eyes were marred by the moonlight as a mirror for the emotions;" and again, of "lips twitching to the strength of silent arguments," we turned pale and fled.

Christine Brownlee's Ordeal, by Mary Patrick, author of "Marjorie Bruce's Lovers" (3 vols.: Smith, Elder, & Co.), belongs to the rack of stories; but it is so far an improvement upon "Marjorie Bruce's Lovers" that we can a little congratulate ourselves on having predicted that the author would some day do better. Christine Brownlee is a banker's daughter; the banker gets into money difficulties of a serious kind; and then we have the old story of two suitors, one whose wealth can help the father, the other a man who is not rich, but whom the girl loves. The writing in these volumes is as thin and imitative as that of "Marjorie Bruce's Lovers;" every phrase might be picked out of half-a-dozen ordinary novels or newspapers; but there is a certain truthfulness in the sketching, and we suspect the book will find many readers among the young.

The practice of naming new books after some catchword or title of a well-known song or story is becoming too frequent—though of course this is only a matter of taste for each particular novelist to consider. *Bonny Lesley* was the name of a leading character in one of Mr. Black's books, but it will stand some wear, as it is very pretty in itself, apart from Burns or others. This one-volume novel by Mrs. Herbert Martin (Griffith and Farran) will not discredit the name. It is on the whole a very healthy book, and has interest, feeling, and vivacity enough to make it highly readable. In a word, it is a book to be recommended. Two sisters of a clergyman are left orphans, without much means, and have to fight their own way in the world; and they do it honourably and gracefully. Bonny Lesley is a handsome, vigorous, lively, indeed almost saucy Irish blonde, and she goes out as a lady-help. The "son of the household," a rich young Adonis, wants to marry her, but *this* commonplace is escaped—though another follows, to wind up with. Bonny Lesley marries a half-blind man of letters, old enough to be her father. This is the only drawback on the healthiness of the book. Of course there is no breach of "morals" committed when a very fine young woman marries a widower who can scarcely see at all, and who is twice her age: of course people must do as they like in such cases; but when we reflect that by the time one of such a couple is in the full bloom of mature life the other will have reached the grand climacteric, and when we remember all that we see and hear of such marriages, we cannot help thinking that it is not wise to present one of them as an ideal in a book for young ladies.

Much pleasanter reading to our mind than any of the second and third-rate novels is this little book of travels, only two volumes: *Gaddings with a Primitive People*, being a Series of Sketches of Alpine Life and Customs, by W. A. Baillee Grohman, author of "Tyrol and the Tyrolese," &c. (2 vols.: Remington & Co.). Mr. Grohman's "Tyrol and the Tyrolese" was much liked, and anybody who will remember that the writer is a foreigner, and sometimes a little coarse, may not only pass a happy hour or two over these "Gaddings," but will carry away much information and plenty to think about. The book opens with the story of a "Paradise play" for Christmas-eve in Tyrol. The account will shock some people: so it may be as well to say that the reader must be well prepared for touches like this:—

"A sixth angel comes running across the stage, singing—'Praised be God the Father, He has finished the Creation, and will be back with you presently.'"

Messrs. Remington & Co. have published *Lucullus, or Palatable Essays*, in which are merged "The Oyster," "The Lobster," and "Sport and its Pleasures," by the author of "The Queen's Messenger," "The Bric à Brac Hunter" (2 vols.). Is it not possible that a man should have a bad bout of indigestion, or even febricula, if the weather were bad, after reading such a book as this? It is easy to

see why *gourmand* writing is nearly always readable. It is sure to be full of anecdote, and festive suggestions are inevitable, with hints of whatever is elegant, glittering, and piquant in a well-appointed dinner—such as white napery, bright glass, brighter wine, glowing odorous flowers, and lovely little bowers of fern. Of birds you cannot well write what shall not be nice, even when it is a question of eating them: the same of deer and fish—you think, as you read, not of the function of the cook, but of the bold free sport in the open air. The word trout means Isaac Walton: venison means “As you Like it;” grouse, waves of purple-pink heather; and wild-duck a punt on a lake. There is a wide difference between the poet’s enjoyment of “the pleasures of the table” at a distance, and that of a Brillat Savarin; and many of the singers who have written most gaily about wine, or have at least sung as if the grape was always in their heads, have been water-drinkers. The author of “*Lucullus*” is an amusing “knave,” and his “*Palatable Essays*” are rightly named—for readers with palates, especially for those who habitually feast “with the blameless Ethiopians,” or some other people as little known “in regions mild of calm and serene air,” where perhaps the “neat-hand Phyllis” wears more wing than costume, and the whole thing is a pic-nic spread on asphodel.

In *Poganuc People: Their Loves and Lives* (Sampson Low & Co.), Mrs. Beecher Stowe gives us a charming picture of the life, sixty years ago, of a little mountain town in Connecticut, which, we suppose, may stand as a type of New England villages and townlets in the days on which she seems to look back with some regret, “when its people were of our own blood and race, and the pauper population of Europe had not as yet been landed upon our shores”—a picture admirable for finish of drawing and a kind of delicate, sober harmony in the colouring. One might say of it that not a touch is wanting, and that it has not one in excess. The subject, too, is eminently happy—far enough away from us to have the attraction of novelty, and yet near enough for its details to be thoroughly intelligible. With much skilfulness of touch, and no little humour, does Mrs. Stowe set before us the various strata of Poganuc society, the stately and dignified families, with traditions of ancestral importance, some of whom, it is supposed, would have been better pleased if the Revolutionary War had had a different issue, and the sturdy democracy, few of whom would accept domestic service on any terms, and whenever they did always stipulated that their attendance should not be summoned by a bell, and that they should have free right of entrance into the house by the front door. Then we have a graphic account of the rivalry between the Congregationalism, or Presbyterianism, as it was called, which had only a few years earlier ceased to be the established religion of the State, and the Episcopalianism, which in New England, in the early days, Mrs. Stowe says, “was emphatically a root out of dry ground;” of the celebration of the Fourth of July, when the Declaration of Independence would be read by the stately old Colonel Davenport, who had been a confidential friend of Washington, clad in the very uniform in which he had held an important command during the war; and of the religious “revival,” brought about by the zeal of Parson Cushing, in which even the hard heart of the cross-grained old pagan Zeph Higgins becomes at last softened; and last, not least, some exquisitely-worded descriptions of the on-coming of the tardy New England spring, and the glory and beauty of the brief New England summer. The principal personages, too, who people the book, are lifelike and striking, and worthy of their setting. Little Dolly Cushing, with her childish high spirits and love of fun, and her solemn and dreamy enthusiasms, is a most winning child-heroine; and her father, Dr. Cushing, the minister, a man of learning, who can delight his congregation by quoting Clement of Alexandria against the observance of Christmas, in the original Greek,—and delight them all the more because hardly a man among them has any idea who Clement was,—and is at the same time a shrewd, practical farmer, who has himself in his time been a farmer’s boy, is an excellent type of the Puritan divine, the rigour of whose Calvinistic theology is softened by a strong vein of natural humour, and a healthy love of out-door life. Nor must Hiel Jones and Nabby Higgins be omitted, as fine specimens of the genuine Yankee lad and lass. “*Poganuc People*,” in short, is a book that on every ground merits unmixed praise, and we can only hope that its gifted author will now let her admirers hear from her somewhat more frequently than we believe has been the case of late years.

METHODS OF SOCIAL REFORM.

II.—A STATE PARCEL POST.

AT a season of the year when many persons are anxious about their Christmas hampers and their New Year's gifts, it is appropriate to consider whether our social arrangements for the conveyance of suchlike small goods are as well devised as they might be. We all now feel how much we owe to Sir Rowland Hill for that daily pile of letters which brightens the breakfast table more than does the silver urn, and sweetens it more than the untaxed sugar basin. In these kinds of matters great effects follow from small causes, and a few pence more to pay, a few yards further to walk, or a few hours longer to wait, constantly decide whether or not it is worth while to send this little present, to order that little comfort, or exchange this parcel of library books. The amenities of life depend greatly upon the receipt of a due succession of little things, each appearing at the right moment. Wealth itself is but matter in its right place—happily disposed in quality and time and space. Hence it is possible that among the most insidious Methods of Social Reform might be found a well-organized State Parcel Post. That at least is the impression which leads me now to investigate the subject.

It may be said, indeed, that in a sense we already possess a State Parcel Post, because the Post Office authorities place no restriction upon what may be enclosed in a letter, provided that it be not injurious to other letters or dangerous in nature. An inland letter is limited to 18 inches in length, 9 inches in width, and 6 inches in depth, and this space may be packed with cast-iron or platinum if you like, and yet transmitted by post, so far as the regulations in the British Postal Guide show. But except for very small light things, few people use the privilege, because the letter rate for large letters is 1d.

per oz., which makes 1s. 4d. per lb., a prohibitory charge upon articles of any considerable weight. If I recollect aright, it was allowable some years since to forward parcels at the book rate of postage, which is only 4d. per lb., but trouble arose between the Post Office and the railway companies, so that this comparatively moderate charge is now rigidly restricted to literary matter.

A number of writers have from time to time pointed out the very great advantages which would arise from a general, well-arranged, and cheap parcel post. It is stated on the best authority,* that such a post formed part of the scheme which Sir Rowland Hill submitted to the public, and Mr. Lewins, in his interesting account of "*Her Majesty's Mails*" (p. 247), points out what an unspeakable boon this suggestion of the father of the penny post would be when properly carried out. I regret that I have not been able to discover any explicit statement of such a scheme in the original pamphlets of Sir Rowland Hill, which are among the most cherished contents of my library. The proposal must, then, be given in other documents which I have not seen.

In subsequent years the Society of Arts took up the idea, and appointed a committee, which in 1858 published an elaborate and careful report upon the subject. They recommended that parcels should be conveyed by the Post Office at a moderate uniform tariff of charges, irrespective of distance. That scheme, we are told, was carefully considered by the postal authorities, and in still later years, as we may infer from Mr. E. J. Page's Evidence before the Railway Commission of 1865, the Post Office has entertained the idea.

Again, that veteran social reformer, Mr. Edwin Chadwick, advocated a Parcel Post Delivery, in connection with railway reform, and a cheap telegraphic post. His paper was read at the Belfast meeting of the Social Science Association, and is printed in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for October, 1867 (vol. xv., p. 720). The subject was unfortunately confused with the, to my mind, visionary proposal to purchase the whole railways of the kingdom, and, naturally enough, nothing practical has resulted from the discussions in that direction. My own study of the subject commenced about the same year, when I prepared for the Manchester Statistical Society a paper † "*On the Analogy between the Post Office, Telegraphs, and other systems of conveyance of the United Kingdom, as regards Government control.*" After investigating in a somewhat general manner the conditions under which industrial functions can be properly undertaken by the State, I came strongly to the conclusion that a Parcel Post is most suitable for State management. But this part of the paper was, at the suggestion of the Society, very much abbreviated before being

* Royal Commission on Railways, 1865. Minutes of Evidence, Question 15010.

† Transactions, 1867, p. 89.

printed, so as to allow the arguments in favour of a Government telegraph system to be more fully developed.

In 1867, the Royal Commission on Railways published their report, in which they strongly advocate the establishment of a Parcel Post. They remarked (p. lxiii.) that railway companies are not bound to carry parcels, nor is there in the railway Acts of Parliament any tariff for parcels, limiting the charges for collection and delivery. The public is, therefore, at their mercy. They consider that a separate tariff should be laid down and published to govern the conveyance as distinguished from the collection and delivery of parcels, so as to enable the rates of charge to be kept down by the free action of individuals acting as carriers by railway. Then they add:—

“It is, however, apparent that the parcel service, so far as interchange is concerned, can never be efficiently performed for the public until railway companies co-operate through the Clearing-house to improve their arrangements for parcel traffic. Looking at the extent to which the railway system has now reached, we consider that the time has arrived when railway companies should combine to devise some rapid and efficient system for the delivery of parcels. We do not feel called upon to suggest the precise manner in which this may be carried into effect; but the employment of a uniform system of adhesive labels for parcels, somewhat similar to that now in use on some of the northern lines for the conveyance of newspapers, is one of the most obvious methods for facilitating payment and accounting.

“If the railway companies do not combine voluntarily it may be necessary at some future time for Parliament to interfere to make the obligation to carry parcels compulsory, at a rate to be prescribed by law.”

Sir Rowland Hill, who was a member of this commission, prepared a separate report, in which he advocated the carrying out of his original idea, saying (p. cxvii.):—

“It appears highly desirable that, as fast as railways become national property, provision should be made in the leases for giving effect to these views; and in the meantime, fully believing that the plan would prove beneficial to railway interests as well as to the public, it is hoped that arrangements for the purpose may be made (as suggested by Mr. Edward Page) for attaining the same end with the concurrence of existing companies.”*

It would be hardly possible to over-estimate the advantages which

* The only response, so far as I am aware, which has been made by the railway companies to the kind advice and somewhat feeble overtures of the Commissioners, has been a recent general increase of the already oppressive railway rates for parcels. In November, 1877, the imposition of this arbitrary tax created some indignation among tradesmen who were most likely to feel its immediate effects, and the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce convened a kind of representative indignation meeting. But I am not aware that their expostulations have had any effect, and I fear that even the Four Hundred, with Mr. Chamberlain at their head, cannot shake a Board of Directors, with the Acts of Parliament in their favour. Thus, while the railway companies never cease to assail us with protests against the Railway Passenger Duty, which at the worst is five per cent. of the gross revenue, they coolly add to their duty upon all the small traffic of the country, which duty may be variously estimated at from 100 to 300, 400, or 500 per cent. upon the fair cost of conveyance. It is only the supineness of the public which could allow so gross an anomaly to exist. Much as we may admire the general efficiency and usefulness of the English railway system, taking it as a whole, it seems difficult to understand how sensible practical men like the directors

would be derived by the community from an all-extensive, well-organized, and moderately cheap parcel post. People may say that it is already possible to send a hamper or parcel from any one place to any other place in the kingdom for charges which, all things considered, are not very heavy. But this is not enough; the cost, after all, is only one element of the question in cases of this kind. Trouble, worry, uncertainty, risk, are influences which always affect traffic in a degree insufficiently estimated. The Post Office authorities find that every new receptacle for letters which they set up increases correspondence by a certain amount; the trouble of going a hundred yards to post his letter stops many a letter-writer. So there are endless numbers of parcels which we should send and receive, if we knew that for a small calculable charge we could deposit them in a neighbouring shop, or hand them over to a cart passing daily at a fixed hour, with a feeling of certainty that such parcels would be dropped at the right doors in any part of the kingdom, almost with the celerity of the Post Office. The parcel traffic which might ultimately be created is such as one can only faintly conceive at present. Profound and always beneficial changes would be gradually produced in our social system. The Parcel Post would be discovered to be truly a Method of Social Reform. Let us try to form some idea of the advantages to be expected from it.

In the first place, dealers and shopkeepers in every part of the kingdom would obtain their supplies of goods from the wholesale houses cheaply and promptly. Ordered by letter, goods might be returned within forty-eight hours; by telegraph the order might be executed, if necessary, in twenty-four hours. Thus the stock in hand might be kept down to the lowest point, and the largest profit might be earned upon the least investment of capital, with the least inconvenience to the consumer. In the second place, a vast increase would take place in the goods distributed directly to consumers in all parts of the country by large retail or even wholesale houses. Already it is quite common to obtain tea by parcel from some well-known large tea-dealer, calicoes and linens from a large draper, seeds and garden requisites from the London, Edinburgh, or Reading seedsmen; small-wares here, ironmongery there, biscuits and cakes somewhere else. To cultivate their distant customers, these large houses often promise to send the parcel *carriage paid*, but they carefully specify "to any railway station in the United Kingdom." They are too well acquainted with the cost and uncertainties of delivery to take that burden on themselves. And as regards the railway charges, they seldom pay the extortionate tariff given further on, but, if in a large enough way, have a special contract with some railway.

can expect to have every vestige of State taxation upon *them* remitted, while they are to retain almost unlimited power to tax *us*—the people—at their discretion. If the railway duty is to be remitted at all, it must necessarily be in the manner of a *quid pro quo*, in part compensation, for instance, for the acquisition of the right of parcel conveyance.

For this mode of retail trade there is an immense future, only retarded by the want of the parcel post. By degrees all the more ordinary household supplies might be obtained in parcels direct from the ports or places of production. In many branches of trade the expenses of the middleman might be saved almost entirely. Weekly or even daily parcels of butter, bread, cakes, Devonshire cream, and all kinds of delicacies might be looked for. The rich would especially profit, as they usually manage to do. The vineries, hot-houses, and gardens of their country houses would be brought, as it were, close to their town houses. Already the railway traffic managers have displayed their usual cleverness by offering specially low terms for parcels of vegetables, game, &c., thus regularly transmitted to a rich man's house. Even a daily bottle of milk, hermetically sealed according to the new American invention, and thus perfectly preserved from fever germs, might be sent from the country to the town house at a cost distinctly below the prices of Belgravian dairies.

Literature would benefit immensely. The most remote country house might be as well supplied with Mudie's books as are the members of the London Book Society, or the dwellers near a Smith's bookstall. The utility of lending libraries, such as the London Library, the London Institution, the several music lending-libraries, &c., would be developed to the utmost. Magazines, weekly papers, provincial papers, would more or less experience an increase of circulation; although it is true that the means of distribution by railway or post are in many cases highly perfected already.

Then, again, there is an immense variety of now unconsidered trifles which would assume a new importance when we had but to wish, as it were, and the parcel was come or gone. The new toy for some child, the bundle of old clothes for a poor distant dependent, the basket of game for the hospital, the wedding present, the Christmas hamper, the New Year's gift,—these would be multiplied almost like Christmas cards, to the great increase of trade, and the constant delectation of the receivers. The circulation and utilization of things in general would be quickened.

It may be said, indeed, that there is at present no lack of carriers and parcel companies; and this is quite true in a sense. If anything there are too many, and the result is that they can only be supported by high and repeated charges. Let us consider what are the existing means for the conveyance and distribution of small goods. In the first place, almost all the railway companies receive parcels at their stations, which they convey either by passenger or goods trains to any other of their stations. In the great towns each company has its own service of delivery vans which, within certain limits of distance, deliver the parcels free of further charge. When the consignee lives beyond a certain distance, the parcel is often handed over to some local carrier, who makes a new charge for delivery, at his own discretion;

or else the railway company send their van on a special journey, and charge an extravagant price for the favour conferred, not extravagant perhaps in regard to the cost incurred in sending a cart with a single small parcel, but extravagant in proportion to the service performed. The railway companies also have arrangements for the exchange of parcel traffic at through rates, and an infinite number of small debits and credits thus arise, which have to be liquidated through the clearing-house. So oppressive did these innumerable minute accounts become, that the companies adopted a few years ago a summary mode of dividing any receipts at a station which do not amount to 5s. in a month.

Secondly, there exists a considerable number of parcel conveyance companies which organize systems of distribution on a more or less extensive scale. As examples of these may be mentioned the Globe Parcel Express, Crouch's Universal Parcel Conveyance, Mann's Parcel Despatch, Sutton and Co. These companies are in some degree analogous to the excellent American Express Companies. Some of them undertake to convey parcels to almost any spot on the habitable globe; but they must depend upon local conveyances for performing the contract. In the United Kingdom they of course make use of the railways for conveyance over long distances. At one time the railway companies, if I recollect aright, waged a war of extermination against them, claiming a right to charge each parcel sent by a parcel express at the parcel rates, although they might be packed in bulk. But the courts of law did not uphold this extravagant demand of the railways, and the express companies seem to carry on a flourishing business.

In the third place there is a number of local parcel delivery companies, each of which owns many vans and horses, but restricts its operations within the area of a town or other populous district. As examples of such, may be mentioned the London Parcels Delivery Company, Carter, Paterson, & Co., Sutton & Co.'s London System, &c. These companies serve the whole metropolitan area. Other large towns generally have similar companies on a proportionate scale. Liverpool, Glasgow, and Edinburgh especially have extensive systems of distribution.

Lastly, there is an almost infinite number of small disconnected carriers, who serve particular villages and lines of road. They are usually men who own one, two, or at most only a few carts and horses, who travel daily into some country town, and put up at a favourite public house. This house serves as a *dépôt* for parcels and messages left for them, and the carrier calls at various places on and off his usual route, whether to pick up or deliver small goods, according to instructions. Their charges are very various and governed by no rule; except in London, the only law on the subject seems to be to the effect that the charge must be *reasonable*, whatever that may mean.

But they seldom charge less than 4*d.* or 6*d.* for any parcel. The men are usually illiterate and slow in all their proceedings. Their number is often very great. In the London Directory for 1876, there are specified about 216 such carriers; in Glasgow some years ago there were 147, and many large towns would each have 100 or more local carriers.

All this mass of conveyances, be it remembered, is in addition to the vast number of private delivery carts employed by tradesmen. Great establishments, such as Shoolbred's, Marshall and Snellgrove's, Whiteley's, Maple's, Burton's, &c., &c., have each their own parcel delivery company, so to say. Some houses even have two deliveries a day in the metropolitan districts. The immense cost of such delivery staffs would be to a great extent saved by a parcel post; but it is, of course, not to be supposed that the ordinary tradespeople's delivery of meat, vegetables, &c., would be much affected.

At first sight this mass of carrying arrangements seems to be chaotic, but necessity is the mother of invention, and necessity has obliged these disconnected and often antagonistic bodies to work together to a certain extent. When one carrier gets to the end of his tether he assumes a right to hand on his parcel to any other carrier he likes, who "pays out" the charges already incurred, adds his own charge at discretion, and recovers the sum-total from the helpless consignee. Whether this practice is legal, in the absence of any distinct prior contract, I am not able to say; but it is at any rate sanctioned by force of habit and necessity. The larger parcel companies of course have arrangements with each other, and they often undertake to deliver goods in distant towns at the lowest rates, passing the parcels on from one to another.

One result of this multiplicity of carriers is that it is usually impossible to ascertain what the conveyance of a parcel will cost. For traffic between the large towns, indeed, there are definite tariffs published by the Express Companies, but these documents are not easily to be obtained. Between Manchester and London, for instance, a parcel under 1 lb. may (or lately might) be sent by mail train for 4*d.*; under 12 lbs., for 2*s.* From Glasgow to London the rate was 8*d.* under 1 lb.; 2*s.* 6*d.* under 12 lbs. But these charges include delivery only within town limits, which limits are drawn at the discretion and convenience of the deliverers. The multitudes who now dwell in suburban parts are almost entirely at the mercy of the carriers, who will either send their carts specially and make a large extra charge, or hand the parcel over to local carriers, who impose their own new toll. Not long since a book weighing less than 2 lbs. was presented at my house at Hampstead with a demand for 1*s.* for delivery. It appeared to come out of Fleet Street, but, wherever it came from, might have reached me by post from any part of the United Kingdom for 7*d.* or 8*d.* On refusing

to pay an apparently extortionate charge without explanation, the book was promptly carried off, and I have never seen it since. With the railway companies the case is almost worse; not only do they, as we shall see, maintain an extortionate general tariff, but they have narrow limits of free delivery, and can charge anything they like for delivery beyond those limits. When living in the suburbs of Manchester in a very populous district only four miles from the centre of the town, I often had experience of this fact. In one case a book package weighing $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. less than 3 lbs., and *carriage paid by the sender*, was charged 1s. 2d. for delivery by the railway company. About the same time another book, weighing a little *over* 3 lbs., was received by post, carriage paid, for 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d., this being the whole charge, and delivery being far more rapid than by parcel van. On another occasion a parcel of seven copies of a book, weighing in all 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., although *carriage-paid* to the extent of 1s. 6d. at London, was charged 1s. 2d. for delivery at Manchester, in all 2s. 8d.; whereas, had the books been made up into two or more parcels at London and sent by post, they would have reached me for a total cost of 1s. 10d. The climax, however, was reached in the case of a parcel of forty copies of a book, which were received by railway at such a cost that each copy might have been made up into a separate parcel, and despatched by post to forty different addresses in all parts of the United Kingdom for about the same aggregate cost. Nor can the consignee protect himself against such extreme charges. The consignor knows and cares nothing about the delivery charges, and in the usual course sends the parcels to the nearest receiving offices. Instructions which I have repeatedly given to consignors are usually disregarded, and any attempt to recover the overcharge would be regarded as absurd.

Of course the cases which I have quoted are only specimens of what must be happening daily with hundreds of thousands or even millions of parcels. A sixpence or a shilling may be a trifle in itself, but multiply it by millions, and the matter becomes one of national importance. All large sums are made up of little units, and the history of the Post Office before Sir Rowland Hill's reform shows how small oppressive overcharges strangle traffic.

Let us now look at the charges which are made by the principal railway companies for conveyance and delivery within the usual limits. These are by no means uniform, and each company usually has exceptional rates for certain districts. The following table, however, which is an extract from the tables of the London and North Western Railway, contains a uniform tariff which has been recently adopted by the principal companies—such as the North Western, Midland, Great Northern—carrying to the north of London. It will therefore serve as a good specimen:—

With few exceptions the Scale of Charges (exclusive of Booking Fee) to or from Stations on the London and North Western Railway is as under:—

For Distances of	Miles.	And not exceed- ing	1 lb.	2 lbs.	3 lbs.	3 lbs. to 7 lbs.	Above 7 lbs. and not exceeding		Above.	Per lb.
		Miles.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	lbs.	s. d.	lbs.	d.
Above ...	1	30	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6	24	0 6	24	0½
" ...	30	50	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 8	16	0 8	16	0½
" ...	50	100	0 6	0 6	0 8	0 10	16	1 0	16	0½
" ...	100	150	0 6	0 9	1 0	1 3	15	1 3	15	1
" ...	150	200	0 8	1 0	1 3	1 6	14	1 6	14	1½
" ...	200	250	0 9	1 0	1 6	1 9	16	2 0	16	1½
" ...	250	300	0 9	1 0	1 6	1 9	16	2 4	16	1½
" ...	300	400	0 9	1 0	1 6	2 0	15	2 6	15	2
" ...	400	500	1 0	1 3	1 9	2 6	18	3 0	18	2
" ...	500	600	1 3	1 6	2 0	2 9	16	3 0	16	2½
	Above 600		1 6	1 9	2 3	3 0	16	3 4	16	2½

A Special Scale is in operation in the districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and to the Lines South of the Thames.

This tariff is wonderfully constructed. As regards the columns towards the right hand, I give the puzzle up altogether. It passes my understanding why the limit of weight should be made to vary at different distances from 14 lbs. to 15 lbs., 16 lbs., and 18 lbs. I have studied inductive logic; but no logic seems likely to disclose reason or method here. As regards weights under 7 lbs. there is at least the appearance of reason, and that reason is the exacting the utmost that the unfortunate owner of the parcel can be induced to pay. It is true that for small distances the charge, *exclusive of booking fee*, is not altogether immoderate. For 6d. a 7 lb. parcel may be sent thirty miles, a 2 lb. parcel one hundred miles, and so on; this no doubt is designed to prevent competition by road carriers; but at larger distances, when horse conveyance is out of the question, the public is made to smart. A 1 lb. parcel transmitted five hundred to six hundred miles costs 1s. 3d., exclusive of booking fee; by post the book rate is 4d. per lb. or barely more than the fourth part. The postal rate for a letter, weighing above 12 oz., is 1d. for every ounce. The parcel rate then is only a penny less than the postal rate of a letter! What is most extraordinary about this tariff is the importance attributed to distance. I suppose a 1 lb. parcel sent from London to Glasgow may be put into the van at Euston, and never stirred until it reaches Glasgow; yet the mere transit costs the sender 6d. more than for short distances. Now we must suppose that 6d. covers all the terminal charges, and costs of collection and delivery, for this is all that the companies ask for short distance parcels, exclusive of booking fees, whatever they may be. Hence at least 6d. goes for the cost of traction, wear and tear of van, interest on capital, &c.; but a ton consists of 2240 lbs., and a ton weight of 1 lb. parcels would be no great load for a van. Thus the tolls collected on merely carrying that ton load for four hundred or five hundred miles would be £56, and including

collection and delivery it would be £112. A ton load of third-class passengers would yield only £25 all told.

These very excessive charges apply, it is true, only to the smallest parcels; on examining the other columns, it will be found that the higher weights are charged at much lower rates, possibly to underbid competition by road, canal, or steam boat. But taking it as a whole this tariff may be described as devoid of all method. It seems to be a purely arbitrary series of numbers, evolved perhaps from the brains of railway magnates arranging a compromise at some conference of the northern directors.

To show, however, how the parcel charges compare with the various other charges made by the railway companies, I have constructed the following table from authentic data furnished by the railway time tables, the reports of Railway Commissions, &c. The table refers to no railway in particular, and the data were selected almost at random.

	<i>d.</i>
Small parcels	200
Medium „	100
Large „	40
Newspaper parcels	100
Passengers' excess luggage	66
Commercial travellers' luggage	33
First class passenger fare	175
Second „ „ „	125
Third „ „ „	75
Live poultry	100
Watercress	33
Milk	12
High class goods	32
Medium goods	13
Low class goods	4
Coal traffic, lowest rate	13

This is an extraordinary table, and shows what latitude the traffic managers allow themselves in taxing or assisting various trades. Like protectionist statesmen, they think the traffic cannot go on unless their vigilance eases or multiplies the burden. Our ancient system of duties, and bounties, and drawbacks, is faithfully reproduced in our railway tariffs, with their classes, and exceptions, and exemptions, and special rates, and endless minute distinctions.

An examination of the table will render it quite evident that the railway companies have deliberately treated the small parcel traffic as a close monopoly which they can tax with any charge they like. No excuse for such excessive charges can possibly be given. It may be explained, indeed, that the newspaper parcels, being a regular daily uniform traffic, can be more easily provided for; but how are we to apply the same explanation to commercial travellers' luggage? For the charge stated, many of the companies allow a commercial traveller

to bring as many heavy packages as he likes, and to take them in and out of the trains as many times in the day as he likes, without extra charge. Several porters are sometimes needed to manipulate this luggage, and the train is occasionally detained thereby. But though the companies urge that they do this to promote trade in their districts, why cannot they promote the trade in small parcels also? If properly developed this traffic would include an immense mass of orders for small tradesmen, and the vast loss of labour and money involved in the commercial traveller system might be partially avoided by the copious use of sample packages. Really it sometimes strikes me as very questionable how far a small body of directors, sitting at Euston Square or Paddington, should be allowed to constitute themselves the judges of the way in which the commerce and the traffic of the country is to go on. They can promote this form of traffic, oppress another, extinguish a third, in a way which Parliament itself would not venture to do.

But let us now turn to another side of this subject and attempt to decide whether the conveyance of parcels is a kind of industry which is likely to be well and economically conducted by a Government department. As I have pointed out in two previous publications,* we must not assume that a Government department will manage every kind of industry as badly as the Admiralty manage the boilers of their iron-clads, nor, on the other hand, as apparently well as the Post Office manages the distribution of letters. The presumption is always against a State department; but in any particular kind of work there may be special conditions which render the unity and monopoly of Government control desirable and profitable. On this point I will take the liberty of quoting from my paper published by the Manchester Statistical Society, p. 91.

"Before we give our adhesion to systems of State telegraphs and State railways in this kingdom, we should closely inquire whether telegraphs and railways have more analogy to the Post Office or to the Dockyards. This argument from analogy is freely used by every one. It is the argument of the so-called Reformers, who urge that if we treat the telegraphs and the railways as Sir Rowland Hill treated the Post Office, reducing fares to a low and uniform rate, we shall reap the same gratifying results. But this will depend upon whether the analogy is correct—whether the telegraphs and railways resemble the Post Office in those conditions which render the latter highly successful in the hands of Government, and enable a low uniform rate to be adopted. To this point the following remarks are directed.

"It seems to me that State management possesses advantages under the following conditions:—

- "1. Where numberless wide-spread operations can only be efficiently connected, united, and co-ordinated, in a single, all-extensive Government system.
- "2. Where the operations possess an invariable routine-like character.

* Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society, April, 1867, pp. 89—104: On the Analogy between the Post Office, Telegraphs, and other systems of Conveyance of the United Kingdom, as regards Government Control.—Essays and Addresses by Professors and Lecturers of Owen's College, Manchester: 1874 (Macmillan), pp. 465—505: The Railways and the State.

"3. Where they are performed under the public eye or for the service of individuals, who will immediately detect and expose any failure or laxity.

"4. Where there is but little capital expenditure, so that each year's revenue and expense account shall represent, with sufficient accuracy, the real commercial conditions of the department."

There can be no doubt, I think, that in all the four points specified above, parcel traffic is highly suited to State management. It is conducted at present, as we have seen, by almost numberless disconnected or antagonistic companies and private carriers, who, though not particularly inefficient each in his own sphere, are highly wasteful and inefficient as a system. The operations of the parcel post, again, would be almost as routine-like as those of the Post Office. There would be none of the delicate scientific and technical questions involved in the building of iron-clads or the construction of torpedoes. There would be nothing more occult in the carrying of a parcel than in the stamping and sorting and delivery of letters. There would certainly be some variations of traffic to be provided against, especially about Christmas time; but it would not be comparatively worse than the pressure of Christmas cards or valentines upon the Post Office. If necessary, it might be met by a temporary increase of charges during Christmas week. In respect of the third point, the parcel post is as favourably situated as the letter post. Nobody knows nor cares what is done with the boilers of H.M.'s ship *Pinafore* when cruising in Turkish waters; but everybody would know and care, each in his own case, if Mudie's parcel of novels was unpunctual, or the new dress gone astray, or the pot of Devonshire cream gone bad, or the author's life-long labour—his cherished manuscript—irretrievably lost. The officials of the Dead and Missing Parcel Department would need strong nerves and placid dispositions to stand the constant stream of indignation which would fall upon them. There could be no undetected laxity in the Parcel Department.

In respect, however, of the fourth point of State management, there might be room for more doubt. The immense success of the Post Office is much dependent upon the fact that, in respect of letters, the Postmaster-General has little capital expenditure under his charge. The railway companies fortunately own and manage all the more elaborate instruments of carriage, and do the work of the Post Office by contract. The whole of the horse conveyance of the mails is also done by contract, or at least ought so to be done. All the minor post offices, too, are placed in private premises. Only the large buildings at St. Martin's-le-Grand, and the principal offices in the London districts and some of the larger provincial towns, are actually owned by the Government for postal purposes. Beyond this property they only own the letter bags, the stamps, the pillar boxes, and so forth, property in value quite inconsiderable. With the telegraph branch it is different; whether wisely or otherwise (and I incline to think other-

wise), the Post Office actually own the posts and wires, instruments, and other fixed plant of the telegraphs. They construct and repair them; and, still worse, they find it necessary to call in the aid of Royal Engineers to do this efficiently and economically. I have little doubt that all this work ought to have been put out to contract. But, however this may be, the difficulty would not much press in the case of the parcel post; for it would require no extensive and complicated series of scientific instruments for its conduct. The railway companies would of course do the long-distance conveyance; the collection and distribution would, equally of course, be done by hired carts; and, beyond a few weighing machines, porters' trucks, packing cases, and the like simple appliances, it is difficult to see what fixed capital the Parcel Department need own. Receiving and distributing offices would be needed, often on a rather large scale; but they might be leased or built, as was found most economical. Thus I feel sure that, in respect of capital expenditure, the Parcel Post would be far more favourably situated than the Telegraph Department, and would be closely analogous to the Letter Post.

Then, again, the parcel monopoly would in no appreciable degree interfere with the progress of invention, as the telegraph monopoly appears to do. In spite of Mr. W. H. Preece's vigorous attempt to show the opposite,* it is to be feared that the birthplace of the electric telegraph has ceased to be the foremost in the race of electrical inventions. Some half-dozen capital inventions, such as duplex and quadruplex telegraphy; the telephone, the carbon telephone, &c., have been made since the Government took the telegraphs. How many of them have been made on English soil? The telephone is, I believe, quite in familiar use in the United States: where is it yet made practically useful in England? The chill of red tape and circumlocution has fallen upon the zeal of invention, a zeal which fears nothing so much as the inertia of bureaucracy, and the cool indifference of My Lords of the Treasury. If ever future historians of a more advanced age inquire into the rise of a new civilization in the nineteenth century, they will wonder at nothing so much as the treatment of inventors by the English Government. It is as bad and senseless in its way as the imprisonment of Roger Bacon, or the condemnation of Galileo. Neglect, contumely, confiscation, are the fate of the English inventor at the hands of the English Government.

I hold, therefore, that the conveyance of small goods is a kind of business which a Government department would carry on with a maximum of advantage and a minimum of financial risk or interference with the progress of science and industry. In some respects it would have been better to leave the work to the care of a combination of railway companies; but I fear they could never be induced to make

* British Association: Dublin Meeting. *Journal of the Society of Arts*, August 23rd, 1878, vol. xxvi. p. 862. See also p. 890.

the system complete. The whole movement of parcels up to 30 lbs. or 50 lbs. weight should therefore be carried on by a Government organization closely analogous to that of the letter post, but yet distinct from it; parallel and co-operating when desirable, but not interfering or hampering the more rapid distribution of letters. This department would acquire the parcel business of the railway companies, and would also buy up the good-will of the parcel express companies. It would utilize the whole of the carriers' stock of carts, horses, offices, &c., by employing them on remunerative contracts; it would thus organize, rather than replace, the existing means of conveyance, but by introducing system where there was no system would much increase the efficiency of the present means. Instead of a multitude of carts traversing long distances often to deliver single parcels, each cart would serve one group of houses, to which it would proceed direct from the delivery office with a good load. When the traffic was properly developed, almost every house would have a daily parcel or even several, and these would be delivered with a speed to which there is nothing comparable now except that of the penny post. As the shopkeepers would deliver almost exclusively through the parcel post, the streets would be freed from their multitude of vans, and customers would eventually be saved the enormous cost which some establishments must bear, in maintaining a large staff of delivery carts. The consumers must of course bear all such expenses in the long run. As to the employés of the present companies, they would be "taken over" as part of the concerns, and would no doubt have their salaries advanced at once, as in the case of the telegraph companies.

One of the most important and difficult points to determine in connection with the scheme which I am advocating, is the selection of a tariff for the future parcel system. The principles on which such a tariff must be founded require careful investigation. As we have seen, Mr. Edward J. Page, of the Post Office, adopts the idea of a uniform parcel rate, as it had been previously upheld by the Society of Arts; he would make the charge independent of distance, and vary it only with the weight of the parcel. The convenience of such a tariff, if it can be adopted, is obvious. With a pair of scales we can infallibly ascertain the weight of the parcel we are sending, and then calculate the fare to be paid. If distance enters, we have to ascertain also the position and distance of the place to which we are consigning the parcel. For this purpose we must consult tables which will seldom be at hand. The greater number of persons will be reduced to simply asking the receiving clerk what is to be paid; not only delay, but uncertainty, and opportunity for fraud thus arise,—all the disadvantages, in short, against which the fixed tariff of the Post Office ensures us. There can be no doubt then about the excellence of a uniform charge irrespective of distance, if it can be adopted.

But on careful examination it will be found that Mr. Page's proposal

must be intended by him to apply only to very small parcels, or else it betrays an imperfect comprehension of the subject with which he is dealing. I imagine he must have chosen a uniform tariff on the ground that it answers very well in the Post Office, and therefore must answer well with parcels. But by such reasoning as this, one might infer that because a minute dose of prussic acid soothes and benefits the stomach, therefore a good large dose will be still more beneficial. Mr. Page, like many another hasty theorist, forgets that a whole mail-bag full of letters only makes a moderate parcel. Taking letters at an average of half-an-ounce each, there are 32 to the pound, or 960 in a 30 lb. parcel. Thus the element of weight enters into parcel traffic, say from a hundred to a thousand times as much as into letter traffic. Sir Rowland Hill's admirable scheme of a uniform postal charge was based upon the carefully demonstrated fact that the mere transit cost of a letter to a distant place did not exceed that to a near place by more than 1-36th part of a penny. There was no coin sufficiently small to represent the difference of cost due to distance, and therefore he was enabled to embrace the uniform charge system. But a little calculation shows how different is the case with parcels.

The mileage rates charged by the railway companies upon goods vary exceedingly, and in the most casual manner. The minimum is usually about 1*d.* per ton per mile, and the maximum is somewhere about 7*d.* Now 1*d.* per ton per mile, is equal to 4.464*d.* per 100 lbs. per 100 miles, so that, if we were to assume only a medium charge of 3*d.* per ton per mile, a 100 lb. parcel transmitted 500 miles would cost, merely for transit, about 5*s.* 7*d.* The idea of charging this sum for the carriage of a 100 lb. package for a few miles would be prohibitory and absurd. But the rates from which I have been calculating are only those for ordinary goods by goods trains. For parcel traffic we should require either special rapid parcel trains, or else accommodation in passenger trains, which must be costly. Looking to the table given above, we can scarcely expect the railway companies to accept less than 25*d.* per 100 lbs. per 100 miles (5.6*d.* per ton per mile), that is, about a quarter of what they now charge for parcels. At this rate the cost of transmitting the following weights 500 miles, without any terminal charges, is worthy of notice.

						<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Parcel of 100 lbs.	..	..	..	..	..	10	5
" " 10 "	..	..	..	..	..	1	0½
" " 1 lb.	..	..	..	..	..		1½
Letter of ½ oz.	..	..	..	..	..		04

It is evident that the analogy between the parcel and the letter post breaks down altogether. Even for a 1 lb. parcel the effect of distance is appreciable; for a 10 lb. parcel it could not be overlooked; for a 100 lb. parcel it would constitute almost the whole of the charge. We are thus reduced to three alternatives in case of adopting a

uniform charge. Either (1) we must restrict the weight of parcels, so as to make the parcel post hardly more useful for sending goods than the present letter post; or (2) we must impose so high a charge, as would be intolerably oppressive as regards small distances; or (3) we must impose so low a charge that the ordinary goods charges of the railway companies for long distances would be underbid by the parcel post. The result of the third alternative would evidently be that all goods would, as far as possible, be broken down into parcels, and transmitted at the cost of the State. This result would be quite intolerable.

All these alternatives, then, being inadmissible, it follows that a tariff irrespective of distance is impracticable, and we must revert to a mileage rate. The charge should consist of two components: (1) a fixed terminal charge of, say, 2*d.*, to cover the costs of booking, delivery, &c.; (2) a mileage charge determined by the compound proportion of weight and distance. A very important point, however, would consist in fixing rightly the minimum charge for very light parcels. Now, parcel companies have been started to work at a minimum of 1*d.*; at one time there was a Penny Parcel Company in London; and similar companies have been established in Glasgow and elsewhere. I learn that the Glasgow Tramway Company now convey and deliver newspaper parcels up to 3 lb. weight for 1*d.* each, but other parcels up to 7 lbs. are charged 2*d.* as a minimum. I do not happen to know of the present existence of any company working with common parcels so low as 1*d.* even for short distances. But even if so low a rate were practicable in particular districts, it could not possibly be recommended for adoption in a general parcel system. The lowest rate which is practically existent in England at present is 3*d.* or 4*d.*, and it would not be wise to attempt at first a lower rate than 3*d.* Taking a mileage rate of 5·6*d.* per ton per mile, or 25*d.* per 100 lb. per 100 miles; adding terminal charges in each case to the amount of 2*d.*; and then raising the result to the next higher integral number of pennies, we obtain the following standard tariff:*

Under lbs.	50 Miles. s. d.	100 Miles. s. d.	200 Miles. s. d.	400 Miles. s. d.	600 Miles. s. d.
5	3	4	5	7	10
10	4	5	7	1 0	1 5
15	4	6	10	1 5	2 1
20	5	7	1 0	1 10	2 8
30	6	10	1 5	2 8	3 11
50	9	1 3	2 3	4 4	6 5
100	1 3	2 3	4 4	8 6	12 8

I give the charges up to 100 lbs. weight without implying that the parcel post should necessarily carry up to that weight.

* After calculating this tariff, I find that it nearly corresponds with one which existed four years ago on the former Bristol and Exeter Railway, which charged 3*s.* for carrying 112 lbs. over a maximum of 100 miles. But I should propose the scale only as a first cautious one, and with the hope that slight reductions might be made after the system was in full working order.

I do not believe that there would be any serious difficulty in working such a tariff as this. The urban and suburban traffic, a very large part of the whole traffic, would fall entirely within the fifty mile limit, and the matter of distance need hardly be considered. I should propose to determine the charges for longer distances by reference to *tariff maps*, as was formerly the practice in the French Post Offices, when letters were charged a distance rate. Minute differences are of no account in a general system of conveyance, so that we can readily substitute the distance as the crow flies for the actual distance travelled by road or rail. In the French Post Office the distances seem to have been measured by compasses applied to official maps: but a little device would save all trouble of measuring.

I would have *tariff maps* issued by the Postal authorities, somewhat like the cheap useful map prefixed to Bradshaw's Guide, but rather larger and fuller, and showing places, instead of railways or other features. Upon the face of this map should be printed light-coloured concentric distance circles, with their centre upon any town or village for which the map was to indicate the tariff. All places within any one zone would have the same tariff as regards the central place: and it is possible that the tariff for the zone might be printed in colours actually within the space to which it applies. Such maps could be produced for every town and village in the country without extra cost: because, with a properly invented press, the colour stone or block could be shifted so as to print its centre over any spot, and the required number of copies would be printed off for the service of that particular place before shifting the circles for the next place.

In the establishment of a State Parcel Post a multitude of details would of course have to be considered, for the discussion of which there is no space, and no need here. For instance, would the parcels be all registered and delivered only for receipts? I am inclined to think that this would be indispensable to prevent pilfering: but it is probable that the labour might be greatly facilitated by the use of some kind of numbered stamp, with perforated coupons. One part of the ticket being affixed to the parcel, serving also perhaps as an address label, the counterfoils might be used as receipts, or filed to save the trouble of booking. I have often amused myself with planning the details of such a scheme of ticket registration, to replace the cumbrous method of books and waybills; but it would be needless to suggest details here. I am sure that some such system will one day be adopted, and become as important and world-wide as the use of stamps and railway-tickets. In some parts of Scotland it is already the practice to have duplicate penny or halfpenny labels, one of which is pasted on any parcel sent to the left luggage-office of a railway terminus, while the counterfoil is retained by the owner; thus when leaving town in the evening by train he can identify his parcel. The use of stamps on newspaper parcels is now quite general,

and at least one company, the Bristol and Exeter, extended the use of stamps to their parcel traffic generally. The Glasgow Tramway Company too have adopted a parcel stamp with numbered coupon, to serve as a waybill, and to be torn off by the person delivering the parcel. An easy development of this system would soon replace the cumbrous booking method.

Any person seriously proposing the establishment of a general parcel post might no doubt be expected to produce some estimate of its probable cost. Much minute information, however, only to be obtained by the power of Parliament, would be needed to form a reliable estimate. I am encouraged, indeed, to attempt some calculations by the fact that, in the case of the telegraphs, I was, in respect to one important item, twenty-five times more correct than Mr. Scudamore, with all his information,* though, of course, neither I nor any other reasonable person could have imagined beforehand how much he would have agreed to pay the telegraph companies for their rights. But in this case of parcel traffic, we have none of the accurate information which existed concerning the telegraph companies and their capitals and dividends. We have, of course, the official accounts of railway traffic, but the Act of Parliament under which these are collected allowed, or rather prescribed, a form of account in which the receipts from parcel traffic are merged with those from excess luggage, carriages, horses, and dogs! Nor are these items distinguished in any of the reports issued by the companies to their shareholders which I possess. Taking, however, Mr. Giffen's summary tables of railway traffic for 1876, we find that the totals of these items are given as follow :—

England and Wales	..	..	..	£2,076,490
Scotland	..	..	..	237,115
Ireland	..	..	..	104,452
				<hr/>
United Kingdom	..	..	..	<u>£2,418,057</u>

This sum represents the total gross receipts from such traffic, and as the working and capital expenses can hardly be assigned in the case of such adventitious sources of revenue, it would no doubt be difficult for the railway companies to assign with any precision the net receipts from parcel traffic. Much information would have to be called forth by parliamentary authority before it would be possible to frame any estimates of the sums of money involved in establishing a general parcel system. But there is the less need to produce any financial estimates at the outset, because I hold that if the tariff be rightly and cautiously framed, there must be a large margin of economy in the working of the department, which would ensure a revenue sufficient to cover all probable charges. The business, as I have pointed out, is

* Transactions of the Manchester Statistical Society, 1867, p. 98. *Fortnightly Review*, vol. 1, N.S. p. 827.

analogous to the letter post rather than the telegraph system: there is not the same risk of loss as there was in introducing the uniform shilling telegram, or the uniform sixpenny telegram, as sanguine people wished. The waste of horse-power, of men's time, and of railway carrying power is so immense under the present chaotic arrangements, that to the community as a whole there must be great profit, in reducing that chaos to systematic organization. So far as I can venture to form any estimate of the financial magnitude of the proposed department, I should say that it will certainly not cost more than three or four times as much as the Postal Telegraph Department. This is no slight sum, indeed, but those who wince at it must remember that it is only about the *twentieth part* of what would be involved in the State purchase of the whole railway system. This favourite proposal I venture to regard as simply visionary, for reasons already given in the Owen's College Essays; the advantages would be doubtful, the cost and risks enormous. But in buying up the parcel branch of traffic the cost and risk would be comparatively small, the advantages and profits immense and almost certain.

Practical men will no doubt have more belief in a parcel post when they learn that it is what has been long carried into effect in Prussia, as well as Switzerland, Denmark, and probably other Continental countries. It seems desirable that the details of these postal systems should be ascertained by our consular agencies, and described in their usual reports. But I am glad to be able to give the following minute account of the Government Parcel Post at Berlin, which I have translated from an interesting article on the Postal Service of Berlin, published in the Berne periodical called *L'Union Postale*, and reprinted in the *Bulletin de Statistique et de Législation Comparée* of the French Ministry of Finance, a copy of which I have the honour to receive from the Ministry.

* All the ordinary parcels (*colis*) destined for Berlin and its suburbs are sent to the parcel office (*bureau des colis*) which is situated in the Arrondissement N, or North, and which is charged with delivering the parcels directly to the houses of the consignees, provided that the latter inhabit the city proper, or one of the suburbs of Gesundbrunnen or Moabit. To give an idea of the importance of this service, and of the resources which it requires, it is sufficient to remark that during the year 1876, it has handled 3,003,131 parcels, and that the reduction of the charge to 50 pfennigs (about 6*d.*) per parcel, up to 5 kilogrammes (11 lbs.), independently of distance, has necessarily had the effect of increasing the traffic from day to day. And there has been appropriated to this service a whole series of contiguous buildings, in which are engaged 72 employés, and 214 subordinate agents, without counting 19 boys employed to call over the parcels.

* Two special offices, installed in a separate building, are reserved for parcels addressed to persons or authorities (of which the number is actually 375) who have given instructions that their parcels should not be delivered at their residences; there exists another similar office for parcels destined for the garrison of Berlin. All the other parcels are transported to the residences by distributing vans, and are delivered to the consignees in return for the regulation portorage charge. The places in which the porters deposit and sort the

packages are 75 metres (246 feet) long, and 11·60 metres (38 feet) wide, and are divided into 72 compartments. By well-considered organization of the service, and an intelligent division of labour, it has been found possible to commence each distribution one hour after the arrival of the last consignment which is to form part of it.

"The deliveries take place, during the winter, three times each day (at 8, 12, and 3 o'clock), and in summer four times (at 8, 12, 3, and 5 o'clock); on Sundays the service is reduced to the two earlier deliveries. The number of carts (*voitures*) employed for each delivery is varied according to need; at present there are 62 employed in the first delivery, 36 in the second, 27 in the third, and 25 in the fourth. But during the winter months, when the traffic is very considerable, the first delivery requires 72 carts, without speaking of numerous hired carts which are required during Christmastide.

"As to parcels intended for the suburbs of Berlin (always with the exception of the suburbs Gesundbrunnen and Moabit), the parcel office forwards them by special wagons in care of its agents, to the local post-offices respectively charged with their delivery."

Here is an interesting picture of an extensive and successful Government parcel post, doing a large business of three million parcels a year. Being unaware whether the charge of 6*d.* for parcels under 11 lbs. applies to Berlin only or to conveyance over longer distances, it is not possible to judge of its pressure; but it is a higher minimum charge than we should think of proposing for a British Parcel Post.

In some parts of Scandinavia, also, there is a well-arranged Government parcel post, and Mr. J. E. H. Skinner tells us, that in Denmark parcels not exceeding two hundred pounds in weight can be forwarded through the feld-post at a charge of a penny per pound for sixteen miles. This charge is far above what we should contemplate in this country; but it applies mostly to road conveyance.

Bad as are our arrangements for the distribution of small goods within the kingdom, the case is still far worse as regards transmission to foreign countries. Even between such great and comparatively near capitals as London and Paris, or London and Brussels, the smallest parcel, of less than 1 lb., cannot be sent for less than 2*s.* or 2*s.* 2*d.* Nevertheless the Postal Convention enables us to send book matter weighing less than 2 lbs. for 1*d.* per 2 oz. Thus a book parcel just under 1 lb. will go as far as Rome for 8*d.*, whereas a parcel of any other kind, of the same weight, will cost three times as much to Paris. Such are the anomalies which our apathy allows to exist. As regards the United States, it is worse still. A year or two ago, I heedlessly undertook to send a book weighing under 2½ lbs. to New York, being under the impression that I could post it thither. But at the post office my book parcel was promptly rejected as exceeding the limit of weight. I then took it to two different American mail packet offices, each of which asked 7*s.* or 8*s.* for transmitting this small package. With this extraordinary demand I was obliged to comply, as I knew no cheaper mode of transmission. Now, the original value of the book in England was 10*s.* 6*d.*

In the case of small parcels conveyed by steam-boat, the mileage

cost must be an almost incalculably small fraction. In fact about 1*d.* per lb. would be ample for the mere freight to America; adding, say, 4*d.* for collection and delivery on each side, my book should have been transmitted for about a shilling; or *about one eighth part* of what it cost. In fact all this kind of traffic, when not superintended by the State, is treated as a close monopoly, to the great injury of the public, and in the long run, I am convinced, to the detriment of the carrying companies themselves.

There is plainly, then, a world of improvement to be effected in this, as in many other directions. But where is the Rowland Hill to effect it? Few have, like him, the happiness of looking back on a great social reform accomplished by his single-handed energy. Men of the younger generation have little idea of the manner in which he had to fight step by step against the bureaucracy of the Post Office. That department, which now congratulates and eulogizes itself upon its wonderful achievements, should never forget that these inestimable improvements were forced upon it, as it were, at the point of the sword. I may have some future opportunity of pointing out how obstructive is the Post Office, or, at least, the Treasury, in refusing to extend the benefits of the Berne Postal Union to the whole world, as the English Government alone might do it. But one thing is enough at a time. It is with the infinite blindness, and selfishness, and obstructiveness of the railway companies in the matter of small goods that we have here to deal. I can scarcely comprehend why they should combine to suppress and strangle this one branch of traffic, when they so ably develop other branches. When it is a question of collecting and conveying milk, or fish, or cockles, or watercresses, nothing can be more effective, and in general economical, than their arrangements. As to the manner in which the railways distribute the morning London newspapers over the length and breadth of the land, nothing can be more wonderful or more satisfactory. But in the matter of small goods conveyance I have shown that blindness, monopoly, waste of labour, chaotic want of system yet prevail. So, though parcels may seem a petty matter, I yet hold that there is in this direction a really great work of Social Reform to be achieved. There is no reason why we should be separated as we are, either in Britain, or in Greater Britain. When we learn to utilize properly our wonderful railway system, and to take advantage of the recent enormous progress of steam navigation, there is no reason why we should not make the whole world kin. Friendship, literature, science, art,—civilization in all its phases, are promoted by nothing so surely as the interchange of ideas and of goods. A universal parcel post would be the harbinger of universal free trade.

W. STANLEY JEVONS.

ATHEISM AND THE CHURCH.

OMNIA EXEUNT IN—THEOLOGIAM. No branch of science appears to consider itself complete, nowadays, until it has issued at last into the vexed ocean of theology. Thus, Biology writes "Lay Sermons" in Professor Huxley; Physics acknowledges itself almost Christian in Professor Tyndall; Anthropology claims to be religious in Mr. Darwin; and Logic, in Mr. Spencer, confesses that "a religious system is a normal and essential factor in every evolving society."* It is only the second-rate men of science who loudly vaunt their ability to do without religion altogether, and proclaim their fixed and unchangeable resolve for its entire suppression. As well resolve to suppress the Gulf Stream or the eccentricity of the earth's orbit! If the horizon of man's thought is bounded on all sides by mystery, it is in simple obedience to the law of his nature that he gives some *shape* to that mystery. It were mental cowardice to shrink from facing it; it were positive imbecility to declare that the coast-line between known and unknown had no shape at all. Granted that the line be a slowly fluctuating one, and that conquests here and losses there reveal themselves in course of time and one day become "striking" to the commonest observer, does that fact acquit of folly the Agnostic statement that—now and here—there is no thinkable line at all, no features to be described, nothing to sketch, no appreciable curves and headlands, no conception possible which shall integrate (for practical utility) that great Beyond whose boundaries, on the hither side at least, are known to us? Men who can only attend to one thing at a time, and whose "one thing" is the field of a microscope or "the anatomy of the lower part of the hindmost bone of the skull of a carp,"† may perhaps

* Spencer: *Sociology* (7th ed. 1878), p. 313.

† Cf. Mivart: *Contemporary Evolution* (1876), p. 134.

escape the common lot of manhood by ceasing to be "men," in any ordinary sense of the word. But for people who live in the open air and sunshine of common life there is the same necessity for a religion as there is for that mental map of our whereabouts that we all carry with us in our brains. Let any one recall his sensations when he has at any time been overtaken in a fog or a snow-storm, and when all his bearings have been blotted out, then he will readily understand the need which all men feel for a theology of some kind, and he will appreciate what the old-school divines meant when they said that "Theology was the queen and mistress of the sciences," harmonizing and gathering up into architectonic unity all the multifarious threads that the subordinate sciences had spun.

I. One is driven, nowadays, to repeat both in public and private these very obvious reflections, owing to the extraordinary persistence with which certain philosophers think fit to inform us that we are all making a great mistake; that we can do very well without a religion; and that, though it is true "man cannot live by bread alone," but must have *ideas*, yet the creed by which he may very well make shift to live is this—"SOMETHING IS."* In point of brevity there is here little to desire. The Apostles' Creed is prolix by comparison, and although we might fairly take exception to "some-thing," as embodying two very concrete acts of the imagination and therefore capable of further logical "purification," it were ungenerous to press the objection too far. This creed is purer than that of Strauss: "We believe in no God, but only in a self-poised and amid eternal changes constant universum."† It is wider than that of Hartmann: "God is a personification of force."‡ It is simpler than that of Matthew Arnold: God is "a power, not ourselves, that makes for righteousness."§ It is more intelligible than that of J. S. Mill: "a Being of great but limited power, how or by what limited we cannot even conjecture,"—a notion found also in Lucretius and in Seneca.|| It is more theological than that of Professor Huxley: "The order of nature is ascertainable by our faculties, and our volition counts for something in the course of events."¶ It is similar to that of the ancient Brahmans: "That which cannot be seen by the eye, but by which the eye sees, that is Brahma; if thou thinkest thou canst know it, then thou knowest it very little; it is reached only by him who says, 'It is! It is!'"** And considering that this formula is very nearly what is said also by the Fathers of the Church, what better *formula concordie* between

* Physicus: Examination of Theism (1878), p. 142:—"What was the essential substance of that [atheistic] theory? Apparently it was the bare statement of the unthinkable fact that Something Is. The *essence* of Atheism I take to consist in the single dogma of self-existence as itself sufficient to constitute a theory of things."

† Strauss: Der alte und der neue Glaube (4th ed. 1873), p. 116.

‡ Hartmann: Gott und Naturwissenschaft (2nd ed. 1872), p. 14.

§ M. Arnold: Literature and Dogma, p. 306.

J. S. Mill: Essays on Religion, p. 124. Cf. Lucretius, vi., and Seneca, Nat. Qu. i. 1.

¶ Huxley: Lay Sermons.

** The Upanishad: ap. Clarke's Ten Great Religions, p. 84.

science and theism could we require? For instance, Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 200) echoes St. Paul's "Know Him, sayest thou! rather art known of Him," with the confession "We know not what He is, but only what He is not;" Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 350) says, "To know God is beyond man's powers;" St. Augustine (A.D. 400), "Rare is the mind that in speaking of God knows what it means;" John of Damascus (A.D. 800), "What is the substance of God or how He exists in all things, we are agnostics, and cannot say a word;" and in the middle ages, Duns Scotus (A.D. 1300), "Is God accessible to our reason? I hold that He is not."*

It seems then there is a consensus among all competent persons, who have ever thought deeply on the subject, that the real nature of that Power which underlies all existing things is absolutely unknown to man. And it is allowable, therefore, in the last resort to fall back upon Spinoza's word "sub-stance;" and to accept—if charity so require—as the common basis for theological reunion, the Agnostic formula, "Something Is."

But then, unless some means be found for instantly paralyzing the restless energy of human inquiry, the next question is inevitable,—What is that Something? What are its qualities, its attributes? How are we to conceive of it? Given (in Aristotelian phrase), its *οὐσία*, what is its *ποιότης*, its *ποσότης*, and the rest, which go to make up its idea? "Existence" is, after all, only one of our three necessary forms of thought: "Space" and "Time" are also necessary to our thinking. And it is in vain for pure Logicians to put on papal airs, to forbid the question, to cry *Non possumus*, and to stifle all free thinking. It is useless to say, "We have already, with razors of the utmost fineness, split and resplit every emergent phenomenon; we have, by assiduous devotion to the one single and undisturbed function of analysis, examined every possible conception that man can form, and have discovered everywhere compound notions, ideas that are "impure" and capable of further logical fissure: salvation is only possible by the confession that 'Something Is;' there rest and be thankful!" It is all of no avail. *Naturam expellas furcā*—she is sure to return in armed revolt, and to demand, Who told thee that thou wast thus nakedly equipped? Reason is one thing; but imagination is also another. If analysis is a power of the human mind, so also is synthesis. If you cannot think at all without using the one, neither can you without employing the other. Take for instance a process of the "purest" mathematics,—"twice six is twelve;" you were taught that probably with an abacus, and the ghost of the abacus still lingers in your brain. "The square of the hypothenuse;" you saw that once in a figured Euclid, and you learnt thereby to form any number of similar mental figures for yourself. No: you may call the methods by

* Gal. iv. 9; Clem. Alex., Strom. v. 11; Cyr. Jer., Cat. Lect. xi. 3; Aug., Confess. xiii. 11; Joh. Dam., De Fide Orthod. i. 2; Duns Scotus, In Sent. i. 3. 1.

which mankind think "impure," or attach to them any other derogatory epithet you please; but mankind will deride you for your pains, and will reply, "The philosopher who will only breathe pure oxygen will die; he that walks on one leg, and declines to use the other, will cut but a sorry figure in society; he that uses only one eye will never get a stereoscopic view of anything. Use, man, the *compound* instrument of knowledge your nature has provided for you,—and you will both see and live." Why, even so determined a logician as "Physicus" is obliged sometimes to admit that "this *symbolic* method of reasoning is, from the nature of the case, the only method of scientific reasoning which is available."* And Professor Tyndall, in the November number of another Review, after complaining that "it is against the mythologic scenery of religion that science enters her protest," finds himself also obliged to mythologize; for he adds (seven pages further on), "How are we to *figure* this molecular motion? Suppose the leaves to be shaken from a birch-tree, . . . and, to *fix the idea*, suppose each leaf," &c. And so Professor Cooke writes:—

"I cannot agree with those who regard the wave-theory of light as an established principle of science. . . There is something concerned in the phenomena of light which has definite dimensions. We *represent* these dimensions to our imagination as wave-lengths; and *we shall find it difficult to think clearly* upon the subject without the aid of this wave-theory."†

In short, it is obvious that without the help of this mythologic, poetic, image-forming faculty all our pursuit of truth were in vain. And therefore, starting from the common basis of a confession that "something is," we are more than justified, we are obeying a necessary law of our nature, in asking WHAT that eternal substratum of existence is, and with what morphologic aid the Imagination may best present it for our contemplation.

But here the pure logician may perhaps retort, "You forget that the conceptions men form of things are, at their very best, nothing more than human and therefore *relative* conceptions. A fly or a fish probably sees things differently. And an inhabitant of Mercury or Saturn might form a conception of the universe bearing little resemblance to yours."‡ Quite true; but logicians there, too, would probably be heard to complain that, coloured by Saturnian or Mercurian relativities, truth was sadly impure, and was, in fact, attained by no one but themselves. Nay, in those other worlds priests of Logic might be found so wrapped in superstition as to launch epithets of contempt on all who approached to puncture their inflated fallacies; and who devoutly believed that a Syllogism did *not* contain a *petitio principii*

* Examination of Theism, p. 84. † Cooke: The New Chemistry (4th ed. 1878), p. 22.

‡ Physicus (p. 143) rides this logical hobby far beyond the confines of the sublime. He demands of the Theist to show that his "God is something more than a mere Causal Agent which is 'absolute' in the grotesquely-restricted sense of being independent of one petty race of creatures with an ephemeral experience of what is going on in one tiny corner of the universe."

neatly wrapped up in its own premises, and an induction was *not* an application of a pre-existing general idea but a downright discovery of absolute truth. If from such afflictions we on Earth are free, it is because the common sense of mankind declares itself serenely content with the relative and the human; because, while fully aware (from our schoolboy days) that all our faculties—reason among the rest—are limited and earthly, we have faith that “all is well” in mind, as it certainly is in matter; and because we smile at the simplicity of our modern Wranglers who can only analyze down as far as “SOMETHING,” when their Buddhist masters two thousand years ago had dug far deeper,—viz. to NOTHING :—

“The mind of the supreme Buddha is swift, quick, piercing; because he is infinitely ‘pure.’ Nirwana is the destruction of all the elements of existence. The being who is ‘purified’ knows that there is no Ego, no self: all the afflictions connected with existence are overcome: all the principles of existence are annihilated: and that annihilation is Nirwana.” *

The Churchman, therefore, holds himself so far justified in claiming the modern Atheist as his ally. They are at least travelling both together on the high-road which leads from a destructive Nihilism towards a constructive religion. Only the Atheist has thought it his duty to go back again to the beginning, and to measure industriously the same ground that the Church had gone over just two thousand four hundred years ago, when the great “Something is” addressed itself to man through Moses in the word “I am” or Jehovah (יהוה, Absolute Existence).†

But perhaps the pure logician may attempt another reply. Finding us not in the least disconcerted by hearing, once again, the familiar truth that all our faculties are limited, he may attempt to shatter our serenity by an announcement of a more novel kind. He may say. Not only is the imagery with which you clothe, represent, and conceive the Self-existent merely relative and human, but—far more damning fact—it is all a development. It has all grown with the growth of your race. Environment and heredity have supplied you with all your forms of thought. Even your “conscience is nothing more than an organized body of certain psychological elements which, by long inheritance, have come to inform us by way of intuitive feeling how we should act for the benefit of society.”‡

Be it so. The proof has not yet been made out. But since these evolution-doctrines are (as Dr. Newman would say) “in the air,” it is more consonant to the ruling ideas which at present dominate our imagination to conceive things in this way. Indeed, to a large and increasing number of Churchmen the evolution-hypothesis appears, not only profoundly interesting, but probably true. They find there nothing to shake their faith, and a good deal to confirm it. Man is what he is, in whatever way he may have become so. And how Atheists

* Hardy: *Eastern Monachism*, p. 201. † Exod. vi. 3. ‡ *Physicus*, p. 31.

can persuade themselves that this beautiful theory of the Divine method helps their denial of a deity, the modern school of theologians is at a loss to understand. For the cosmic force whom Christians worship has, from the very beginning, been represented to them, not as a fickle, but as a continuous and a law-abiding energy. "My Father worketh hitherto," said Christ. "Not a sparrow falleth to the ground" without His cognizance. "The very hairs of your head are all numbered." "In Him we live and move and have our being." Pictorial expressions, no doubt. But what words could more clearly indicate the unbroken continuity of causation in nature than these texts from the Christian Scriptures? And it is surely the establishment of a continuous, as distinct from an intermittent, agency in nature which forms the leading point of interest both to science and to the Church, at the present day, as against a shallow Deism. If, therefore, man's imaginative and moral faculties, as we know them now, are a development from former and lower—yes, even from savage, from bestial, from material—antecedents, what is that to us? Of man's logical powers the selfsame thing has to be said. Why then should logic give itself such mighty airs of superiority and forget its equally humble origin? How does it affect the truthfulness in relation to man, and the trustworthiness for all practical purposes, of our image-forming faculties, that it is what it is only after long evolution, and that the race had a foetal period as well as the individual?

The upshot, then, of the whole discussion is surely this. The Absolute is confessedly inconceivable by man. All our mental faculties are in the same category: they are all finite, relative, imperfect. But then they are suited to our present development and environment. Faith in them is therefore required, and a bold masculine use of them all. For in nature, as in grace, "God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and of love and of a sound mind."* If, then, there are questions into which mere analytic reasoning cannot enter, if logic is powerless, for instance, before a musical score, and is struck dumb before the self-devotion of Thermopylæ, or the unapproachable self-sacrifice of Calvary, by what right are we forbidden to employ these other faculties which help us, and whose constructive help brings joy and health and peace to our minds? The many-coloured poetical aspect of things is, assuredly, no less "pure" and far more interesting than the washed-out and colourless zero reached by interminable analysis. The coloured sunlight is no less "pure," and it reveals a great deal more of truth, than "the pale moon's watery beams." And so we venture to predict that a constructive Christianity which, *πολυμέρως καὶ πολυτρόπως*, reveals the cosmic force and unity to the millions of men, will ever hold its own against a merely destructive Buddhism, whether ancient or modern; and, long after pure logic has said its last word and—with a faint cry, "Something perhaps is"—has

* 2 Tim. i. 7.

evaporated into Nirwana, will continue its thrice-blessed efforts to rear a palace of human thought, will handle with reserve and dignity the best results of all the sciences, and will integrate (with courage and not despair) the infinite contributions of all phenomena into a theology of practical utility to the further evolution of the human race.

For evolution there has certainly been. And in spite of all that has been said to the contrary,* the moral atmosphere which has from age to age rendered mental progress possible has been, for the most part, engendered by religion, and, above all, by the confidence, peace, and brotherhood preached by the Christian Church. No doubt religion was cradled amid gross superstitions; and only by great and perilous transitions has it advanced from the lower to the higher. It was a great step from the Fetish and the Teraphim to the animal and plant symbols of Egypt and Assyria. It was another great step to Baal, the blazing sun, and Moloch, wielder of drought and sunstroke, and Agni, friendly comrade of the hearth. But when astronomy and physics had reached sufficient growth to master all these wonders, and to predict the solstices and the eclipses, then the fulness of times had come once more; and now the greatest religious transition was accomplished that the human race has ever seen—a transition from the physical, and the brutal, and the astral to the human and the moral, in man's search after a true (or the to him truest possible) representation of the infinite forces at play around him. In Abraham the Hebrew—עֲבֵרָה, the man who made the great transition—this important advance is typified for the Semitic races; for others, the results only are seen in the Olympian conceptions of Hesiod and Homer. For here we have, at last, the nature-forces presided over and controlled after a really human fashion. Crude, and only semi-moral, after all, as was this earliest humanizing effort; still human it was,—not mechanical nor bestial. And it opened the way for Socrates to bring down philosophy, too, from heaven to earth, for Plato to discuss the mental processes in man, and apply them (writ large) to the processes of nature, and for Moses to elaborate with a divine sagacity a completely organized society, saturated through every fibre with this one idea,—the unity of all the nature-forces, great and small, and their government, not by haphazard, or malignity, or fate, but by what we men call LAW. "Thou hast given them a law which shall not be broken." For this word "law" distinctly connotes rationality. It implies a quality akin to, and therefore expressible in terms of, human reason. Its usage on every page of every book of science means that; and repudiates therefore, by anticipation, the dismal invitations to scientific despair.

* Draper: *The Conflict between Science and Religion*. New York, 1873. This otherwise admirable work is disfigured throughout by a prejudice against religion, as a factor in human progress, which is almost childish. The learned author surely forgets his own words, "No one can spend a large part of his life in teaching science, without partaking of that love of impartiality and truth which philosophy incites." (P. ix.)

with which the logicians à outrance are now so pressingly obliging us.

This grand transition, then, once made, all else became easy. The human imagination, the poetic or plastic power lodged in our brain, after many failures, had now at last got on the high road which led straight to the goal. Redemption had come; it only needed to be unfolded to its utmost capabilities. Dull fate, dumb, sullen, and impracticable, had been renounced as infra-human and unworthy. Let stocks and stones in the mountains and the forests be ruled by it; not free, glad, and glorious men! Brute, bestial instinct also had been renounced, as contemptible and undivine in the highest degree. And so, at last, the culminating point was attained. The human-divine of Asiatic speculation, and the divinely-human of European philosophy, met and coalesced: and from that wedlock emerged Christianity. The "Something is" of mere bald analytic reasoning had become clothed by the imagination with that perfect human form and character than which nothing known to man is higher; and that very manhood, which is nowadays so loudly asserted by Positivists and Atheists to be the most divine thing known to science, was precisely the form in which the new religion preached that the great exterior existence, the Something Is, the awful "I AM," can alone be presented intelligibly to man. For "No man shall see Jehovah and live," says the Old Testament: "No man hath seen God at any time," says the New Testament; the Son of Man, who is *εἰς τὸν κόλπον τοῦ πατρὸς*—projected on the bosom of the absolute "I am"—He hath declared Him.

Of this language in St. John's Gospel, it is obvious that Hegel's doctrine,—echoed afterwards by Comte and the Positivists,—is a sort of variation set in a lower key. In humanity, said he, the divine idea emerges from the material and the bestial into the self-conscious. Humanity presents us with the best we can ever know of the divine. In "the Son of Man" that SOMETHING which lies behind, and which no man can attain to, becomes incarnate, visible, imaginable. But it cannot surely be meant by these philosophers that in the sons of men *taken at haphazard* the Divinity, the great Cosmic Unknown, is best presented to us. It cannot possibly be maintained that in the Chinese swarming on their canals, in the hideous savages of Polynesia, or in the mobs of our great European capitals, the "Something is" can be effectively studied, idealized, adored. No, it were surely a truer statement that humanity concentrated in its very purest known form, and refined as much as may be from all its animalism, were the clear lens (as it were) through which to contemplate the great Cosmic Power beyond. It is therefore a SON of man, and not the ordinary sons of men, that we require to aid our minds and uplift our aspirations. Mankind is hardly to be saved from retrograde evolution by superciliously looking round upon a myriad of mediocre realities. It must be helped on, if at all, by a new variety in our species suddenly

putting forth in our midst, attracting wide attention, securing descendants, and offering an ideal, a goal in advance, towards which effort and conflict shall tend. We must be won over from our worldly lusts and our animal propensities by engaging our *hearts* on higher objects. We must learn a lesson in practical morals from the youth who is redeemed from rude boyhood and coarse selfishness by love. We must allow the latent spark of moral desire to be fanned into a flame and, by the enkindling admiration of a human beauty above the plane of character hitherto attained by man, to consume away the animal dross and prepare for new environments that may be in store for us. What student does not know how the heat of love for truth not yet attained breaks up a heap of prejudices and fixed ideas, and gives a sort of molecular instability to the mind, preparing it for the most surprising transformations? Who has not observed the development of almost a new eye for colour, or a new ear for refinements in sound, by the mere constant presentation of a higher æsthetic ideal? And just in the same way, who that knows anything of mankind can have failed to perceive that the only successful method by which character is permanently improved is by employing the force of example, by accumulating on the conscience reiterated touches of a new moral colour, and by bringing to bear from *above* the power of an acknowledged ideal, and (if possible) from *around* the simultaneous influence of a similarly affected environment?

Baptize now all these truths, translate them into the ordinary current language of the Church, and you have simply neither more nor less than the Gospel of Jesus Christ. And as carbon is carbon, whether it be presented as coal or as diamond, so are these high and man-redeeming verities,—about the inscrutable “I am,” and His intelligible presentment in a strangely unique SON OF MAN, and the transmuting agency of a brotherhood saturated with His Spirit and pledged to keep His presence ever fresh and effective—verities still, whether they take on homely and practical, or dazzling and scientific forms. And the foolish man is surely he who, educated enough to know better, scorns the lowly form, and is pedantic enough to suggest the refinements of the lecture-room as suitable for the rough uses of everyday life. A man of sense will rather say, Let us by all means retain and—with insight and trust—employ the homely traditional forms of these sublime truths: let us forbear, in charity for others, to weaken their influence, and so to cut away the lower rounds of the very ladder by which we ourselves ascended: and let us too, in mercy to our own health of character, decline to stand aloof from the world of common men, or to relegate away among the lumber of our lives the *ἔπεα φωνῶντα σιγῆτουςιν* that we learnt of simple saintly lips in childhood. Rather, as the SON OF MAN hath bidden us, we will “bring out of our treasures things both new and old;” will remember, as Aquinas taught, that “nova nomina antiquam fidem de Deo signi-

ficant;" and will carry out in practice that word well spoken in good season. "It is not by rejecting what is formal, but by interpreting it, that we advance in true spirituality."*

II. On the other hand, if men of science are to be won back to the Church, and the widening gulf is to be bridged over which threatens nowadays the destruction of all that we hold dear,—it cannot be too often or too earnestly repeated. *The Church must not part company with the world she is commissioned to evangelize.* She must awake both from her Renaissance and her Mediaeval dreams. To turn over on her uneasy couch, and try by conscious effort to dream those dreams again, when daylight is come and all the house is fully astir, this surely were the height of faithless folly. An animating time of action is come, a day requiring the best exercise of skill and knowledge and moral courage. Shall we hear within the camp, at such a moment as this, a treasonable whisper go round, "By one act of mental suicide we may contrive to escape all further exertion; science is perplexing, history is full of doubts, psychology spins webs too fine for our self-indulgence even to think of. Why not make believe very hard to have found an infallible oracle, and determine once for all to desert our post and *jurare in verba magistri?*" It is true that history demonstrates beyond a doubt that Jesus and His apostles knew nothing of any such contrivance. But, never mind! "A Catholic who should adhere to the testimony of history, when it appears to contradict the Church, would be guilty not merely of treason and heresy, but of apostasy."† Yes, of treason to Rome, but of faithful and courageous loyalty to Christ. "I am the truth," said Christ. "The truth shall make you free." Speak the truth in love, prove all things, hold fast that which is true, said His apostles. How can it ever be consonant to His will that the members of His brotherhood should conspire together to make believe that white is black at the bidding of any man on earth? The Church of England, at any rate, has no such treason to answer for. Her doctrinal canons, by distinctly asserting that even "General Councils may err and have erred," and by a constant appeal to ancient documents, universally accepted, but capable of ever-improving interpretation, have averted the curse of a sterile traditionalism. No new light is at any time inaccessible to her. Every historical truth is treasured, every literary discussion is welcome, every scientific discovery finds at last a place amid her system. Time and patience are, of course, required to rearrange and harmonize all things together, new and old; and a claim is rightly made that new "truths" should first be substantiated as such, before they are incorporated into so vast and widespread an engine of popular education as hers. But, with this proviso, "Theology accepts every certain conclusion of physical

* The Patience of Hope, p. 70.

† Abbé Martin: CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, December, 1878, p. 94.

science as man's unfolding of God's book of nature."* It is, therefore, most unwise, if any of her clergy pose themselves as hostile to new discoveries, whether in history, literature, or science. It may be natural to take up such an attitude; and a certain impatience and resentment at the *manner* in which these things are often paraded, in the crudest forms and before an unprepared public, may be easily condoned by all candid men. But such an attitude of suspicion and hostility between "things old" and "things new" goes far beyond the commission to "banish and drive away all strange and erroneous doctrines contrary to God's word." For this commission requires proof, and not surmise, that they are erroneous; and the Church has had experience, over and over again, how easy and how disastrous it is to banish from the door an unwelcome guest, who was, perhaps, nothing less than an angel in disguise. The story of Galileo will never cease, while the world lasts, to cause the enemies of the Church to blaspheme. Yet of late years it has been honestly confessed by divines that "the oldest and the youngest of the natural sciences, astronomy and geology, so far from being dangerous, . . . seem providentially destined to engage the present century so powerfully, that the ideal majesty of infinite time and endless space might counteract a low and narrow materialism."†

This experience ought not to be thrown away. No one, who has paid a serious attention to the progress of the modern sciences, can entertain a doubt that all the really substantiated discoveries which have been supposed to contravene Christianity do in reality only deepen its profundity and emphasize its indispensable necessity for man. Never before, in all the history of mankind, has the Deity seemed so awful, so remote from man, so mighty in the tremendous forces that He wields, so majestic in the permanence and tranquillity of His resistless will. Never before has man realized his own excessive smallness and impotence; his inability to destroy—much more, to create—one atom or molecule; his dependence for life, for thought, for character even, on the material environment of which he once thought himself the master. The forces of nature, then, have become to him once more, as in the infancy of his race, almost a terror. And poised midway, for a few eventful hours, between an infinite past of which he knows a little and an infinite future of which he knows nothing, he is tempted to despair of himself and of his little planet, and in childish petulance to complain, "My whilom conceit is broken; there is nothing else to live for." And amid these foolish despairs, a voice is heard which says, "Have faith in God! have hope in Christ! have love to man! Knowledge of this tremendous substratum of all being it is not for man to have: his knowledge is confined to phenomena and to very human (but sufficient) conceptions of the so-called

* Dr. Pusey: University Sermon, No. em¹ er, 1878.

† Kalisch: On Genesis, p. 43.

laws by which they all cohere. But these three qualities are moral, not intellectual, virtues. For the Church never teaches that God can be scientifically known: she never offers certainty and sight, but only "hope," in many an ascending degree: she does not say that God is a man, a person like one of us,—that were indeed perversely to misunderstand her subtle terminology,—but only a MAN has appeared, when the time was ripe for him, in whom that awful and tremendous Existence has shown us something of His ideas, has made intelligible to us (as it were by a Word to the listening ear) what we may venture to call His "mind" towards us, and has invited us—by the simple expedient of giving our heart's loyalty to this most lovable Son of man—to reach out peacefully to higher evolutions, and to commit that indestructible force, our Life, to Him in serene well-doing to the brotherhood among whom His spirit works, and whose welfare He accounts His own.

Is not this *humanizing* of the great Existence, for moral and practical utility, and this *utterance* (so to speak) of yet another creative word in the ascending scale of continuous development, and this *socializing* of His sweet beneficent Spirit in a brotherhood as wide as the world, precisely the religion most adapted to accord with modern science?

Yet no one can listen to ordinary sermons, no one can open popular books of piety or of doctrine, without feeling the urgent need there is among Churchmen for a higher appreciation of the majestic infinitude of God. It is true that, in these cases, it is the multitude and not the highly-educated few who are addressed: and that, even among that multitude, there are none so grossly ignorant as to compare the Trinity to "three Lord Shaftesburys," and not many so childish as to picture "one Almighty descending into hell to pacify another."* Such petulance is reserved for men of the highest intellectual gifts, who—whether purposely or ignorantly, it is hard to say—have stooped to provide their generation with a comic theology of the Christian Church. But, after all, it is impossible not to feel that the shadows of a well-loved past are lingering too long over a present that might be bright with joyous sunshine; that the subtleties of the schoolmen are too long allowed to darken the air with pointless and antiquated weapons; that the Renaissance, with its literary fanaticism, still reigns over the whole domain of Christian book-lore; and that the crude conceptions of the Ptolemaic astronomy have never yet, among ecclesiastics, been thoroughly dislodged or replaced by the far more magnificent revelations of the modern telescope. It is not asserted that no percolation of "things new" is going on. It is not denied that as in the first century a change in ideas about the priesthood carried with it a change in the whole religious system of which that formed the axis,† so now a change in ideas about the earth's position in space

* M. Arnold: *Literature, &c.* (1873), p. 306. Spencer: *Sociology* (7th ed. 1878), p. 208.

† Heb. vii. 12.

demands a very skilful and patient readjustment of all our connected ideas. But such a readjustment of the old Semitic faith was effected, in the first century, by St. Paul; and there is no reason to think that the Church is unequal to similar tasks now. And in this country especially there is an established and organized "Ecclesia docens" which probably never had its equal in all Church history for the literary and scientific eminence of its leading members. For such a society to despair of readjusting its theology to contemporary science, or idly to stand by while others effect the junction, were indeed a disgraceful and incredible treason; so incredible that—until it be proved otherwise—no amount of vituperation or unpopularity should induce any reflecting Englishman to render that work impossible by allowing his Church to be trampled down, and its time-honoured framework to be given up as a spoil to chaos.

But there is yet another element in this question, which binds the Church of Christ to give to its solution the very closest and most indefatigable attention. It is this: that from every science there arises nowadays a cry like that addressed to Jesus himself when on earth,—“Lord, help me!” It is not as if Atheism were satisfied with itself. In the pages of the *National Reformer* and similar organs of aggressive free-thought we are amused with the buoyant audacity of the “young idea.” Yet even there we find many a passage which calls forth the sincerest sympathy. Take, for instance, the following:—

“There are few reflective persons who have not been, now and again, impressed with awe as they looked back on the past of humanity. . . . It is then that we see the grandest illustrations of that unending necessity under which, it would seem, man labours, the necessity of abandoning ever and again the heritage of his fathers, . . . of continually leaving behind him the citadel of faith and peace, raised by the piety of the past, for an atmosphere of tumult and denial. . . . Whatever may be our present conclusions about Christianity, we cannot too often remember that it has been one of the most important factors in the life of mankind.”*

This is touching enough—though perhaps the stolid aggressiveness which knows, as yet, no relentings is really a far more tragic spectacle. But there are other lamentations, uttered of late years by distinguished Atheists, which might move a heart of stone, much more should stir the energies of every Christian teacher—himself at peace—to seek by any sacrifice of his own ease or settled preconceptions an “eirenicon,” a method of conciliation, an opening for a mutual confession of needless estrangement and provocation.

“Does that new philosophy of history which destroys the Christian philosophy of it afford an adequate basis for such a reconstruction of the ideal as is required? Candidly we must reply, ‘Not yet.’ . . . Very far are we from being the first who have experienced the agony of discovered delusion. . . . Well may despair almost seize on one who has been, not in name only

* Bradlaugh's *National Reformer*, October 6, 1878.

but in very truth, a Christian, when that incarnation which had given him in Christ an everliving brother and friend is found to be but an old myth [of Osiris] with a new life in it." *

"The most serious trial through which society can pass is encountered in the exuviation of its religious restraints." †

"Never in the history of man has so terrific a calamity befallen the race, as that which all who look may now behold advancing as a deluge, black with destruction, resistless in might, uprooting our most cherished hopes, engulfing our most precious creed, and burying our highest life in mindless desolation. The floodgates of infidelity are open, and Atheism overwhelming is upon us. . . . Man has become, in a new sense, the measure of the universe: and in this, the latest and most appalling of his soundings, indications are returned from the infinite voids of space and time that his intelligence, with all its noble capacities for love and adoration, is yet alone—destitute of kith or kin in all this universe of being. . . . Forasmuch as I am far from being able to agree with those who affirm that the twilight doctrine of the 'new faith' is a desirable substitute for the waning splendour of 'the old,' I am not ashamed to confess that, with this virtual negation of God, the universe to me has lost its soul of loveliness. And when at times I think, as think at times I must, of the appalling contrast between the hallowed glory of that creed which once was mine and the lonely mystery of existence as now I find it,—at such times I shall ever feel it impossible to avoid the sharpest pang of which my nature is susceptible." ‡

It is well that Churchmen should be aware of this state of things; and especially that the clergy, when they are tempted to have their fling (secure from all reply) against the so-called "infidel," should bear in mind how often the bravery of defiant arrogance is a mere mask to cover a sinking heart. For pity's sake, therefore, as well as for their own sake, the clergy should guard against two gross but common mistakes: (1) the mistake of abusing modern science, and depreciating its unquestionable difficulties in relation to the established theology; (2) the still more fatal blunder of trusting to worn-out tactics and to the "artillery" of Jonathan and David for the reduction of these modern earthworks. "To the Greeks became I as a Greek," said St. Paul. And so must the minister of Christ in these days make up his mind to bring home the Gospel to his own countrymen, with all their faults and peculiarities; and to the Englishmen of the nineteenth century must become an Englishman of the nineteenth century, that he "may by all means save some."

But no success will be obtained, unless Churchmen will remember that the vast domains recently conquered by science are (practically speaking) assured and certain conquests. They are no encroachment, but a rightful "revindication" of scientific territory. And, accepted in a friendly spirit, harmonized with skill and boldness, and consecrated (not cursed) in the Master's name, they bid fair to become a new realm whereon His peace-bringing banner may be right royally unfolded, and where, even in our own day, the beginning of a permanent unity may certainly be effected. And this must be attempted by

* Stuart Glennie: *In the Morning Land* (1873), pp. 29, 378, 431.

† Draper: *Science and Religion* (11th ed. 1878), p. 378.

‡ Physicus: *On Theism*, pp. 51, 63, 114.

a brave and telling proclamation of the great Christian doctrines,—that the awful self-existent “I AM” is none other than “our Father in heaven;” that Christ, the blameless Son of man, is the best image of His person; and that His pure Spirit, brooding over the turbid chaos of human society, offers the surest means and pledge of a future Cosmos, where “life” may perhaps transcend these baffling veils of space and time, and, in forms “undreamed of by our philosophy,” display the boundless riches of nature and of God.

G. H. CURTEIS.

THE PROGRESS OF SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND.

THE English public, during the past few months, has complacently read in the daily papers of the wild doctrines which are popularized in other lands, and of the harsh measures which have been planned to repress them: the alternate displays of wild fanaticism and stern interference have served as occasions for unusually loud bursts of self-gratulation over the national common sense which saves us from being like our neighbours. There certainly are no signs among us of any such violence as has distracted Russia and Germany, or of the powerful organizations which seem likely to destroy what remains of the prosperity of the United States: yet in spite of all this comparative calm there is reason to believe that Socialism is making slow but sure and steady progress in this country. The apparent immunity from this dreaded influence, on which we congratulate ourselves, has been a cause of considerable surprise to many of our neighbours. We have, of course, our own difficulties about capital and labour, and bitter conflicts between different classes of society: but they are after all of an entirely different character from those which rage in other lands. To the violent English unionist, his employer is a hard bargainer, on whom it is necessary to bring as severe pressure as possible;* if he speculates on the nature of industry, he perhaps comes to regard capital as a necessary *evil*; still he would not deny that it is *necessary*, or seek to annihilate its possessors, for it is as likely as not that he is himself a capitalist to a small amount, through investments in building or other associations, to say nothing of his share in the accumulations of his trade society. Briefly, the English struggle is

* Possibly by burning his house: for in this as other cases leaders may have to bear the blame of outrages they deprecate: but even starving Blackburn mobs do not want to destroy the capitalists, but to frighten them into making a better bargain.

about the terms of the contract, the German social warfare is directed against the very existence of one of the two contracting parties. In England we have a vast lawsuit, in Germany or America there is war to the knife. And the way in which our newspapers speak of our troubles, bitter though it often is, shows how truly this is recognized: all the arguments that are addressed to working men are intended to justify the present way of settling the contract; and the threat is held out that if such terms are insisted on, the other party to the bargain will hold aloof altogether. It is always assumed by our writers, that everything would go smoothly if the unionist were only sufficiently educated to apprehend some elementary principles of political economy. When any of the prophets of English Liberalism, such as Mr. Goldwin Smith or Mr. John Morley, surprises his disciples by blessing the movement he was expected to curse, his utterances are treated as the eccentricities of genius. The tone of leading articles and letters to the editor shows an optimist confidence in the perpetuity of our present system of production and distribution which would be impossible if we had the most passing fear of the spectre which haunts other lands.

It is not a little difficult to account for the striking difference; those who regard violent Socialism and Communism as endemic to a large and impoverished proletariat, are at a loss to understand why England with its immense masses of miserable wage-earning men and women should show no symptoms resembling those in other lands, where the proletariat bears a far smaller proportion to the population as a whole. It is argued by Anglophobists that our day of reckoning cannot be far off, and will come upon us like a thief in the night; while Internationalists descant on the craven spirit of our English workmen, whose souls have been deadened by their long-continued slavery to capital. We can afford to smile at these fancies; a truer explanation may perhaps be found in the fact that Continental Socialism does not arise from poverty alone, but only from poverty which is inspired by a firm faith in the omnipotence of government. Poor people may be discontented; but they are not dangerous unless they firmly believe that their case might be easily relieved, and the world put to rights, if the governing classes, who, as they think, have the power, had only the *will* to do it. No wonder that they are anxious to overturn the existing order, when they believe that their miseries are due, not to the inability of any human agency to destroy sorrow and suffering, but to a criminal indifference on the part of a government that might aid them and will not.

A long and sad experience has effectually cured our nation of any belief in the omnipotence for good of the best-intentioned governors. There probably was a time when there was a great and widespread hope,—based perhaps on a vivid experience of the vast powers for evil of bad kings,—that there would be nothing left to desire if

England could only secure the succession of a really good monarch; but none appeared on the scene till the country had tired of waiting for his coming, and handed over the power of rule to Puritan dreamers, who were not long in demonstrating their own inability to cure the disorders of state. Since then, our citizens have tried to govern themselves; and if they have been guilty of many follies and not a few crimes, they have at least learned the difficulty of the task. These lessons have been deeply impressed on the popular consciousness,—that in many of the relations of life, people are best ungoverned, or rather governed only by their own consciences,—that multitudes of local affairs are best managed by people on the spot, without the interference of central bureaux,—and that, after all, there is wonderfully little that the central government can do to alleviate misery. But these truths have not been realized in other lands, and multitudes still cherish a faith in the omnipotence for good of a well-intentioned government; in those lands where Socialism is most potent there have been facts to foster this belief. The Russian has seen the effect of the fiat of the Emperor in reconstituting the rural life of his subjects: why should not the same power be exercised on behalf of the artisan as well? The German feels the potent grip of militarism at every turn: why should this force not be used for social rather than dynastic gain? The American has seen the political mechanism applied to enrich private speculators: why should not the same machinery be made subservient to the well-being of the people as a whole? Perhaps it is premature to express a hope that the frequent failures of new experiments have dashed the more brilliant expectations of the political youth of France, and that she will now settle down to the subdued and uneventful business of life. No nation possesses such a heritage of political experience as ours, and none has yet attained to so much political wisdom: it is this that has prevented our impoverished masses from joining in the widespread cry for a total reorganization of our social system; and yet though there is no agitation on behalf of it, the change is not less surely coming upon us: it will be well indeed if the generations of our posterity can change with it and bring it about as gently as our forefathers passed from feudalism to the modern era, as unconsciously as we ourselves have seen it begin.

This may seem a somewhat wild speculation: it has been suggested by attempting to interpret and detect the bearing of various facts which are sufficiently patent in themselves. To these we may now turn.

There is about our present industrial arrangements an air of liberty and equality that is rather fascinating, and which commends them to a not very hopeful people. Buyers and sellers are only guided by their own free will: * no external compulsion is put upon them by foreign invaders or privileged classes. And there is an equality

* Marx: *Das Kapital*, p. 162.

between the various parties, for each comes forward as the owner of some property or power, to effect an exchange with the owners of other wares. Each has a legal status which enables him to enforce his own interests, and has chiefly himself to thank if he finds that he has been worsted. The energetic or prudent individual will be the first and chief gainer by his success in business, but the progress of society at large is brought about by the talents and exertions of such as he. Perhaps if we tried to describe the leading characteristics of the era we might say, that as far as *production* is concerned, *individual enterprise in the use of private property leads to the increase of wealth*, and that as regards *distribution*, there are no privileged classes, but that *competition determines the share of each individual*: and on the face of it nothing can seem fairer than that.

But besides appearing fair, the existing order has been marked by wonderful success. We hear so much of the blessings of free trade, and the growth of our manufactures which it has caused, that we are sometimes tempted to forget the great extension of industry which rendered free trade possible. Individual enterprise in the use of private property sought out the most suitable centres for different manufactures, and drew the population to those localities where their labour would be most productive. The same forces broke down the restrictions which had fettered trade, and compelled men to adopt more rapid methods of doing their work. The process has been going on rapidly for the last century, and it still continues in regard to that department of industry where enterprise is least successful. For even in farming the time-honoured methods are giving way. The future of our agriculture will be in the hands of those who, having much to expend, are able to use it with judgment: only under exceptional circumstances is the *petite culture* holding its own. The great capitalist who cultivates for distant markets can afford to employ his land in raising the crops which it is best suited to bear, not, as the cottier must do, the supplies that he or his neighbours need. Altogether apart from its influence on trade, the era of private enterprise has had most important effects in increasing production by developing the resources of each locality, and by introducing new methods of manufacture. Nor do we see any reason to believe that its *role* is exhausted, or that there are not many directions in which private enterprise has still a great part to play.

Great as these advantages are, we cannot regard them as proving that the present industrial system is—not the ideally best, for with that we have nothing to do—but the best within our reach. We may admit, for the sake of argument, that the era of free competition is perfectly fair as between man and man, while we do not regard it as either cheap or convenient for the society as a whole. To maintain that private enterprise has been and will yet be a most potent means for developing new lines of industry is not to assert that it is the only means of

producing this result: still less is it to say that private enterprise gives us the best means of *carrying on* our industry at the point which it has already reached. The advantages of the era of private enterprise are most obvious when we view it from the standpoint of the individual who competes; but we shall form a different opinion if we study its effects on the body politic as a whole; and it is only by this criterion that it can be truly judged.

We may try for a little to adopt this new position: we are no longer concerned in tracing out the effects that follow from giving individual enterprise free scope, but must rather try to determine whether as much as possible is being made of the national resources now. To point out the immense extension of industry under the present *régime* is wholly irrelevant: we are all agreed as to what has been done, the question is whether the actual progress is as large as it might be? When we think of the large numbers of our citizens who only passively contribute to the maintenance and progress of industry, we can only answer in one way. The landed proprietors whose rents are increased as society advances, the numerous *rentiers* who are only sleeping partners in the business concerns in which they have shares, are not actively employed in working so as to increase the wealth of society: the loss which comes from their inaction and idleness must be set over against the gain that is due to the enterprise of other individuals. Nor is the argument an utterance of mere gross materialism, which supposes that a nation's life consists in the abundance of the things that it possesses, and undervalues all national art and culture: we have yet to learn that a high measure of culture is incompatible with great activity. It has been rather in the intervals of work than in the drowsy case of a learned leisure that great contributions have been made to the stores of human knowledge; and in so far as a high tone of artistic feeling, or any depth of literary or scientific attainment, has been diffused through the upper ranks of our society, we may believe that it has come, not because of, but in spite of their idleness. What passes for delicate taste may often be mere effeminacy. While so many people talk glibly of the maker's marks, and rush to hear "stars" who can shake upon *E* in *alt.*, it is very difficult to estimate the amount of love which there may be among us for either ceramic or musical art; perhaps we are not wrong in guessing that there would not be less of it if our *dilettanti* and amateur critics led less indolent lives. Doubtless in many cases the nation was the gainer by the energy of those who pushed their business so as to make fortunes for their families: but the permanent charge on the nation which is involved in supporting their posterity is such a terribly heavy price to pay for the benefit that has accrued through the enterprise of forgotten capitalists, that we may well deny that we are making as much as we might of the national resources while we continue to burden them thus.

In the same way we shall feel, when we try to apply the new criterion, that we have no longer to discuss whether bargains between capitalists and labourers are in themselves fair or not, but whether the division of the goods of the nation is beneficial to the national life as a whole. There are good grounds for maintaining that this is not the case; that the gains of our industry do not circulate freely, but are more and more concentrated in the hands of a few, so that there is a "relative depression of the labourers;" that is to say, they do not—as a body—share in our increased gains in the same proportion as they formerly shared in our smaller wealth. The proof of this statement would involve a lengthy argument, or the marshalling of a tedious array of facts and figures, and even then it might be incomplete: but we can easily call attention to a few phenomena which render the thesis so probable as to leave the *onus probandi* with those who deny the asserted tendency. Here again we may notice that to prove that the money wages of labour have risen is beside the mark:* that no one denies. At the same time it was lately a matter of argument whether the real wages of labour had risen at all; and surely the fact that the question could be discussed gives a great probability to the opinion that, if they have risen, they have not risen in the proportion in which the gains of other classes of the community have increased. We hear on all sides of us the cry that the gulf between rich and poor is daily widening more and more; we have strong evidence for the assertion before our eyes if we contrast the suburbs and slums of our towns, and try to estimate the relative improvement, perhaps it might be truer to say the sort of change, that has been taking place during the last century in the dwellings of employer and employed. Surely all this declares the relative depression of the labourer under our present system, and that cannot be for the benefit of the national life. Confirmatory evidence may easily be adduced by comparing the increase in the income tax with the increase in the trade returns during any recent periods of years: that may suffice to show very roughly how far the gain has gone to capitalists and *rentiers*, and what proportion of the increase is left for the masses. There is certainly a dismal prospect before us, if, while bearing an increasing burden as the price of the enterprise of defunct individuals, we have a relatively diminishing share with which to reward the labour of the present and future.

We have shown good grounds for believing that, when judged by a true standard, our present arrangements are defective for either promoting a more active production, or maintaining as general a distribution of wealth as existed before this era commenced. There are other social evils which are directly due to the overweening influence of capital in all the relations of life. Having adopted the doctrine

* In so far as this rise has been brought about by the action of Trades Unions, the force of the argument against the influence of free competition is increased.

that under the *régime* of competition, individual owners are the slaves of the system that is in vogue and cannot be personally blamed for any evil that may occur under their management, we are forced to attempt to remedy industrial wrongs by legislation, and to enforce our laws by an army of inspectors. The cost of this centralized system, which has superseded the effective local self-government of days when capital was not so dominant, must also be taken into account when we sum up the loss and gain which have come upon us in this new era. We only have to notice here that this method of government, which is the necessary accompaniment of the dominance of capital, is thoroughly inefficient: bad employers can easily elude the inspector's vigilance; good ones do not feel the same personal responsibility for the well-being of their workers as they did in the past; no one but the inspectors themselves can pretend that the system works well. Nor can much be expected in this direction from new parliamentary interference: capital is obtaining an increasing influence in the House of Commons, and it is a commonplace remark that neither brewers, nor railway directors, nor shipowners should be allowed to sit in the House and influence the legislation on matters of personal interest to themselves. If we give competition free scope, numberless evils are induced, and these we cannot cure—if a cure were possible—because the State is paralyzed by the political power of capital.

It is surely unnecessary to repeat any of the comments which are being continually made on the present state of our family life, and the ways in which it is affected by Mammonism. Instead of being an ethical union, marriage is too often influenced by purely material considerations; and the tie between father and children is at times only regarded as a substantial bond when it is expressed in the form of an allowance paid quarterly, or of prospects which have come to be a marketable commodity. Nor need we repeat here those other trite remarks about the baneful influence of wealth upon true art and earnest religion, nor pause to notice the ways in which devotion is endeavouring to free herself from it. All these are commonplaces of everyday talk; and though the truth may not be obvious at first sight that these evils are directly due to the present industrial *régime*, it is sufficiently clear that they flourish under it, and that some very drastic remedy would be needed to remove them.

But besides all these, there are miseries connected with our existing social arrangements to which sufficient attention has not been directed. If the remarks on the industrial problem have so far been of a levelling tendency, and apparently in favour of a redistribution of the wealth of the few among the many, this has only been because the miseries of the poor are a more palpable, but not a more real evil than the cares of the rich. The terrible anxieties of men of business, the harassing struggle against increasing competition, the feverish excitements

of speculative dealings, are surely signs of a most unhealthy social state. Our pity is easily stirred by the sudden collapse of an extensive business, and the immediate change from affluence to poverty which it entails; but from the point of view which we have adopted for the time, the sorrows of individuals are not to be taken into account so much as the shock to the social system. A succession of crises has come to be the law of our commercial life: each one involves the dissipation of immense wealth, the rupture of long-established connections, and a temporary anarchy. The first pressure of the misery of these bad years falls upon the owners of capital; the dread of such seasons is apt to be ever present. Nor can any one pretend that there is any less frequency or intensity in the crises of recent years, or any probability of a long-continued immunity from them. Mr. Wilson's book does not draw a very hopeful picture of our future: and if the commercial depression of the last few years should become chronic, with the occasional variation of a bad season and a panic, the life of the ordinary man of business would not be worth having; capitalists too would welcome any commercial reorganization which would bring them a calmer life. It is, we believe, not as a remedy for the miseries of the poor, but rather as an alleviation of the cares of the rich, that Socialism is coming upon us.

But would not the cure be worse than the disease? We cannot deny that attempts at the reorganization of society have been connected with the burning of Paris and the murder of the Archbishop, but we deny that such a change is necessarily associated either with violence or crime. Stripped of the surroundings that have sullied its name, considered in the only form in which it could ever have a permanent place in the world, Socialism means the advocacy of two very simple principles as giving the lines on which industry should be carried on: these may be stated in a form in which they can be easily contrasted with the characteristics of our own era as stated above (p. 262). As to the *production* of wealth, Socialists maintain that *personal requirements, made known through public channels, could be best satisfied by labour applied to public resources*; while as to *distribution*, they believe that *each should share according to the work he has actually done*.

It cannot be said that these principles leave any room for the suggestion that Socialism cares only for the distribution of wealth without heeding the conditions of production, or that it would open any means by which the idle and dissolute might flourish at the expense of the industrious; in short it is not necessarily a doctrine of Communism, and is neither obviously foolish nor plainly immoral. But there may be a suspicion that the dream is too good to be realized; and that its unreality would be clearly shown so soon as it was tested by the laws of political economy. Perhaps, too, that suspicion might be confirmed, if we said that Socialists would decline that test as inapplicable, unless

used by very skilful hands. For in so far as political economy is a science, it is concerned with giving us the *rationale* of commercial life as it exists among us; its laws express the normal conditions of industry in England in our day; it is not a philosophy which would give us a critique of the only possible conditions of industry; it only describes clearly the tendencies now at work, but it does not—as a science—predict the probable course of commercial changes. Astronomy works from such accurate data that she can indulge in predictions, but political economy can only formulate the simple laws of the forces that control the complicated phenomena of the present. We cannot settle the possibilities of the future off-hand, by simply referring to formulae which are true for our era; unless we are prepared to defy all experience, and assume that the condition of social organization which we have reached, is a permanent one that cannot be improved and must last for all time. Political economy cannot assume the uniformity of nature in the same way that astronomy does, and hence it has no scientific position from which to slight the doctrines of those who maintain that a new and wholly different *régime* might supersede that which Ricardo and his school have so clearly described. Socialists not unjustly refuse to allow their schemes to be prejudged: they are confident that their case will be decided in their favour by the future; and in the meantime, they base their belief in the transitoriness of the present *régime* on a well-marshalled array of facts. In this as in other matters time will show: we are only holding by a principle of natural selection in contending that the fittest industrial system will survive; our only chance of forming a true opinion on the probabilities of Socialism superseding Capitalism lies in the endeavour to estimate which is the fittest system for maintaining and increasing the national wealth. Unless Socialism shall eventually justify itself by this test, it is but an idle dream, and indeed an evil dream, distracting men's energies and raising fatuous hopes; but if it contains possibilities of better national industry than Capitalism can ever attain, then it is useless to seek to stem its progress; our best endeavours must rather be directed at smoothing the way for its advent.

We have already shown the rottenness of our present industrial era when viewed in relation to various sides of social life; but in comparing it with Socialism, we must confine ourselves purely to economical aspects: for of the social relations of a reorganized industry we know nothing. We may let our fancy run riot over the infinite gain in art and culture that would come to the whole population if the industrial system were only reorganized: but those who do not believe that any change in external condition can remove the evil in human hearts, will be compelled to anticipate that increased possibilities of comfort and refinement might be misused in the future, as they have been in the past. Yet for all that, even if we neither suppose that improved industrial conditions would at once realize a

millennium, nor amuse ourselves with childish pictures of the social life of perfect human beings, we may yet be willing to welcome a period of greater and better-divided wealth for its own sake. It is as economical methods that Capitalism and Socialism must be contrasted; and that method is to be approved—as it will certainly survive—which gives facilities for the raising of the greatest amount by all, so as best to satisfy the wants of each. Socialism asserts that this will be best accomplished by systematic organization; our newspapers are convinced that the greatest possible stimulus to production is obtained by the enterprise of competing manufacturers, and that, if competition does not distribute wealth according to ideal justice, it approximates as closely as we can fairly expect, and gives to each as large a proportion as the exigencies of production will allow.

To contrast these two systems as to their power of increasing production and satisfying the wants of the community, we must leave out of sight the strictures that have already been pronounced on the burdensomeness of the system of private enterprise: we do not now consider it as a costly, but as a powerful agency. Instances have already been mentioned in which this power has been displayed, and the opinion has been expressed that there is a large field over which it must still operate; but at the same time, there is great reason to believe that the scope for private enterprise is fast diminishing. The fact is asserted in numberless forms: some lay the blame on the exorbitant demands of the hands, others on the reckless speculation of the heads, but all point with alarm to the probabilities of foreign competition. A millionaire has not such a prospect of increasing his wealth, as to lead him to run the risk of losing it all: a poorer man cannot introduce great innovations or cater for the wants of his neighbour, since, in so many directions, those who produce on the largest scale are masters of the field. Whatever be the precise cause, the enterprise of individuals has lately received a very considerable check.

One cause of this has been undoubtedly found in the legislative restrictions which have been imposed on the free action of capitalists. There has been an outcry against each of the plans by which philanthropists have proposed to palliate the evils of our system: the last and perhaps most obvious case is that of our merchants and the Plimsoll proposals. The prompt and regular despatch of goods is an essential for success in trade; and there must be a very serious risk to ship-owners, if they are to be exposed to the chance of delays at the autocratic commands of an inspector: a day's delay may mean a large loss on a cargo. We are of course not entering on the wide question of the necessity of such legislation in this case, nor does it simplify the matter to assert that the shipowners have brought it all upon themselves: we only desire to notice that this is a new restriction on private enterprise, and that it is only one specimen of many similar

difficulties which the law has deemed it right to put in the way of capitalists.

Another check is gradually limiting the power of private enterprise, owing to the scale on which business is now carried on. An individual might develop the traffic in days gone by, as Bianconi did in Ireland by starting public cars, but the traffic of our day is conducted by public companies with energetic servants, not by men who are working hard for their private gain. The same change is taking place in manufacturing: one after another of the great iron and woollen houses have been transformed into public companies, as the scale on which the business had to be done was too large for private capitalists to undertake. Thus it is, that as the risks of business increase and the scope for enterprise is limited, one after another of the smaller competitors are eliminated, and business management becomes less a matter of individual pushing for private gain, and more a matter of diligent service: there is a continually increasing advantage to be found in developing *organization*.

If the current opinion be true, and the maintenance and increase of our national prosperity depend solely on the stimulus of private enterprise, the gradual growth of these limitations to its exercise must be a matter of very serious concern: the change will only cease to alarm us if we can find any traces of the development of a principle that can take its place; and we do see signs of this in the increase of *effective public spirit*. Not that individual human beings are, in all probability, more unselfish than they were three centuries ago; at least we know of no absolute standard of selfishness by which the question might be decided: but individuals are more in the habit of associating together for public purposes than they once were, and through the agency of these organizations infinitely more is attempted and accomplished for the common good than could be effected by isolated efforts. The defence of the realm is a matter of universal concern: in days gone by it was left to the public spirit of monarchs and large proprietors as private individuals; now it is dependent on a government, selected and paid for this—and other purposes—by the citizens; with this result, that the organized public spirit of average British Philistines provides an infinitely better defence for the realm than the generosity and high feeling of our aristocracy could accomplish. The two systems were pitted against one another in the Civil War, when the New Model carried the day. It is not merely that the art of war and instruments for defence have improved, but that relatively to our neighbours we are in an infinitely better condition than we were in the old days; the public security is better ensured at far less public cost. We cannot imagine our country nowadays being drained as it was under Æthelred or Elizabeth, and left so utterly defenceless against Danes and Spaniards; and this because the constant regard for the public weal is more effective than it was then.

The success of the government in this department renders it not improbable that, so soon as it becomes evident that the satisfying of some want is a matter of public concern, that duty will be taken more or less entirely under the control of the central government. Such has been the action of the Education Department in issuing the code, in inspecting schools conducted at private expense, and in supplying them with grants of money in proportion to their efficiency. This is a very different thing from the centralizing of all the school management of all the very different localities in one set of hands; though in other departments even that, or something approaching to it, may be advisable. Thus the public want of postal communication is met by the action of the central government, and the telegraph companies have been recently taken over by the State—the most striking recent instance of private competition giving way to public organization.

Nor is it only the central government that has thus endeavoured to supply the wants of our community as it gradually becomes more civilized: local bodies have more work of the same kind thrown upon them. Birmingham has perhaps taken the lead in this matter; but there has been a very general movement in the direction of supplying water, light, and literature to the citizens by public agencies, though only one town has desired to become its own licensed victualler. The enormous undertakings which have so greatly improved Manchester, and, on a smaller scale, Edinburgh, are not perhaps relatively great when compared with the works of municipalities in the middle ages; but at least they show no falling off in that spirit, while the numerous wants which succeeding centuries have developed are being supplied as well: the inhabitants of the little cities of the fifteenth century did not need public parks or wide boulevards as much as our crowded populations require them.

Some of these needs could not possibly be met by private enterprise, others show private enterprise giving way before public organization: and while fully admitting that there is a large field of industry in which individual capitalists will long continue to work, before the operations are ripe for being transferred to public management, we may yet confidently maintain that the dominance of *competition* has begun to pass away before the power of *public organization*.

When we come to look more closely at the distribution of wealth as carried on under the present *régime*, we shall find exactly similar faults in the way in which it is accomplished, not with regard to its justice or wholesomeness in a social aspect, but in its costliness from a purely economical point of view. There is a tremendous loss of wealth in the method of distribution: traders vie with traders in their efforts to catch the public taste, but in so far as any of them miscalculates the wishes of the community there is a distinct waste of the national wealth,—through its industry being directed into wrong channels. This is more specially observable in those concerns which

cater for the wants that are most affected by fashion; dealing in bankrupt stocks has come to be an extensive business, and one that must interfere disastrously with the profits of other shopmen who are trying to keep their heads above water. Still as long as the demand is so capricious, there is plenty of scope for individual judgment in trying to calculate its probable course, and therefore a capital field for private enterprise: but in the greater operations of commerce this is no longer the case; commercial associations have made the best information the common property of all their members, and the newspapers and telegraph are fast diminishing the exclusive sources of intelligence. Under these circumstances there is infinitely less room for the legitimate exercise of private judgment in the undertaking the risks of trade; and in so far as men of business do not manage traffic merely on commission, they are in danger of becoming mere gamblers who speculate on the mere chance, rather than trade with the reasonable anticipation, of a future gain. In so far as individual competition induces this speculative trading, it is a positive evil which only aggravates the fluctuations of trade and reacts most fatally on all industry: in so far as merchandise is transported on commission, the brokers are the servants of the public, paid for their work, rather than capitalists, who are risking their own wealth in the hope of increasing it.

If the machinery of individual competition is no longer working well, it is also to be charged with causing much absolute waste. Such are the sums of money spent on advertising: in so far as the popular imagination is aroused to new wants, no wholesome effect is produced; the desire of spending six hours in a crowded train, and six more in racing past Windermere to Rydal and back, is hardly more elevated than that of beholding the Two-headed Nightingale or the Performing Fleas: on the other hand, when advertising arises from a desire to cut out some other trader in successful catering for real needs, it is a very expensive process for benefiting the public. But a still greater waste is due to adulteration: retail dealers may throw the blame on the wholesale houses and manufacturers, while the latter maintain that the public prefer to have their goods cheap and nasty. It does not concern us to try to apportion the blame for an evil that is inseparable from the *régime* of competition.

Here again we should feel reason to despair of the economical condition of our country, if we did not see symptoms of the growth of another system. The co-operative movement has had much to struggle against, in particular against the poverty of people who are too needy to avail themselves of the gain of ready-money dealing; but in so far as these associations are able to do without advertising, in so far as they are able to calculate the probable demand with increased accuracy, they are supplying the wants of their members very much more cheaply than the competing shopkeepers could do. The extension of the system has been most rapid: the comparative

failure in regard to productive enterprise does not concern us here. We need not speculate too minutely on the future; it may suffice to say that the growth of associations among traders, and of co-operative "distributive" societies, alike points towards the limitation of private enterprise both in wholesale and retail trade, and indicates the development of organizations, which might with advantage supersede the *régime* of competition, and carry on trade through public channels, not as a matter of private speculation.

The whole advantage of this change can be briefly summarized in a sentence; the price to the consumer will, as organization advances, bear an increasingly close relation to the cost of production; the more accurate calculation, which would be possible, of the probable demand, would render production much less variable and uncertain; the lessened dependence on the services of middlemen would render distribution less expensive; and the waste through adulteration and advertising would cease. In so far as calculation of cost can take the place of competition in determining the variations in price, will the public be better served.

There is yet one other direction in which we see signs of the development of organization, and that is in the regulation of labour; the words must be used in a wide sense, as implying the regulation of the quality and amount of work to be done, as well as the hours to be occupied, and the wages to be earned. We can only notice the beginnings of attempts to settle these matters by some other agency than mere competition between individuals; they are all so interdependent that to attempt to regulate one without also attending to the others must lead to unsatisfactory results. Philanthropists have urged legislation on the number of hours of the working day; artisans clamour for a minimum wage in each employment with differential rates for the specially skilled; but few, if any, trades unions have yet taken effective steps to secure the industry of their members during the hours of work. To ensure the skill of the workmen is not enough, unless one can also ensure their diligence; and it is because unions have so far failed in this respect that the masters clamour for payment by the piece. While the objections which are urged against the general introduction of this system seem perfectly conclusive, there can be no doubt that it must extend until some better method of securing diligence is devised; so soon as the unions shall consistently bring effective pressure to bear upon indolent though skilful members, so soon will competition for, and competition in doing, piecework fall to the ground, since better results will be secured by depending on organization.

Another change which tends to diminish the influence of competition between labourers has been due, not to their organizing themselves in unions, but to their being organized for the work of large factories. The scale on which the cotton trade is carried on renders it possible

for an extremely small group of workers to dislocate the whole industrial machine. To secure some sort of regularity it has been found best to frame a list, according to which the wages are paid: the recent Bolton strike originated in a dispute about the need of revising the list, owing to changes that had taken place in the process of production. The importance of this plan lies in its being the beginning of an attempt to calculate the toilsomeness of one kind of labour relatively to others, and to fix its reward in accordance with this calculation, instead of leaving the whole to be determined by individual competition. In this small sphere each labourer shares according to the work done, in so far as the list is a fair one, and as the overlooking in the factory is properly attended to. If diligence could be secured by trades unions as well as by superintendence, it would be possible to introduce the same plan very widely through the agency of permanent councils, like boards of arbitration, and to let each share according to his work, not according to his skill in driving a bargain; wages might be regulated by calculation, not settled by competition.

Enough has been said to show that our industrial life is going through a period of transition: we may conclude by summing up the facts which seem to indicate that the result of that transition will be Socialism. We do not pretend to delineate, as Schäffle has done with admirable clearness, what a practicable Socialism might be, still less to dream with Fourier and Owen as to what an ideal Socialism ought to be, but only to show that our actual condition is slowly tending towards the realization of the main features of *all* Socialism, as they were stated above. For the competition of individuals, and organization of all kinds, are fundamentally opposed to one another: organization implies the subjection of individuals to regulation, the essence of competition is freedom for individual caprice; the two *regimes* of industry are mutually exclusive, and the growth of one necessitates the decline of the other. It was thus that the old feudal and guild organization disappeared before the era of competition; and if it be true that a new organization is springing up in all directions, the dominance of competition is waning in its turn.

The most noticeable change has been in the conduct of traffic; the channels of information have become semi-public, and the opportunities for legitimate enterprise in mercantile trading are correspondingly limited; so in regard to home consumption, the co-operative associations are rapidly providing a machinery by which there may be a most economical *calculation of the public demands*. As this becomes more perfect it will be found to fulfil the function which artisans desire when they fatuously ask for the *regulation* of demand: if its changes were calculated with approximate success, there would be but little violent fluctuation in the production of goods, but only such gradual alterations as might be caused by progressive improvements

and new inventions, or by the unavoidable variations which were due to the differences between good and bad seasons: such regularity would greatly facilitate the possibility of success in so organizing labour as to be able to *calculate the amount of work done by each*. Just in proportion as these twofold systems of organization developed, would it be possible for the central or local governing bodies to take over the management of one after another of the industries that supply public wants. In some departments private industry would hold its own far longer than in others, but there would be a tendency in favour of the facilities of production becoming public property, and being maintained and kept up, not by individual enterprise but by judicious management of the rates. If that tendency were ever able to work itself out, it would lead to a time when all private capitalists had been bought up by the State, or by local communities, and when all the needs of the citizens—like their needs of defence and of water—were supplied by labour applied to public resources.

But, it may be said, if such a change came over us, what would become of our foreign trade? How could we continue to hold our own against Belgian or American competition? In so far as the preceding argument is sound, it shows that a new lease of commercial success is before us; for it asserts that Socialism will only make its way in so far as it proves itself to be more successful industrially than our present *régime*; but if our home industry thus increase, we need never fear the loss of our foreign trade; better organization may give us an advantage over our neighbours, just as surely as more abundant coal has done: if a future of wholesome industry lies with the nation that makes progress in the direction of Socialism, so also does a future of successful trade.

WILLIAM CUNNINGHAM.

AFGHĀNISTĀN AND THE PANJĀB

THE eyes of the whole British nation are at present fixed on a remote country whose past history and present condition are little known to the great majority, except as the constant subject of every form of conflicting and contradictory statement. Adjoining this distant region is another, better known to the majority of educated Englishmen, for the simple reason that it became an integral part of the British Empire about thirty years ago.

These two countries—Afghānistān and the Panjāb—may be compared to two semi-detached residences of very different construction, yet in such close juxtaposition that any disturbance in the one is easily communicated to the other. As I have lately visited the Panjāb and passed beyond its northern frontier, it has occurred to me that I may suitably turn aside for a moment from the regular course of my Indian researches and bring my recent experiences to bear in contributing, however imperfectly, towards the elucidation of the great question of the hour—the Central Asiatic Question.

Let us consider first what Asia is in its relation to the rest of the world, and particularly to Europe. Has Asia any right to absorb our attention when home difficulties are pressing on us with unusual urgency? Yes; from Asia came our ancestors, Kelts, Teutons, Greeks, Romans, and Slavs. From Asia came our languages, our religion, our letters, not a few of our most inveterate customs, and no little of our art, science, and philosophy. From Asia still comes much of our wealth, and in Asia is still collected far more than half the human race. The population of Asia is now reckoned at 831,000,000—greater by at least 200,000,000 than that of Europe, Africa, America, Australia, and Polynesia, combined.

But if Asia is of such vast importance in its relation to the rest of the world, India is no less important in its relation to Asia. Out of the 831,000,000, 241,000,000 are found in the peninsula of India alone. In India was established one of the most ancient civilizations which influenced to a great extent the whole Asiatic continent. In India were elaborated the Sanskrit and Pāli languages, which, as the vehicle of religion and philosophy, found their way into the remotest regions of Tibet, Burmah, Siam, and China. In India originated those two remarkable religions—Brāhmanism and Buddhism—which are still professed by at least seven hundred millions of persons, or more than three-fourths of the entire Asiatic population. And from India—regenerated by English administrative energy—will emanate, hereafter, regenerating influences which will thrill through the whole Eastern continent.

In the next place let us take note of the physical relationship of India to the rest of Asia. A glance at the map shows us that India is to Asia much what Italy is to Europe. We see in Asia and Europe two very differently shaped peninsulas jutting out southwards into the ocean. They are entirely surrounded by water except towards the north, where lofty mountains curve round, and form formidable barriers, shutting them out from the rest of the continents to which they belong. In proportion to the greater area of Asia, as compared with Europe, is the greater area of India, as compared with Italy, and the greater height of the Himālayas and Sulaiman mountains, as compared with that of the Alps.

Then again, having marked the relationship of India to Asia, let us note the relationship of Afghānistān and the Panjāb to India. Just as on the northern side of the Alps, the small mountainous country of Switzerland, remarkable for the independent spirit of its inhabitants, intervenes as a kind of buffer between Italy and the great aggressive power of Germany, so on one side of the Sulaiman range is interposed the relatively small mountainous region of Afghānistān, inhabited by warlike clans, whose very *raison d'être* seems to be to withstand the advancing strides of the huge Russian colossus.

Once more, just as the sunny plains of Piedmont and Lombardy lie to the south of the European mountain ranges, inviting the descent of invading armies into Italy through the snowy Swiss passes, so do the glowing plains of Sindh and the Panjāb invite a descent into India through the inhospitable and difficult defiles of Afghānistān.

Furthermore it should be noted that one of these countries—the Panjāb—belongs to us quite as completely as Lombardy once belonged to Austria; while the other—Afghānistān—with all its mountain ranges and passes, is, at present, quite as independent of us and of Russia as Switzerland is of Italy and Germany.

But having drawn the parallel thus far, let us beware of carrying it any farther. For be it observed that, whereas parts of the Alpine

ranges are subject to the government of Italy, no portion of the great barrier of mountains which girdle the northern and north-western frontier line of our Indian Empire are at this moment in the possession of the government of Great Britain. And whereas Switzerland—inhabited by a law-abiding population—is in many particulars, geographical, political, ethnical, and linguistic, wholly distinct and ever likely to be kept distinct from Italy, Afghānistān—inhabited by lawless, semi-barbarous tribes—is in many particulars closely related to India, if not naturally part and parcel of it.

Let me then clear the ground for a brief review of the condition of Afghānistān, by a short narrative of the manner in which the plains of the Panjāb came into our power. The story is highly interesting as connected with one of the most remarkable religious and political movements that have ever taken place in India.

I need scarcely explain that the word Panj-āb means the country of the five rivers; those five streams, well known even to the Greeks, which meet to form the Indus, and flow through Sindh to the Western Ocean. In the Veda this region is called the land of the *seven* rivers, because there are really six rivers, including the main stream, and because another river—the sacred Sarasvatī—flows near them.

The whole plain watered by these seven streams is full of interesting associations. It was from the Indus that the name India was derived. It was the Panjāb and its adjacent districts which constituted the India of antiquity. Here settled one portion of the great Āryan race, migrating from the other side of the Hindū Kūsh, and probably following the route from Merv (the Sanskrit Meru) to Herat, and thence through the passes of Afghānistān. It was here they composed the hymns of the Veda. Here also first settled the martial Rājputs who constituted the second wave of Āryan immigrants. Here one of them, the brave Porus, arrested the progress of the invading armies of Alexander the Great. Here, too, settled afterwards another hardy athletic race of men—commonly called Jats or Jāts (= *Getæ*)—the descendants of predatory Scythian tribes who came from a more northern part of Central Asia than the Rājputs, but like them entered India through Afghānistān. Lastly, it was this region of the seven rivers that bore the brunt of the incursions of the Islamized Tartar and Mogul hordes.

Mahmūd of Ghaznī, son of the Tartar leader Sabaktigīn, invaded India about A.D. 1000, and his successors ruled Upper India for about one hundred and forty years. Then followed for about three hundred years the rule of certain Afghān princes, who governed Upper India from Dehli. Then succeeded the Mogul incursions, and ultimately the submission of the whole of Upper India to the first Mogul Emperor Bābar about the year 1526.

Shortly before this date, in 1510, commenced the remarkable

religious movement which ultimately led to the British subjugation of the Panjāb.

About the time of the birth of Martin Luther in Europe, an Indian reformer, named Nānak, was born in a village near Lahore. He laid no claim to be the originator of a new religion. His teaching was mainly founded on that of his predecessors, especially of a previous reformer, Kabīr, whom he constantly quoted. He was simply a Guru or teacher, and his followers were simply Sikhs or disciples. But he was a teacher who aimed, as other great teachers had done before him, at delivering Hindūism from its incubus of caste, superstition, and idolatry.

The plain fact was that Nānak found himself in a part of India where Muhammadans formed a majority of the population. Though himself a Hindū he became insensibly Islamized. His idea was to bring about a union between Hindūs and Muhammadans on the common ground of a belief in one God. Yet the creed of Nānak was far more pantheistic than monotheistic; and it is curious that a religious movement which commenced in an effort to draw the adherents of the two religions together, should have ended in exciting the bitterest animosity between them.

The facts of Nānak's interesting life are obscured by the legends with which they have been interwoven. What is certain is that before his death he very wisely made provision for a regular succession of leaders pledged to carry on and enforce his teaching. He died on the 10th of October, 1538, and was succeeded by the Guru Angada, who again nominated Amar-dās to succeed him as third Guru. Seven others were appointed to the succession in a similar manner, but the first to give the Sikhs political importance and incite them to united action was the fourth Guru, Rām-dās. He was very popular, and with the gifts of his disciples amassed a sufficient sum of money to enable him to purchase and restore an old tank which he called Amrita-sar, "the lake of nectar." There in the very middle of the tank he built a beautiful temple, dedicating it to the one God under his Hindū name of Hari.

The fifth Guru, Arjun, was a worthy successor of his father. He perceived that to keep his Sikhs or disciples together, it would be necessary to give them a written standard of authority, and some sort of machinery of government. It is to him, therefore, that the Sikhs owe the compilation of their first bible (called the *Granth*, or book), and to him is due the establishment of an organized system of collecting a regular tax from all adherents of the sect in different localities. Moreover, under him the sacred tank and temple founded by Rām-dās became the nucleus of the sacred town Amritsar, which is still the metropolis of the Sikh religion.

I visited this place in 1876. Advancing along the marble margin of the lake, I came to two high poles, surmounted by spears, which

typify the blending of war with religion—a combination not altogether peculiar to the Sikh religion. Thence I passed through an enamelled gateway, and found myself on the causeway leading to the temple, thronged by a crowd of worshippers passing to and fro.

Reserving my description of this beautiful place of worship for a future occasion, I will merely say that, although Sikh temples are wholly without images, Sikhism and Hindūism are closely connected. Pantheism is at the root of both; but the craving for a visible and tangible object of worship is expressed very differently in the two systems. Hindūism maintains that God infuses his essence into images, but denies that he manifests himself in any written book. Hindūs, therefore, never worship the Veda, which, according to the orthodox theory, is divine knowledge communicated orally to inspired sages, and by them orally transmitted—not written down. Sikhism, on the contrary, denies that God associates himself with images, but believes that he is manifested in a written book (*Granth*).

In every Sikh temple, therefore, the book appears to be the real god of the place. Chowries are constantly waved over it, and the sacred volume is treated as if it had a veritable personal existence.

In a particular Sikh temple which I visited at Patna, dedicated to the tenth Guru, Govind, I observed two elevated platforms. On one was the sacred *Granth*, covered with rich embroidery, and on the other were a number of sacred swords. Attendants were occupied in waving chowries over the sacred writings, and over the sacred weapons, while another official of the temple was seated before the *Granth* engaged in chanting passages from the Scriptures in a sing-song tone. This worship of warlike weapons is a remarkable feature of the Sikh religion.

In fact, it was the tenth Guru Govind who converted the Sikhs into a nation of fighting men. His character was a curious compound of pugnacity, courage, superstition, and fanaticism. If Nānak, the first Guru, was the founder of the Sikh religion, Govind, the tenth Guru, was the founder of the Sikh nationality. Many other reformers had attempted to abolish caste as a religious institution, but Govind regarded the evils of caste from a purely political standpoint. He perceived that the power exercised over the Hindūs by the Muhammadans and other conquerors was mainly due to the disunion caused by caste. He, therefore, at the risk of offending the most inveterate Hindū prejudices, proclaimed social equality among all the members of the Sikh community.

Nor was this all. He devised other plans for uniting his followers into a distinct people. They were to add the name *Sinh* (*lion*) to their other names. They were to be distinguished by long hair, they were always to carry a sword (in token of engaging in perpetual warfare with the Musalmāns), to refrain from smoking tobacco, and to wear short trowsers (instead of the ordinary Dhotī). They were to be

called Khālsā, or the peculiar property of the Guru, and were to be admitted to discipleship by a kind of baptismal rite called *Pihul*—that is to say, sugar was dissolved in water, consecrated by the repetition of certain texts taken from the Granth, and stirred with a two-edged sword. Then part of this decoction—euphemistically styled nectar—was administered to each new disciple, and the rest sprinkled on the head, mouth, eyes, and other parts of his body, while he was made to take an oath not to mix with certain excommunicated persons, not to worship idols, not to bow to any person whatever, except a Sikh Guru, and never to turn his back on a foe.

Govind even composed a second bible (*Granth*), which was added as a supplement to the first, and called the book of the tenth Guru. In this he not only introduced precepts the direct object of which was to rouse the martial ardour of his followers, but he deliberately substituted war for peace as a religious duty,—exactly reversing the order followed in our own Holy Bible, which advances from the sanction of war in the Old Testament to the inculcation of universal peace in the New. Thenceforward they were to imitate the Muhammadans—they were to spread their religion, not by persuasion, but by fire and sword. Nay, more, they were to live by the sword, and even to worship the sword.

We are not surprised, therefore, to find that Govind's own life was passed in perpetual conflict with the fanatical Muhammadan Emperor Aurangzib. Defeated and nearly captured by him, he retired to a village in Central India. Ultimately he died of his wounds A.D. 1708.

He was the last ruling Guru or Hierarch of the Sikhs. When urged to appoint a successor, he declined. Nor was any continuation of the Guruship, in the religious sense of the term, possible. Govind had made fierce soldiers out of meek disciples. He had exercised them in arms rather than in religion, and led them in person to many a bloody battle. The terms *Guru* and *Sikh*, or master and pupil, had lost their meaning. Henceforward the Sikhs were to be lions in character and action, as well as lions (*Sinh*) in name.

Yet, in real fact, Govind never entirely abdicated his function of religious teacher. It was not till his death that the religious disciple was merged entirely in the military follower, eager for slaughter, rapine, and spoliation. At first a fanatical Bairāgi, named Banda, placed himself at the head of the Sikh soldiers in the Panjāb. He carried slaughter and devastation among the Muhammadan population, until he was himself taken prisoner and tortured to death. Then the tables were turned. The Sikhs, instead of slaughtering, were themselves slaughtered. Their Musalmān enemies hunted them down until they believed them to be utterly exterminated.

But the spirit of Sikhism was not to be so easily suppressed. The death and destruction dealt out to individuals became the very materials out of which the system gathered fresh strength and vitality. Soon Sikhism, reviving, became the centre of gravitation for the

dissolving elements of a decaying empire. What really showed symptoms of permanent disintegration was the Muhammadan power. Numbers of its former adherents flocked to the Sikh standards. Military confederations (called *Misals*, to denote the social equality of the confederates) were formed under the leadership of powerful military chiefs (*sirdārs*), and these confederations gradually wrested independent territory out of the hands of the Muhammadan sovereigns. Ultimately, the Sikh leaders portioned out the whole Panjāb between themselves, and a sort of Indian Heptarchy was formed in Northern India. Then the chiefs began to quarrel, each striving after some extension of his own domain, and only sinking their differences at their periodical gatherings round the holy tank and temple of Amritsar, to the enrichment of which they each contributed enormous sums.

It was not till about a century after the death of Guru Govind that the weaker Sikh chiefs began to succumb to the authority of the stronger, among whom was the celebrated Ranjit Sinh.

This remarkable man, sometimes styled "the Lion of the Panjāb," who, though he could neither read nor write, was gifted with great abilities, extraordinary energy, and an iron will, united all the Sikh confederations into one nation, about the year 1818. He then took the title *Mahārāja*, and, having trained his army by the help of European officers, extended his dominion over the whole Panjāb and Cashmere, and even to the country beyond the Sutlej, his power culminating about the year A.D. 1838. He wisely abstained from any attempt at the conquest of Afghānistān, knowing his own resources to be unequal to its subjugation, and he was too shrewd to become the enemy of the British Government. Nay, when we invaded Afghānistān in 1838, on the ground that the reigning Amīr, Dost Muhammad, had intrigued with the Russians and shown hostility towards India, and that Shāh Sujah, who had placed himself under our protection, was the rightful heir to the throne, Ranjit Sinh furnished a Sikh contingent to co-operate with our armies in forcing the passes.

His death, in 1839, led to political convulsions. The Sikh chiefs, his successors, contended fiercely with each other, and began to threaten us with hostile demonstrations. In 1845 they crossed our frontier. This led to the two well-known Sikh wars, which terminated in the decisive battle of Gujerāt, and resulted in the annexation of the Panjāb to the Company's dominions in March, 1849.

And now what has this history of the Sikhs to do with the present position of affairs in Afghānistān? Much, every way. Our possession of the Panjāb makes all the difference between the present and former attitude of India towards Afghānistān, first, in regard to the military situation; secondly, in regard to the political relationship between the two countries.

To begin with the military situation. What happened to us in

1842? Our Indian armies, sent to avenge the treacherous Kābul massacre of the previous year, had to pass through a turbulent country, which did not belong to us, and was covertly hostile. All this is now changed. We can convey any number of troops by our own Panjāb railway as far as Jhelum. Thence it is no great distance to Attock, at the junction of the Kābul river with the Indus, where from the time of Alexander the Great every army has had to halt before attempting the difficult passage of the great river; but where a railway bridge will soon convey our troops with the utmost facility northwards. Even now any number of men can be transported with ease over the river, and concentrated without difficulty on our frontier. Our supremacy is established to the very entrance of the passes. Nay, we can use our former enemies, the Sikhs, against their hereditary foes, the Afghāns, as we used them against the Muhammadan mutineers at Dehli. Trained and officered by us they make the best of all soldiers.

Add to this that nearly thirty years of contact with the wild tribes who border on the principal passes have enabled us to understand them better. If we have not yet tamed and tutored them to our purposes, or converted them, like the Sikhs, into disciplined regiments—ready to go anywhere and do anything for the honour of the British flag—we have at least taught them to beware of open hostility, and even to consult their own interest by an interchange of friendly offices. Pay them we must still, but we have learnt to do so with judgment.

I pass on to my second point: How does our possession of the Panjāb affect the political relationship of India to Afghānistān?

Let me begin by a brief notice of the present condition of the country; and first as to its name. It may be observed that the names given to Eastern countries by us Europeans are generally very different from those employed by the natives themselves. For instance, the people of China do not call their country China but Chun-kwo, "the central kingdom." Nor do our Indian fellow-subjects call their country India. The names employed by them are Hindūstān for that large portion of India where Hindī and its dialects are spoken, Dekhan for the south, and other special names, like Panjāb, for special localities. The whole of India is often called Bhārata-varsha.

According to a common account of their own origin given by the Afghāns themselves, the name Afghān is derived from a person named Afghāna, the supposed son of one Irmia (for Jeremiah), a son of Saul (corrupted into Tālūt), king of Israel. According to others the name is a mere nickname, derived from the plural of the Arabic word fighān, "a complaint," and given to the mountain clans because of their turbulent and querulous proclivities. It appears tolerably certain that the name Afghānistān, though now sometimes adopted by the natives themselves, was originally imposed by outsiders, probably by Persians. A common

name for the country used by the natives was *Pusht* or *Pasht*, or *Pashtān*, whence they called themselves *Pashtānis* and their language *Pashtu*. Those *Afghāns* who have settled in India are called *Pathāns* (for *Pashtāns*). Others who colonized the district of *Rohilkand* are called *Rohillas* from a *Pashtu* word, *Roh*, a mountain. To this day many *Afghāns* settle in the *Panjāb* or traverse India as traders. But the common name for *Afghānistān* most usual among the natives is simply *Wilāyat*—the country." When they employ a more distinctive appellation they call the western part of the country towards Persia—where there is a desert—*Khorassān*, and the mountainous plateau on the eastern side, *Kābul*. Those *Afghāns* who visit India as traders are sometimes called *Kābulis*, sometimes *Wilāyatias*.

We have spoken of *Afghānistān* as the Switzerland of Asia. But in many respects it presents a great contrast to Switzerland. It may be described as Switzerland broken up into fragments and sprinkled in irregular patches over a quadrilateral region at least three or four times the size of that country, with an area of nearly 600 miles in its fullest extent, by 450 broad. This irregular plateau is bounded on the north by the snow-clad *Hindū Kūsh* (an extension of the *Himālayas*, *Kūsh* meaning mountain), and on the east by the *Sulaimān range*. It is traversed on one side by the lofty spine-like ridge of the *Sufed-Koh*, whence radiate countless valleys formed by a complication of vast rib-like mountain buttresses which jut out in all directions.

Albeit the ruins of great cities attest the former grandeur of *Afghānistān*, it is at present an extremely poor country, with a sparse population of about five million persons, divided and subdivided into a confused medley of heterogeneous tribes and sub-tribes. A European traveller suddenly transported to *Afghānistān*, even though he came from Switzerland, would be struck by its lofty snowy peaks, its formidable passes, and impregnable mountain fastnesses. He would be amazed at the extent of its desolate wastes, its uncultivated tracts, unrelieved by trees, undiversified by lakes, and destitute of enclosures. He would at the same time be charmed by the fertility of some of its plains and valleys, and the industry displayed in their cultivation; but he would look in vain for good roads, navigable canals, well-built houses, hotels, public buildings, or other similar signs of European civilization and refinement.

Of towns there are only four really meriting the name, viz., *Kābul* the capital, 6,400 feet above the sea, with a far colder climate in winter than that of England, and not much hotter in summer; *Kandahar*, the capital of southern *Afghānistān*, supposed from its name to have been founded by *Iskandar*, that is, Alexander the Great, but really a settlement of the *Gūndhāras*; *Ghazni*, once a seat of government; and *Herat*, whose matchless situation makes it perhaps the most important town of Central Asia. Even villages are few and far between.

The people are partly nomad, following their flocks in tents, partly agricultural, dwelling in collections of mud huts or occasionally in more substantial houses, with terraced roofs. There is no such thing as real nationality in the country, no such thing as patriotism, and, I may add, no such thing as real government. Each man does very much what he believes to be right in his own eyes. The population is simply a congeries of wholly or partially independent tribes, differing considerably from each other, and loosely bound to a central authority.

At present the majority of the true Afghāns yield some sort of allegiance to the Amīr of Kābul, but they are much more under the control of their several chiefs, and are wholly without national unity, cohesion, or power of combining. Some tribes, such as the Tājiks, Kazil-bāshes and Hazāras, come from Persia, to which country Afghānistān was once united; some are of Tartar and Mogul origin, and a large number represent colonists from Hindūstān and Cashmere.

The most important tribe is, of course, that of the Durrānis, to which belongs the present ruler or Amīr of Kābul, Shīr Alī. He was one of the sixteen sons of Dost Muhammad Khān, who died in 1863, and is like his father in character, though not in physiognomy—a real typical Afghān, and, so to speak, the very incarnation and embodiment of concentrated Afghānism. Although not the eldest son, he was his father's favourite—indulged and petted from his earliest years. In all our intercourse with this now notorious individual, we seem to have forgotten that we have had to deal not only with a very Afghān of the Afghāns, but with the wayward, wilful, spoiled child of a wayward, though determined, father. The death of Dost Muhammad was the signal for the usual family contentions. Fratricidal war is the nemesis of polygamy under Muhammadan Governments. Shīr Alī had been designated by his father to the throne, but two of his elder brothers disputed the succession, and for a time gained the upper hand, and were even recognized as rulers. He did not finally subdue them and commence his own reign until 1868. Since then his own sons have given him no little trouble. One of them, Yakūb Khān, irritated by his father's preference for a younger brother, seized Herat, and then repenting, returned to his home under a promise of forgiveness. But paternal promises among Afghāns are written in sand. This young prodigal no sooner reached the threshold of the family abode than he was thrown into prison by his father, and no human being can tell what his present fate may be.

Such are a few select specimens of the ruling Durrānis. The tribe was founded by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī, who had risen into notice in the army of Nādir Shāh, the celebrated Persian conqueror of Afghānistān and invader of India. On the death of Nādir Shāh, Ahmad Shāh was chosen King of Kābul, and was the first to raise Afghānistān to the position of a separate kingdom, about one hundred and forty years

ago. Other important tribes are the Ghilzais, occupying the elevated plateau north of Kandahar; the Yūsufzais, the Kākars, the Hindkis, the last being of Hindū descent. Near the Khaiber are several independent frontier tribes, such as the Momands, the Afridis, and the Shinwāris—all more or less given to marauding and freebooting practices.

In character and habits the Afghān tribes resemble the ancient Scotch Highland clans. Their principal distinguishing mark is the turban. Every tribe is known by the pattern and shape of the turban, just as the Scotch clans are by their tartans. Perhaps those clans which are most nearly related to each other are most addicted to mutual jealousy, strife, and vindictiveness. Brother rises against brother, and blood feuds are perpetual. If a wrong is committed, the right of avenging it is supposed to belong to the family or to the individual, not to the Government. The late excellent Bishop Milman, whose diocese extended to Peshawar, was once examining a class of Afghān children. Being greatly pleased with their cleverness and proficiency, he told the best boy to choose his own prize. Without a moment's hesitation, the child asked for a *talwār* or sword.

In fact, every Afghān is a born soldier. He is accustomed from his childhood to the use of arms, and trained from his earliest youth to habits of rapine and spoliation. Outwardly frank, polite, and hospitable, he is generally at heart passionate and treacherous. Little or no confidence can be placed in his word. He is unblushingly faithless, and dangerously vindictive. It has almost been forgotten that an Afghān of one of the border-tribes, and a namesake of the present Amīr, Shīr Ali, who had been transported to the Andaman islands for crimes connected with blood feuds, was the murderer of Lord Mayo.* Yet many of the tribes are not without redeeming points, among which ought to be reckoned simplicity of life, independence, and energy of character. Those who enlist in our service make excellent soldiers. Like all Highlanders they are intensely proud, and think a great deal of pedigree and lineage.

Whether they have any good grounds for calling themselves *ban-i-Israel*, children of Israel, is of course extremely doubtful. There are certainly traces of Jewish ceremonies mixed up with the Muhammadan customs prevalent in the country, and some Old Testament

* This Shīr Ali was a Kirki Kheyl Afridi, one of a number who murdered Lieut. Hand at the mouth of the Khaiber. Major James sent him to Dehli with Mir Jaffir's regiment. On his return, at the conclusion of the war, the same officer took him into his service as an orderly, and after a time employed him as a mounted policeman. He continued to serve as an orderly under Colonels Taylor, Becker, and Pollock, with all of whom he was a great favourite, though the consideration shown him made him very arrogant. He displayed great gallantry at Umbeyla, but he was a man of unbridled temper, and never ceased to carry on a bitter blood feud at his own home. In that feud his own family had been almost extinguished, and he himself had killed one of his opponents. In March, 1867, he happened to meet Hyder, the head of the opposite faction, in Peshawar. Pretending to make friends with him, and saying that their quarrel had lasted long enough, he then and there stabbed him. He was consequently transported for life, and revenged himself on the Viceroy of India.

narratives are blended with their own traditions; but all these may have come through the medium of the Muhammadan religion. Those Kābulis I saw in India were decidedly Jewish in appearance, but not more so than the Pārsis, Cashmirians, and others. Their comparatively fair complexions, aquiline physiognomy, tall athletic forms, decently clad in dark woollen clothes, and covered with brown mantles or sheepskin cloaks, not remarkable for cleanliness, presented a marked contrast to the dark, half-naked, attenuated bodies of the Hindū peasantry.

The language, Pashtu or Pushtu (also pronounced Pakhtu or Pukhtu), does not support the notion of their Semitic origin. It is an Aryan language, and a kind of middle term between Persian and Hindi, well typifying the position of the country between Persia and India. Many of the tribes and most of the better classes speak Persian, and Persian is the only language of literature and education. The language of their religion is, of course, Arabic, for all Afghāns are Muhammadans.

The Muhammadan religion is, in fact, the only tie which binds the loose medley of tribes together. They are generally Sunnīs like the Indian Muhammadans; but the Persian tribes are Shī'as. It is now pretty well understood by most educated persons that all Muslims are divided into two grand classes of Sunnīs and Shī'as. The chief difference between them consists in the view taken of the relation of the first three successors of Muhammad to the fourth, Ali. The Shī'as believe in twelve Imāms—or principal religious leaders—beginning with Ali, the prophet's son-in-law, as the true *de jure* successors of Muhammad. There is also a difference in the attitude of prayer, the Shī'as allowing the arms to hang down straight against the side of the body, and the Sunnīs bringing the hands across the chest. It is a mistake to suppose that the Shī'as reject the Sunnat or tradition of the first three Khalifs. They really accept every tradition supposed to have been approved by Ali. With some, Ali is even more honoured than Muhammad himself. Though Shī'a tribes are uncommon in Afghānistān, they are scattered here and there, especially in the neighbourhood of Herat, and are often the objects of greater animosity to Sunnīs than the adherents of non-Muhammadan creeds.

I come at last to the most important point under our consideration, namely—What ought to be the present attitude of the British Government towards Afghānistān? And here I must repeat that the extension of our frontier to the line of the mountain ranges makes all the difference in the relationship between the two countries. The circumstances are no longer what they were before the annexation of the Panjāb in 1849. These turbulent Afghāns and ourselves are living—to return to my first metaphor—in two adjoining houses, in close contact with each other. If I reside next door to a person who is known to keep a quantity of gunpowder and explosive materials on

his premises, and who at the same time excludes me from all knowledge of his operations, what am I to do? Am I, who live, say, in the southern quarter of a large town, and have a quantity of inflammable tinder in my house, to sit quietly at home while a destructive conflagration, fanned by a breeze from the north, gradually approaches my neighbour's combustibles? Are any considerations of social morality or etiquette to prevent my breaking open the door, and, with or without the owner's consent, removing the explosive articles?

Again, if between me and a turbulent and excitable neighbour there are three or four passages which enable him to enter my residence whenever he likes, but are barred against me and my household, what am I to do? Am I to permit him or any of his friends and visitors to make raids on my premises whenever they think proper, without his allowing me and mine an equal right of entering his domain?

Once more, if the inmates of an adjoining dwelling are joined by others, who, with the consent of the proprietor, occupy its chief room and make it the centre of intrigues which disturb the tranquillity of my own household, and undermine the fidelity of my own servants, am I to permit this without making any effort to occupy the house myself, and expel the obnoxious intruders?

In plain English, the two countries are even more closely united and mutually dependent than two adjoining domiciles. They are more intimately connected than Switzerland and Italy. Ever since the invasions of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, numbers of Indians have been carried captive into Afghānistān, and there blended with the Afghān population, while numbers of Afghān adventurers have found their way into India, taken military service there, or actually settled in the country. It is a matter of simple history that India was for centuries ruled by Afghān kings, and India has constantly been invaded through the passes of Afghānistān, as Italy has been through the Swiss defiles.

Of these passes the most important and best known are the Khaiber and the Bolan, but it must not be forgotten that other passes exist which have been used by invading armies. For instance, the Khuram was probably used by Alexander the Great, and the Gomal (said to be nearly 300 miles long) by Mahmūd of Ghaznī. The Khaiber Pass, from its Peshawar end at Jamrūd to its extreme limit at Dakka, is about 28 miles long. Thence to Jalālābad (situated in a plain 1,900 feet above the sea) is about 42 miles, the whole distance from the Indian valley to Kābul being about 190 miles. The Bolan Pass extends for 59 miles.

These seem long distances, but great military authorities (like Lord Napier of Magdala and Sir Henry Rawlinson) assert that if we are to prevent future disturbances in India, and if we are to economize our troops and save expense to the Indian exchequer, it is absolutely

essential we should command these passages at both extremities. We shall have to keep the keys of the gateways at both ends, and to do this, we shall have to occupy Jalālabad on the other side of the Khaiber, as we have already occupied Quettah on the other side of the Bolan. We shall have to convert these two places into our two new Peshawars or "advanced posts."

But every advance seems to involve a pushing forward of the natural horizon, and to necessitate a further adjustment of scientific frontiers. No sooner are we through the Khaiber and the Bolan—the two principal passages conducting into India from Afghānistān—than we find ourselves confronted with the principal passes leading into Afghānistān from Turkistān.

It is not part of my present business to speak of Turkistān, but let us consider for a moment what sort of a place this Turkistān is, and how it deserves our attention. Notwithstanding the importance of this great central plateau, and the momentous events connected with its past history, it is as little known to us Englishmen as the centre of Africa. Few are aware that it has been the theatre of vast military exploits, and the birthplace, nursery, and training ground of the greatest nations of the earth. Wave upon wave of primitive humanity has issued from this fountain-head; stream after stream of earth's most vigorous races has rolled down this roof of the world, to spread themselves over Persia, Afghānistān, and India on the one side, and over Europe on the other. Here originated the Drāvidians of Southern India, the Indo-Scythians who swarmed into India through the Greek kingdom of Bactria, and our own ancestors the Āryans. Here were nurtured the hardy races led to victory by Mahmūd of Ghaznī, by Chingīz Khān, by Timur and Bābar. But what concerns us Englishmen most is, that from this central region may ultimately pour down—if we do not stem the advancing tide—half-Tartar Russian hordes to inundate the valleys of Kābul, and threaten irruptions over the plains of Sindh and the Panjāb.

And let us not forget that Russia is a semi-Oriental, if not a semi-barbarous, power. Far behind us though she be in civilization, she is far better informed than we are on all political subjects, European and Oriental. She has, in fact, two faces—two characters. To Europeans she presents herself as a veritable European; to Asiatics she reveals herself as a veritable Asiatic. Her system assimilates itself far more readily than ours to the present condition of the Asiatic mind. It is not over-just. It is not over-pure. It is not over-virtuous. It is certainly artful, unscrupulous, and capable of every form of subtle Asiatic trickery. Yet it brings with it the manifest advantages of organized government and security of property. Hence, Russia's advance is often welcomed in Asia as a boon, where ours is deprecated as a grievance, or barely tolerated as a necessary infliction.

And let us not be blind. Russia is advancing. Already the whole

of Turkistān is practically under Russian domination. Already, according to Professor Vambéry, has Russia pushed her frontier to a point within four hundred miles of our territory. Already she occupies the banks of the Upper Oxus, the lower course of which she is said to have recently brought back (by a process of removing dams and embankments) into its old bed, and made to flow into the Caspian Sea. If this be really a fact, it will, of course, enable her ships to navigate the waters of the river almost to the very borders of Afghānistān. Already she is creeping onwards from the south shore of the Caspian, intent on occupying Herat, and ultimately achieving her great alternative object (Constantinople being unattainable)—access to a southern sea-board by way of the Persian Gulf.

It is true that she has not yet absolutely appropriated the territories of Khiva and Bokhara. But she has annexed Kokand; and the Khāns of the other two Khānates are as much under her thumb as the protected states of India are under ours. She has already occupied Samarkand, and her advent at Merv and Balkh is a mere question of time.

The simple truth is that the Russian Empire is impelled towards Afghānistān and Persia by the very same law of existence, and the very same necessity of progress, which are impelling the British Empire towards the very same goal from an opposite direction. Once at Merv, it will be easy for Russian armies to march on Herat through the ravines formed by the Heri-rud river. Yes, to Herat—that coveted city whose central position in a fertile well-watered plain, connected by a radius of good roads with all the surrounding districts and especially with Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kābul, makes it strategically the key of Afghānistān, as that country is the key of India. Again, once at Balkh, it will be easy for them to enter Kābul by the Bamian Pass.

Do we wonder that the voices of masterly activity are found at present to prevail? Do we wonder that public opinion is found to support the present Government in its firm determination to make England's influence paramount in Afghānistān at whatever cost? Not that England desires new annexations; but that she must by all means secure a post of observation whence she may look down on Russia's inevitable approach.

Reams of paper may still be wasted on attempts to solve the Central Asiatic question. But one point must always stand out sharp and clear above the confusion of conflicting views—one stubborn fact must always be faced by every statesman who dreams of the final adjustment of scientific frontiers—namely, that nothing can prevent Afghānistān and Persia from crumbling to pieces between the advancing forces of two gigantic empires like England and Russia.* As

* This was written before I had any opportunity of reading Sir Henry Rawlinson's article in the *Nineteenth Century*. I am glad to find so great an authority using very similar language.

soon might you expect two bushels of loose grain to withstand the pressure of two massive mill-stones coming naturally into contact with one another; or two cartloads of loose soil to prevent the collision of two heavily laden railway trains, advancing to meet each other with resistless impulse from opposite directions on the same line.

The whole question really resolves itself into one simple problem:—Is Great Britain or is Russia to dominate throughout the whole area of Afghānistān and Persia? Are we first to occupy Afghānistān, and meet Russia at the Hindū Kūsh on the one side, and then, advancing into Persia from the Persian Gulf on the other, draw a line from the south of the Caspian to a point north of Herat, and say to our rivals, “Thus far shalt thou go and no farther?” or are we to make Jalūlabad the Sufed Koh, the Sulaiman range, and the mountains about Quetta and Kandahar our permanent scientific barrier, which shall for ever protect India from the inroad of disturbing elements?

Without attempting an answer to this momentous question, I may be allowed, in conclusion, to express my very serious doubts as to whether any nation can hope to cope with such a power as Russia without being students in the same diplomatic school; and my very grave fears as to whether it will be found possible to apply the laws of social morality, as between man and man, and even the laws of international morality, as between nation and nation, to the political movements of two mighty empires, each gravitating towards the other with irresistible force, and each intensely conscious that self-protection depends on progress.

MONIER WILLIAMS.

A FARMHOUSE DIRGE.

I.

WILL you walk with me to the brow of the hill, to visit the farmer's wife,
Whose daughter lies in the churchyard now, eased of the ache of life?
Half a mile by the winding lane, another half to the top:
There you may lean over the gate and rest: she will want me awhile to stop,
Stop and talk of her girl that is gone, and no more will wake or weep,
Or to listen rather, for sorrow loves to babble its pain to sleep.

II.

How thick with acorns the ground is strewn, rent from their cups and brown!
How the golden leaves of the windless elms come singly fluttering down!
The briony hangs in the thinning hedge, as russet as harvest corn.
The straggling blackberries glisten jet, the haws are red on the thorn:
The climatis smells no more but lifts its gossamer weight on high:—
If you only gazed on the year, you would think how beautiful 'tis to die.

III.

The stream scarce flows underneath the bridge: they have dropped the sluice
of the mill;
The rough bask deep in the pool above, and the water-wheel is still.
The meal lies quiet on bin and floor: and here where the deep banks wind,
The water-masses nor sway nor bend, so nothing seems left behind.
If the wheels of life would but sometimes stop, and the grinding awhile would
cease,
'Twere so sweet to have, without dying quite, just a spell of autumn peace.

IV.

Cottages four, two new, two old, each with its clambering rose:
Lath and plaster and weather-tiles these, brick faced with stone are those.
Two crouch low from the wind and the rain, and tell of the humbler days,
Whilst the other pair stand up and stare with a self-asserting gaze:
But I warrant you'd find the old as snug as the new did you lift the latch,
For the human heart keeps no whit more warm under slate than beneath the
thatch.

V.

Tenants of two of them work for me, punctual, sober, true:
I often wish that I did as well the work I have got to do.

Think not to pity their lowly lot, nor wish that their thoughts soared higher ;
 The canker comes on the garden rose, and not on the wilding brier.
 Doubt and gloom are not theirs, and so they but work and love ; they live
 Rich in the only valid boons that life can withhold or give.

VI.

Here is the railway bridge, and see how straight do the bright lines keep.
 With pleasant copses on either side, or pastures of quiet sheep.
 The big loud city lies far away, far too is the cliff-bound shore.
 But the trains that travel betwixt them seem as if burdened with their roar.
 Yet, quickly they pass, and leave no trace, not the echo e'en of their noise :
 Don't you think that silence and stillness are the sweetest of all our joys ?

VII.

Lo ! yonder the Farm, and these the ruts that the broad-wheeled wains have
 worn,
 As they bore up the hill the faggots sere, or the mellow shocks of corn.
 The hops are gathered, the twisted bines now brown on the brown clods lie,
 And nothing of all man sowed to reap is seen 'twixt the earth and sky.
 Year after year doth the harvest come, though at summer's and beauty's cost :
 One can only hope, when our lives grow bare, some reap what our hearts have
 lost.

VIII.

And this is the orchard,—small and rude, and uncared-for, but oh ! in spring,
 How white is the slope with cherry bloom, and the nightingales sit and sing !
 You would think that the world had grown young once more, had forgotten
 death and fear,
 That the nearest thing unto woe, on earth, was the smile of an April tear ;
 That goodness and gladness were twin, were one :—The robin is chorister now :
 The russet fruit on the ground is piled, and the lichen cleaves to the bough.

IX.

Will you lean o'er the gate, while I go on ? You can watch the farmyard life,
 The beeves, the farmer's hope, and the poults, that gladden his thrifty wife ;
 Or, turning, gaze on the hazy weald,—you will not be seen from here,—
 Till your thoughts, like it, grow blurred and vague, and mingle the far and
 near.
 Grief is a flood, and not a spring, whatever in grief we say ;
 And perhaps her woe, should she see me alone, will run more quickly away.

1.

“ I thought you would come this morning, ma'am. Yes, Edith at last has
 gone ;
 To-morrow's a week, ay, just as the sun right into her window shone ;
 Went with the night, the vicar says, where endeth never the day ;
 But she's left a darkness behind her here I wish she had taken away.
 She is no longer with us, but we seem to be always with her,
 In the lonely bed where we laid her last, and can't get her to speak or stir.

2.

“ Yes, I'm at work ; 'tis time I was. I should have begun before ;
 But this is the room where she lay so still, ere they carried her past the door.
 I thought I never could let her go where it seems so lonely of nights ;
 But now I am scrubbing and dusting down, and setting the place to rights.

All I have kept are the flowers there, the last that stood by her bed.
I suppose I must throw them away. *She* looked much fairer when she was
dead.

3.

"Thank you, for thinking of her so much. Kind thought is the truest friend.
I wish you had seen how pleased she was with the peaches you used to send.
She tired of *them* too ere the end, so she did with all we tried;
But she liked to look at them all the same, so we set them down by her side.
Their bloom and the flush upon her cheek were alike, I used to say;
Both were so smooth, and soft, and round, and both have faded away.

4.

"I never could tell you how kind too were the ladies up at the hall;
Every noon, or fair or wet, one of them used to call.
Worry and work seems ours, but yours pleasant and easy days.
And when all goes smooth, the rich and poor have different lives and ways.
Sorrow and death bring men more close, 'tis joy that puts us apart;
'Tis a comfort to think, though we're severed so, we're all of us one at heart.

5.

"She never wished to be smart and rich, as so many in these days do,
Nor cared to go in on market days to stare at the gay and new.
She liked to remain at home and pluck the white violets down in the wood;
She said to her sisters before she died, 'Tis so easy to be good.'
She must have found it so, I think, and that was the reason why
God deemed it needless to leave her here, so took her up to the sky.

6.

"The vicar says that he knows she is there, and surely she ought to be;
But though I repeat the words, 'tis hard to believe what one does not see.
They did not want me to go to the grave, but I could not have kept away,
And whatever I do I can only see a coffin and churchyard clay.
Yes, I know it's wrong to keep lingering there, and wicked and weak to fret;
And that's why I'm hard at work again, for it helps one to forget.

7.

"The young ones don't seem to take to work as their mothers and fathers did.
We never were asked if we liked or no, but had to obey when bid.
There's Bessie won't swill the dairy now, nor Richard call home the cows,
And all of them cry, 'How *can* you, mother!' when I carry the wash to
the sows.
Elith would drudge, for always Death the hearth of the helpfulest robs,
But she was so pretty I could not bear to set her on dirty jobs!

8.

"I don't know how it'll be with them when sorrow and loss are theirs,
For it isn't likely that they'll escape their pack of worrits and cares.
They say it's an age of progress this, and a sight of things improves,
But sickness, and age, and bereavement seem to work in the same old
grooves.
Fine they may grow, and that, but Death as lief takes the moth as the grub.
When their dear ones die, I suspect they'll wish they'd a floor of their own
to scrub.

9.

"Some day they'll have a home of their own, much grander than this, no doubt.
 But polish the porch as you will you can't keep doctors and coffins out.
 I've done very well with my fowls this year, but what are pullets and eggs,
 When the heart in vain at the door of the grave the return of the lost one
 begs?
 The rich have leisure to wail and weep, the poor haven't time to be sad:
 If the cream hadn't been so contrairy this week, I think grief would have
 driven me mad.

10.

"How does my husband bear up, you ask? Well, thank you, ma'am, fairly well;
 For he too is busy just now, you see, with the wheat and the hops to sell:
 It's when the work of the day is done, and he comes indoors at nights,
 While the twilight hangs round the window panes before I bring in the
 lights,
 And takes down his pipe, and says not a word, but watches the faggots roar—
 And then I know he is thinking of her who will sit on his knees no more.

11.

"Must you be going? It seems so short. But thank you for thinking to come;
 It does me good to talk of it all, and grief feels doubled when dumb.
 An the butter's not quite so good this week, if you please, ma'am, you must
 not mind,
 And I'll not forget to send the ducks and all the eggs we can find;
 I've scarcely had time to look round me yet, work gets into such arrears,
 With only one pair of hands, and those fast wiping away one's tears.

12.

"You've got some flowers yet, haven't you, ma'am? though they now
 must be going fast.
 We never have any to speak of here, and I placed on her coffin the last;
 Could you spare me a few for Sunday next? I should like to go all alone.
 And lay them down on the little mound where there isn't as yet a stone.
 Thank you kindly, I'm sure they'll do, and I promise to heed what you say;
 I'll only just go and lay them there, and then I will come away."

X.

Come, let us go. Yes, down the hill, and home by the winding lane.
 The low-lying fields are suffused with haze, as life is suffused with pain.
 The noon mists gain on the morning sun, so despondency gains on youth;
 We grope, and wrangle, and boast, but Death is the only certain truth.
 O love of life! what a foolish love! we should weary of life did it last.
 While it lingers, it is but a little thing; 'tis nothing at all when past.

XI.

The acorns thicker and thicker lie, the briony limper grows,
 There are mild-wing beads on the leafless brier where once smiled the sweet
 dog-rose.
 You may see the leaves of the primrose push through the litter of sodden
 ground;
 Their pale stars dream in the wintry womb, and the pimpernel sleepeth sound.
 They will awake; shall we awake? Are we more than imprisoned breath?
 When the heart grows weak, then hope grows strong, but stronger than hope
 is Death.

ALFRED AUSTIN.

October, 1878.

BRITISH FINANCE: ITS PRESENT AND FUTURE.

IT is little more than half a century since the Government of this country acknowledged that its financial projects should be checked by some consideration of the effect which taxation may induce on industry. It is allowed by those who have studied English finance that the system under which taxes were imposed without the smallest thought whether the impost was wasteful or even ruinous ceased with those evil days during which Mr. Vansittart was Chancellor of the Exchequer. From that time forward (Mr Vansittart was raised to the peerage in 1823) English financiers gradually, and with great hesitation, but persistently, removed, one after the other, those fiscal hindrances to industry which, despite the rapid progress of mechanical invention, were an effectual bar to the manufacturing and commercial progress of the country. The worst of these impediments was the tax on food—that is, the tax on the raw material of labour. The retention of this tax was defended on various grounds. Some advocates of the corn-laws asserted that these laws had called into existence a vested interest which it might have been unwise to create, but which it was unfair to imperil. Some commented on the danger of depending on foreign supply, and on the risk that such a dependence would induce frequent and violent fluctuations in the exchanges. Some were candid enough to say that, as the inevitable consequences of repeal would be a serious reduction in rents, the balance of the constitution would be deranged, and that the landed interest would be forced to succumb to manufacturers and shopkeepers. The advocates of free trade answered these arguments conclusively and on the most irrefragable principles of political economy. After a mischievous, but pardonable delay (for a statesman may be well excused for hesitating

before he accepts a financial revolution which threatens to be a social revolution) Peel yielded, and the corn-laws were repealed. It is superfluous to show that these sinister predictions were unfulfilled, and that the advocates of free trade were in the right. The political effect of the concession was that England was saved from the convulsions of 1848, as Sir Robert Peel, one of the best traits of whose statesmanship was an accurate estimate of political sympathies and social forces, clearly saw and acknowledged, for he volunteered the opinion to Cobden. Thenceforward free trade became the basis of English finance; manufactures, with a very few exceptions, were relieved from the intrusion of the tax-gatherer; all imposts were gradually removed from food, the last act of this kind being the total repeal of the sugar duties; and the English revenue is now raised from the voluntary consumption of certain comforts and luxuries; from the wages of labour and the interest of capital, when the receipts from either source or both sources exceed a certain amount in annual value; from devises and successions, from contracts, and from the post-office and telegraph service. The only thoroughly vicious tax in the budget is the tax on railway receipts, and this is vicious, partly because it is an impost on one kind of locomotion, and partly because it is levied on the principle of a tithe on produce; *i.e.*, it takes no account of the cost at which the gross returns are gotten. The effect of these reforms, extending from 1823 to nearly the present time, is to be traced in the rapid growth of British manufactures and trade, in the equally rapid rise in the value of land, in the increase of private incomes, and, though to a far less extent, in the rise of wages.

As might be expected from the elasticity of the revenue, the expenditure of Government has increased as rapidly as national wealth has grown, but especially since this country accepted the direct government of India. It is clear that most of the extraordinary expenditure of the United Kingdom is justified on the plea that it is necessary to secure our communications with that dependency, that the greater part of our diplomacy pretends to no higher aim, and can allege or does allege no other motive or interest. It is a singular illustration of the readiness with which the British public entrusts itself, for the present at least, to hereditary politicians and traditional politics, that the most serious and increasing item in its expenditure is incurred on behalf of a dependency which is of so little interest, even in the eyes of Parliament, that a House can hardly be collected for an Indian debate; that any information on Indian affairs is a rare accomplishment; and that Indian finance is still more rarely studied. But it is certain that the strain on the English taxpayer will hereafter be tightened by the demands which are increased with the increasingly close connection of the English Government and the Indian Empire. The purpose of the present article is to point out, if possible, what under the existing system of English finance may be the character

of the sacrifice which the British taxpayer will have hereafter to undergo.

Some time since, a very able and conscientious statist calculated the existing wealth of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom at eight thousand five hundred millions. It is probable, if an economical analysis were made of what constitutes wealth, that Mr. Giffen's estimate might be open to some deductions on the one hand, and gain some increase on another. Still, assuming that these figures are correct, the estimate gives to the thirty-two millions of people in the United Kingdom a sum *per capita* of £265 12s. 6d.; and assuming again that the whole of this wealth is productively employed, and that the rate of interest on such a capital is 4 per cent., this quantity gives an income of £10 12s. 6d. to each individual. In other words, supposing the whole sum were invested as capital bearing interest, without the additional element of wages, whether of labour in the popular sense, or of superintendence, as the cause of profit, strictly so called, the wealth of the United Kingdom would supply each inhabitant with an income which is little more than two-thirds of the annual cost incurred for the maintenance of pauper children in industrial schools. But the estimate of Mr. Giffen, whatever be its merits, has been made the basis of an inference as to the powers which the English nation possesses of bearing an enormous increase of taxation. Nothing affects the imagination more than large numbers, and, when practical questions are to the front, nothing affects it more mischievously. Perhaps few facts have checked provident habits among the working classes so much as the sight of the figures in which the aggregate of their savings is expressed. The wealth they possess seems to be far in excess of their possible risks, and they deal recklessly with their totals. When working men speak to me in a sanguine manner of the funds which they have accumulated in their benefit societies, I always advise them to correct their impressions by dividing the sum among the members of the society, and then calculating what that sum would bring in yearly when invested in the Government savings bank.

The power of bearing taxation depends entirely on the efficiency of labour, whether it be of the capitalist or the labourer, for both are equally in receipt of wages. Now the efficiency of labour implies that the value of the produce of labour is in excess of the cost of production. This cost is, of course, a variable quantity. The cost of production involves the replacement of outlay, the insurance of risk, the recovery of loss by wear and tear, in material and plant, and the charge of maintenance in the case of all industrial agents. Till these requisites of industry are satisfied, there is no margin left for taxation. No government can tax what its subjects must spend; all that it can deal with is what they may spend or, if they please, save. Hence estimates of income are generally delusive. For example, great stress is laid

on the returns of income tax. This return undoubtedly is made with considerable deductions from gross receipts. But it does not, therefore, contain a deduction from what a man must spend, that is, the charge of maintenance in the case of industrial agents. The Income Tax Acts do not allow the taxpayer to subtract from his income the necessary costs of his existence, his house rent, his household bills, the charges of his children's maintenance and education, or those contributions to local taxation from which he derives no industrial profit. It is because the margin of income from which taxation can be derived is ordinarily very narrow, that the limit of direct taxation which can be borne, under our system of charging direct taxes on occupancy and income, is reached at so early a stage, and on so small an apparent percentage of occupancy and income. An income tax of 5*d.* on £350 a year amounts to £7 5*s.* 10*d.*; on £1,000, to £20 16*s.* 8*d.* But the burden in the former case may be far heavier than in that of the latter, because the margin of taxable income in the former case is proportionately, in all likelihood, far less than it is in the latter. Hence it is quite conceivable that under our system of government, in which financial expedients are criticized or permitted by the wealthier classes, an income tax which is a trivial burden to such wealth as supplies an ample margin over necessary expenditure may fall with very great severity on men of narrower incomes, and, while it is an equal percentage in amount, may be a far heavier percentage of sacrifice,—in fact, be a bad form of tithe.

Rather more than half the income of the English Government is derived from two articles of voluntary expenditure, the use of which is of doubtful necessity, and the abuse of which is of undoubted frequency. It has been lately stated, on the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that the duties levied on spirits are nearly, if not quite, at their maximum, that they have reached that point in which, according to Swift's dictum, two and two in the arithmetic of the customs do not make four. The comparatively low taxation of other alcoholic liquors than spirits is justified on the ground that the use of beer and wine is less likely to be harmful than that of spirits. It seems that similar motives to those which induced Sir S. Northcote to avoid an increase of the spirit duties in view of a deficiency, made him very cautious in adding to the duty on tobacco. The budget, indeed, without any such design, is very convenient for the publicans. It is very difficult for these traders to raise the price of retailed spirits, and late legislation has shut them out, except at some risk, from diminishing the strength of their spirits by adding water, or from giving a fiery taste to the article they sell by the infusion of more or less innocuous drugs in their spirits. But the fourpence in the pound on tobacco gives them an opportunity of levying an additional fourpence on the retail price of this article.

The success of English finance, then, as taxation is now distributed,

depends upon the persistency with which the working classes retain their present habits. If the energetic action of the United Kingdom Alliance should prove successful, or if the less minatory but perhaps equally efficient activity of such temperance societies as do not profess to further their machinery by the agency of the parliamentary franchise should materially alter the customs of the mass of Englishmen, a serious question will be put before the financier. That some such result may be expected is at least the fear of the licensed victualling interest. One cannot otherwise account for the resentment which they showed at the last general election towards the Liberal party, the eagerness with which they canvassed on behalf of the Conservatives, and the excessive bitterness which they exhibit on all occasions towards those who are tainted by adhesion to the principle of the Permissive Bill or of temperance movements. The advocates of repression may cry, *Oderint, dum metuant*, but the success of their movement involves a total reconstruction of English finance. And though it may be easy to say that if the people were temperate they would be wealthier, and therefore better able to bear taxation, it is by no means easy to point out what is the direction which the finance of this hypothetical, perhaps remote, future must take.

We may perhaps be pretty certain that no statesman would dream of reimposing taxes on raw material, or an excise on industrial processes. The mischief of such imposts has been so clearly demonstrated by the best kind of experience—the evidence, namely, derived from the great extension of industry since its liberation from these wasteful restraints—that such expedients may be named only to be dismissed. Nor could protective or even reciprocal duties be levied again for similar reasons. Foolish and unpractical men have talked about reciprocity, but the consumer has learnt the advantages of his position since the great reforms which began thirty years or more ago. He is well assured that universal reciprocity is universal loss, and that limited reciprocity is class legislation of the most barefaced kind at his expense. Besides, the existing generation, its numbers, its industry, its habits of life, its future, and its hopes, are the products of free trade, and it is certain that any interference with the conditions under which English industry has grown and lives would induce serious loss and still more serious discontent. Men can accommodate themselves to the consequences of a false economical theory if time be given them to settle themselves and develop their energies, though of course their progress under such circumstances is retarded. But to reverse the process, to induce restraint on freedom, and to force society to go down to a lower standpoint, is and always has been fatal. I remember, when a boy, to have seen a paving flag in Southampton, which had been raised from its place by the growth of a mushroom under it. So industry did make progress under protective restraints, though its progress was difficult. But no one doubts what the result

would be if one let a paving flag fall, however gently, on a mushroom which had grown naturally and freely. There can be no question as to what would be the effect of such restraint as comes from financial interference with free industries.

There is nothing, moreover, so difficult to impose as a new tax, except, perhaps, it is to reimpose an old tax which has been proved to be mischievous. It took a century and a-half to reconcile the English people to the excise, quite irrespectively of the effects of an excise on industry. The extension of the malt tax of sixpence a bushel to Scotland in 1713, carried as it was by the Tory Government of Harley, very nearly led to the repeal of the union with Scotland. So energetically did the Scotch people resent the taxes on consumption, which formed increasingly the revenue of the English Government during and after the war of the Spanish succession, that the Scotch customs throughout the eighteenth century rarely yielded anything beyond the cost of collection. Rather than submit to the imposition of succession duties on real estate, or money devised for the purchase of real estate, the country gentlemen who supported Pitt were ready to leave him in a minority at the most critical stage of the Continental war. Rather than endure the continuance of the income tax after the cessation of the same war, the same party was eager to debase the currency, to defraud the public creditor, and to endure Vansittart's budgets. In finance, it is not always the best tax that can be imposed; but the tax which will be most readily endured, or can be most conveniently enforced. Now, under the unreformed Parliament, an unrepresented people might be made the victim of the worst fiscal oppression, indeed was; but this time has passed away.

There are certain taxes, precisely identical with those levied at present, which will probably be imposed at an early date, which should have been imposed long ago. The most notable of these is probate duty and legacy duty on real estate, and on money devised for the purchase of land, to an amount equal to that at present imposed on successions of personalty, coupled with a compulsory register of all conveyances, grants, and gifts, in order to effectually prevent *donationes inter vivos*, a kind of fraud on the revenue which it is obviously more easy for the wealthy to commit than it is for those in moderate circumstances. Nothing is more absurd than to say that the present exemption is defensible on the ground that land is liable to peculiar local burdens. Most of the so-called burdens are really beneficial outlay, as for instance that on roads, and to a great extent the poor rate, and the county police. Not a little of the burden is borne by those to whom the outlay is not at all or only slightly beneficial, for it is clear that a good road is of more importance to the producer than it is to the consumer, to the seller of produce than to the buyer of produce, and cheap labour, the principal consequent of poor-law relief, to the employer of labour than to the purchaser of the products of labour. It

is probably not too much to say that the taxes levied on occupancy for current beneficial outlay, and for permanent improvements, the ultimate benefit of which will accrue or has accrued to the owners of real estate, are far in excess of those contributions to local objects which landowners pay either directly or indirectly.

Nor, again, is there any reason whatever why the vast real and personal estate of corporations should be exempted from succession duties. It is doubtful whether endowments, even for the best objects, do more certain good than they do certain mischief; it is obvious that they are protected by the State as much as the property of individuals is, and that, by a neglect which is not defensible, they escape that taxation to which the devolution of personal estate is always liable, and to which real estate is, in a modified degree. There is a plausible excuse for the remission of taxation on such charitable institutions as are undoubtedly beneficent, as on the permanent estate of medical hospitals. There is none for excusing the property of the London companies, of the universities and colleges, of the endowed schools, of ecclesiastical corporations, sole and aggregate, and of ordinary charities, from a special tax which shall represent, on a reasonable calculation, the same sum as would be paid, on an average, for the succession to private property equal in amount. The effectual security of private property, as every sane man sees, is the chief guarantee of social order and social progress, but nobody doubts that corporate estates stand on a wholly different footing from private property, and that at any rate they should not be exempt from the charges to which all private property is liable.

There is yet a tax remaining, that on property. It is unreasonable and unjust, but also impossible, that income should escape taxation, either in the form of taxes on contracts, on expenditure, or on receipts; for income is the most fruitful source of taxable wealth, and the offices of government are directly and indirectly invoked on behalf of those who are engaged in industry. But as the income of wealth and capital is protected in its acquisition and enjoyment, so a further protection is accorded to wealth whether it is employed with a view to profit, or is merely the subject of enjoyment. It is impossible to entirely escape from Mr. Mill's famous assertion that land, the fertility of which is not, except to a very limited extent, the act of the owner, but the gift of nature or the result of diffused intelligence, is peculiarly and properly the subject of special taxation. It may be doubted whether Mr. Mill's proposal to appropriate all the "unearned income" of land, after the State shall have defined the period in which such an unearned income shall cease to be the property of the individual proprietor, would not seriously check the disposition to improvement; but there is much reason that the State should insist on sharing a part of that accretion of value, which is, as far as the owner of the soil is concerned, independent of any exertion or outlay on his part. But

there is also a large amount of property in this country which wholly escapes taxation, though it is certainly protected by the State. Furniture, plate, pictures, and books are taxed in the United States, and might very properly be taxed in England; would be if the income tax were, what it is falsely alleged to be, a property tax. There seems no reason why a gallery of pictures should not be made the object of taxation, especially since, as is often the case, this kind of property, or, indeed, that in most other articles of *virtu*, is a very safe investment, which is sure to bring ultimately a very considerable profit, if it be made with a very moderate amount of judgment. They who advocate the abandonment of all kinds of indirect taxation, when asked what substitute they would make for that which the Government would relinquish, always answer that a property tax levied on all wealth, whether used productively or not, would supply the necessities of Government easily.

It is possible that persons who, from conscientious conviction, or from considerations of health, or from parsimony, abstain from those articles on which indirect taxation is levied, may *quoad hæc*, derive all the benefits of government without contributing to its charges. Such persons allege sometimes, that the articles from which they abstain are a notable cause why some of the charges of government are heavy, since the abuse of these articles is the origin of crime and poverty. But the heaviest charges of government are not incurred for these objects, but for the liquidation of annual payments made in consideration of obligations entered into long since, for the costs of the national defence, and for the expenses of the home administration. I am aware that Mr. Mill has recognized the objection that abstinence of various kinds may enable an individual to escape all or nearly all indirect taxation, but I think that his answer to the objection is one of the weakest points in the reasoning of his great work, the abiding merit of which is the admirable method in which he has systematized his subject. It is plain that a person who pays income tax, and consumes such commodities as are made the objects of indirect taxation, contributes to the public income in a double capacity.

The canons of taxation, derived by Adam Smith from the French economists, but stated by him with great clearness and precision, have long been accepted as almost axiomatic. A little thought will show that the last three canons are really illustrations of the first, which gives the apology for taxation, and insists that it should be equitable. It is clear that uncertain taxes, inconvenient taxes, and, by parity of reasoning, taxes which are costly in proportion to their productiveness, are severally inequitable taxes. But while all are agreed in the principle of Adam Smith's canons, the natural distaste felt towards all taxes, which must be to a greater or less degree a diminution of enjoyments, has made people very unwilling to face the real significance of the first canon of taxation when it comes to be argued.

The critical words in this canon are—"The subjects of any State ought to contribute towards the support of the Government, as nearly as possible, in proportion to their respective abilities, that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State." It is clear that the most important terms in this rule are "abilities" and "enjoy." The apology for taxation is discovered in the service which a Government renders: the extent of each individual's contribution is to be measured by his abilities, or, as Smith further explains it, by his opportunities of enjoyment. There are persons in all countries (they are happily becoming few in the United Kingdom) whose incomes or earnings represent only a bare subsistence. Such people exist by millions in India. Any attempt to tax them except to an infinitesimal amount, as in India by the salt tax, would not only be inequitable, but must be unsuccessful, for if they have no more than is absolutely necessary for subsistence, taxation must mean death or disease at least. It is well known that taxation of this kind impoverished the Roman empire, and finally made it the unresisting prey of the barbarians. The same cause without doubt has caused the desolation of those vast tracts of Western Asia which were once the home of great empires, of abundant opulence, and of high civilization. The ravages of war are rapidly retrieved, but nothing can remedy the ruin induced by bad government, especially if a government takes the line which bad governments almost invariably do take, that of bad finance. The first duty of government is to accord the freest possible field for labour. The second is to put the least possible hindrance on the process by which wealth is naturally distributed. The third is to impose its necessary charges with a constant eye towards effecting, as far as those who contribute the tax are concerned, an equality of sacrifice. Very few governments satisfy those conditions. But it may be safely asserted that when they do, the perils of discontent rapidly pass away; and that till they do, society is always in danger, however calm its external features may seem.

No better illustration can be given of the unwillingness with which men face the true meaning of Adam Smith's canon, than the objection alleged by Ricardo against taxes on capital, or, as Mr. Mill has varied it, taxes on savings. It is plain that the products of human labour are either devoted towards the maintenance of labour and such forces as are subsidiary to human labour, or to the extension of industry, or, in other words, that products are divided into two classes, that which must be consumed in order that labour may subsist and continue, and that which may be saved. The former, as has already been stated, cannot *ex hypothesi* be reduced without destroying those agencies from which all products are derived, and therefore by parity of reasoning cannot be taxed. It remains, then, that taxation can fall only on what may be saved. Now that which may be saved is either consumed on enjoyments, or employed as fresh capital. In any case it, and it alone,

can be made the object of taxation, and there is a sufficient answer to those who say that one should not tax capital or savings, in the fact, that one cannot tax anything else, unless we are to say that a Government should stimulate the habit of economy by imposing all its fiscal charges on consumption. The English Government has never quite ventured on this. But it went a great way towards such a system during the eighteenth century, and up to the imposition of the legacy duty and income tax of Pitt, and again from the repeal of the income tax at the close of the Continental war to its reimposition in 1842. What the effect was is written in the commercial history of England during the twenty-seven years of the latter period. *There was no lack of capital, but a ruinous depression of industry.*

It may be safely asserted that any attempt to resort to those fiscal expedients which were adopted and continued up to the time of Peel's last administration would be impossible, because it would be manifestly destructive. For just as deteriorated morality is a far worse symptom than imperfect morality, whether it be in individuals or in nations, just as the threatened revival of personal government should excite far more indignation and resentment in our day than the absolutism of James II. and the intrigues of George III. did in theirs, so a successful resuscitation of protection or reciprocity would be far more serious to English industry than the retention of protection is to American, Colonial, or European progress. It is a penalty or a safeguard of being once in the right that it is far more disastrous to afterwards fall into the wrong, to attempt the undoing of an honest past. The rule holds good in all kinds of public action. It is pretty well understood that England was driven in the first instance into the great Continental war in order that the Government in power might stave off the demand for parliamentary reform. It is true that in course of time the continuance of the struggle was a political necessity, but it is not the less true that its commencement was a political crime. We had our retribution in the miseries which were inflicted on labour, in the trammels which were put upon industry, and in the low tone of political morality and political aims which followed on the conclusion of the war. The action of England at the time when the French Revolution broke out, when she preferred intervention to a discreet neutrality, is not remotely connected with the present state of things, in which Europe is turned into a vast camp, and the progress of industry is cramped by the charges of government and the costly rivalry of military defences. For ourselves, we elected to adopt a financial system which isolated us to a great extent from the markets of Europe, and we suggested to other communities that Protectionist policy which we found it necessary, as a condition of our industrial life, to abandon thirty years ago.

But if, after the reform which we have so wisely adopted, the extension of indirect taxation in certain directions would cripple

industry, so in other directions, where additional taxation would affect consumption, it is expedient that Governments should guard themselves against the equally serious danger of resentment. It is said, for example, that the duties levied on spirits are at their maximum, and that any attempt to increase the rate would revive the practice of smuggling, or of illicit distillation, offences which, it appears, are now nearly extinct. So it is said that the additional duty which was imposed in the spring on tobacco is destined to supply a fresh illustration of the dictum stated above, that in the arithmetic of the customs two and two do not always make four, for that there is a prospect that the enlarged duty will not be as productive as the less, a notable diminution having taken place in consumption. It seems too that, to judge from the police reports, attempts to smuggle tobacco are becoming more frequent, and it is probable, if such be the case, that only a percentage of the offenders are detected. We may infer, then, that as it is no longer possible, without seriously disturbing the balance of industry in England, to revive any of the old taxes on raw materials, food, or production, so it is not safe to enlarge those duties on consumption which are already endured. It is clear, then, that there is only one other source of taxation which is available for the financier, and that this is a tax on property, for the various taxes on contracts are like those on consumption, apparently at their maximum of productiveness.

When the income tax was revived by Peel, in 1842, the impost was justified on three grounds—first, it was necessary to meet the serious excess of expenditure over income; secondly, the great financial changes which Peel made in the tariff necessitated the creation of some tax which should serve as a guarantee against still greater indebtedness; and thirdly, it was alleged that the tax would be temporary and should last only during the time that the experiment of an altered tariff was being tried and watched. The first two of these reasons very speedily ceased to be urgent, for within ten years of Peel's tariff reforms, and, indeed, in consequence of these reforms, the revenue was greatly in excess of the expenditure. But the pledge that the income tax should be repealed has never been kept; though, before he came into office, the present Prime Minister declared that he would do away with it, and in his address to the public prior to the general election of 1874 the then Prime Minister announced that the abolition of the income tax formed part of the plan which he contemplated in a new system of finance. What that new scheme was no one but Mr. Gladstone appears to know. But it cannot be doubted that this statesman must have contemplated the extension of the probate and legacy duties to real estate and to the property of corporations, and that he possibly intended to borrow from American finance the practice of imposing a percentage upon the value of such property as does not contribute in the person of its owner to any of the charges incurred

by the Government which protects it. For it is perfectly certain that no system of finance in England can effect an increase of the revenue except by an income tax or a property tax, or by both, unless, indeed, public expenditure is to be greatly reduced. Nor, if such a reduction did take place, would it be equitable that the revenue should be raised from consumption and taxes on contracts only, because, as we have already seen, large classes of people might escape the charges of government, while they benefit by its operations.

After the income tax seemed likely to be enduring, but in the earlier years of its existence, an attempt was made to show that it was an equivalent for the remission of taxes on expenditure, and that it was far lighter than the taxes which were remitted. But such a line of argument could not have been valid, unless it could be shown that the remitted taxes were inevitable, and universal in their incidence, and that the income tax was of such a nature that it could not be shifted by any process from the first payer to any other person. Now, the possibility of shifting the income tax in some cases and not in others is one of the facts which make the incidence of the present income tax unfair, the other being that it taxes as a rule property and income in the case of schedule D, and taxes income as a rule in all the other schedules but the last. As it is clear that no future financier will be able to dispense with the income tax, unless he substitutes for it a tax on property, and estimates the capital value of the power from which a precarious income is derived, it is important to show how these facts vitiate the income tax in its present form, suggest if they do not justify fraudulent returns, and induce an irritation at the impost which is dangerous to its efficiency and extension.

There is always a large class of persons who are engaged in such callings as allow of an indefinite extension of business, provided a connection is secured. In these callings custom has prescribed a minimum income. If the outgoings of those who earn the minimum are increased by a tax, the tendency is to throw this tax on those with whom such persons have to deal. Apparently the competition of other persons would tend to reduce profits or wages, but custom regulates prices to a very large extent, and they who ply a calling, whether it be retail trade or a profession, the receipts of which may be indefinitely extended, have no motive to lower their prices beyond what may be necessary in order to secure a connection, and, as is proved by the costs incurred for advertisements, very likely do not even do this. There is every opportunity, then, for such persons to follow the practice of those who put the taxes which they are supposed to pay out of profits on those who deal with them. That they do so, was indirectly admitted by those London shopkeepers who, in a deputation to Mr. Lowe, complained of the Civil Service Stores, and alleged, as an argument against the existence of these stores, that the retail trader, being called on to pay income tax, was unable to sell his

goods so cheaply as the storekeepers could who were exempted from this liability. And what applies to traders will equally apply to professional persons whose connection can be indefinitely extended. At the present time the charges exacted by the custom of solicitors and brokers in the transaction of business are very much larger than they were thirty years ago, to say nothing of the indirect gains which these personages are reported to make under those secret agencies on which commission is obtained, and which are, of course, really levied on their clients. It is not, perhaps, too much to say that the sale of land, and the reinvestment of the proceeds of the sale in Stock Exchange securities, is ordinarily accompanied by charges which, in the aggregate, amount to a full year's income on the capital sum, or seven times the amount of the tax levied by Government on the purchasers of land or securities. But the prices of all products, with three exceptions,—house accommodation, meat, and dairy produce,—have fallen greatly, and will, owing to causes easily visible to the economist, still continue to fall, while the reason why the three above-named products are still high-priced is to be found in causes which are easily demonstrable and are entirely artificial.

The existing income tax is levied on property and income in the case of many persons who are in the receipt of terminable incomes; is levied on income only in the case of permanent or heritable incomes. For example, a clergyman has been educated for his calling at, say, interest and compound interest included, a cost of £3,000. His friends or relations, using the power which the law allows them, have purchased the next presentation of a living, which represents, parsonage included, an income of £700 a year, for £4,000 more. Here, then, a sum of £7,000 has been expended in order to obtain during the life of the occupant 10 per cent. on the outlay which has been incurred in order to enable him to procure his income. Now, the imposition of an income tax on such a revenue to the same amount as that levied on a heritable or permanent estate is plainly to tax property as well as income in the former case. Either such a person should be taxed on the market value of that from which he derives his income (in this case £7,000, at, say, 4 per cent.), or his taxable income should be reduced by all the amount which it would be necessary to lay by and invest every year in order to replace the outlay. Let us suppose that he resolves on effecting an insurance which will recover the sum which has been expended on him, at thirty years of age. In such a case he would have to pay about £170 a year in order to make such an insurance, and in equity at least this deduction should be allowed on the gross sum liable to duty. Of course, the savings of no person with such an income take this form. But if he be the father of two children only, he will recover the charges of his own and his wife's bringing up in the education of his children. In the early days of Pitt's income tax this principle was acknowledged, a deduction being

made on the gross income for the expenses of a family. But the deduction was allowed on all incomes, not on precarious and temporary incomes only.

To say that such principles as could make an income tax equitable are beyond the powers of financiers, either means that the Chancellor of the Exchequer is incompetent to distribute taxation on equitable grounds, and therefore should be superseded by some one who can, or is an indirect way of refusing to do justice. It is not, indeed, certain that those who really pay an unfair, and in some cases a multiplied income tax, can make their case heard in the Legislature. The House of Commons listens to no unrepresented interest, and the charges ordinarily attending the candidature of a member of Parliament leave the represented interests, though a fragment of the labour, the intelligence, and the wealth of the country, in an exceptionally strong position, of which, indeed, they are not slow to take advantage. Now, an equitable revision of the income tax would bring into clear relief the great advantage of a property tax, which should embrace all kinds of property, and which, of course, should treat the power of earning an income as a form of property, the capital value of which should be estimated as property so long as it is productive, but as property a portion of the productiveness of which should be recognized as a sinking fund, and therefore not liable to taxation. It may be observed that, up to the beginning of the civil war of 1642, nearly all the extraordinary charges of government were derived from property taxes, though the assessment was unequal, owing to the fact that the valuation of the several districts had been unaltered for centuries.

But even if a genuine property tax were levied, and the probate and legacy duties were extended to real estate, with the provision that an equivalent should be paid from the revenue of corporations, a graver question, certain at some time which is not very remote to come into prominence, remains. It is: Does an equal percentage levied on all kinds of property beyond that which is necessary for existence, and without consideration of the means of enjoyment possessed by the respective contributors, represent an equality of sacrifice? We can easily conceive some such reasoning as the following:—"The administration of public affairs is carried on in this country by certain members of a very limited class, the territorial and mercantile plutocracy. For centuries they have distributed the burden of taxation. At first much of this was borne by themselves, for the ancient revenue of the English Crown was derived from considerable taxes on landed estate and on accumulated wealth. In a moment of delirium, when the nation was relieved from the presence of a stern military rule and a vigorous but arbitrary despotism, these astute landowners emancipated their estates at the cost of the general public. Ever since that time they have remained pretty steadfast to this tradition, till at last nineteen-twentieths of the revenue was raised from consumption and

from personal property. They have, furthermore, used their opportunities in Parliament to transfer as far as possible the traditional and legitimate charges on land to the mass of occupiers, and at last have assumed so invidious a position that it has been found necessary and possible to force them into accepting that share of the public burdens which they previously put on other shoulders. They no longer enjoy the functions of government, its prestige, its indirect advantages, its opportunities for a career, without contributing in any notable degree to its expenses. But, on grounds of justice and policy, this is not all that they can properly be called on to surrender. Equal rates of payment from unequal amounts of revenue do not represent an equality of sacrifice. A tax of 5 per cent. on ten thousand a year is not the same burden that a tax of 5 per cent. on three hundred a year is, even though the source of income in each case be equally stable. The recipient of the former income would not have to curtail a single enjoyment, relinquish a single pleasure, abandon a single legitimate aim, if he were to be called on to pay five times the percentage of taxation which the recipient of a limited income is bidden to contribute. Such a system of taxation, too, will make the ruling classes cautious in committing the country to the experiments of a costly policy, to the extension of empire, to the extravagance of a luxurious court, to the increase of a vast number of superfluous dependents on the State. It will force them to adopt reforms in the conduct of private business, and to curtail the enormous charges which custom enables certain professions to impose on those who are forced to employ superfluous services. And lastly, such a system of graduated taxation on property will operate as a wholesome sumptuary law. Unlike the sumptuary laws of former times, which attempted, by limiting the expenditure of the poor, to keep them constantly in a degraded condition, such a system would lop off those excrescences on society which have been endured as yet, but which are seen to be dangerous, demoralizing, and injurious. The superfluous wealth of the rich, it may be alleged, is expended in maintaining a number of persons whose gains are wholly useless, if not noxious, to society, and whose expenditure renders the lot of useful industry harder and less hopeful. The wisest jurists and economists have alleged that the distribution of wealth is a matter of human institution only. It is much more true, or at least much more important, that the distribution of public burdens should be equitable. Now, there is no equity in taxation unless it be founded on the principle of an equality of sacrifice. No one gains more benefit from government, from order, from the steady growth of industry, than the very rich do. It is only fair that they should compensate society for the advantages they enjoy by the very moderate sacrifice of that the residue of which will be amply sufficient for any reasonable pleasure which they may desire, and any harmless enjoyment which they may wish for."

Mr. Mill repudiated in the most emphatic manner the proposal of a graduated income tax, by which he understood, not merely an increase in the percentage levied on property as the amount of the property increased, but a proposal that realized property should alone be made liable to a property tax. It may be conceded that the latter suggestion would be unfair and inexpedient, though not on the ground commonly alleged, that it would tend to the diminution of capital. On the contrary it would increase capital; for in the first place taxation which does not check production enforces the economy of capital, and in the next the expenditure of Government is a diversion of wealth from one object to another, an operation which may be disagreeable to the individual who suffers it, but which may not be anything but an advantage to those who are employed from the fund, or even to the public. For example, if such a taxation were imposed on the rich as would extinguish horse-racing, and the sums thus derived were employed in productive industry, as, for example, the construction of reproductive public works, every person but the taxpayer and those who live by horse-racing would be benefited. Mr. Mill saw and argued out this point, though not quite clearly. But it is not a little singular that this great statist, in the later years of his life at least, urged the propriety of a form of taxation which is not only graduated, but directed against one kind of property, and especially that property which is held in large masses, when he advised that the "unearned increase" of landed property should in future be appropriated by the State. That he would have advocated such a form of taxation in the case of peasant proprietors, the unearned increase in the value of whose property is developed by the same causes as increase the rent-roll of a duke, is highly improbable. He was led to the inferences which he arrived at from seeing the very unequal and artificial distribution of wealth in this country, especially in the case of real estate.

A graduated income tax, *i.e.*, a percentage which increases with the means of those who contribute it, was the expedient by which the extraordinary expenses of ancient Athens were met. The liturgies were taxes imposed on the wealthy, partly to satisfy the religious obligations of the State, partly to maintain its supremacy at sea. There has been no epoch in which the principles of political justice were debated with greater acuteness or with a livelier interest than in the best ages of the Athenian Republic. Yet not only were these charges not thought unfair, but the wealthier citizens readily undertook the burden, and vied with each other in carrying out the obligation in the fullest and most thorough manner. So when the Athenian people entered into the last struggle for their political independence, they levied a property tax on a graduated system. Even in our own country, when Pitt imposed the first income tax of 1798, it was graduated. It began at £60 a year, and on this amount was at the

rate of a one-hundred-and-twentieth part of the tax-payer's income, rising by slow stages to 10 per cent. on £200 a year and upwards.

It would be easy to show that under an electoral system which closes the House of Commons to all but the rich, while the sacrifice of taxation is chiefly borne by the poorer middle classes and the labourer, economical government is not to be expected. It is very little hardship, if any, to those who constitute an overwhelming majority of the Lower House on both sides, if the income tax be greatly increased. They need exercise no self-denial if the income tax were two shillings in the pound. It is because this deterrent is not sensibly felt by the House, that estimates are entirely in the hands of Government, and that no criticism of their details is successful. In the last century, as is well known, men made fortunes and founded families on the plunder of the public. It is matter of notoriety that the debts of the most penurious monarch who has sat on the English throne since the Hanoverian settlement was effected, those of George III., were contracted through bribes bestowed on members of Parliament, and that the House of Commons, when it paid them, was engaged in supplying the means for the corruption of its own members. But for more than a generation the career of a public man has been a loss rather than a gain to him. The last great scandal by which both Houses were compromised was the sale of votes in consideration of enormous compensation for land taken by railways. It is not easy to say how much of the capital stock of the old railways was created by these exceptional compensations. But Parliament itself put a stop to this kind of corruption, not indeed too soon, for we owe the fact that railway travelling is more costly in England than in any other country to a practice which was nothing better than parliamentary bribery. Nor is there reason to believe that the growing, perhaps unnecessary expense, of the public service, is due to any self-seeking on the part of those who vote the public money. In these days no one is likely to make a fortune out of any public employment whatever. The commonplaces of popular orators who declaim about the vast direct and indirect representation of the services in the House of Commons are, as regards the motives which affect the House, calumnies, though not intentional calumnies. That Governments will spend public money in order to get the reputation of liberality, or vigour, or patriotism is probable enough, and is sometimes admitted by them. But the fact that they can do so is entirely the result of what has been stated, that the representation of the English people in Parliament is of such a character that no opportunity is given for the pinch of taxation to make itself felt. As Parliament suffers nothing serious by its own extravagance, it cannot comprehend how it is that other people do suffer. As those who do suffer most are a diminishing fraction in the mass of electoral forces, the difficulty of understanding the sacrifices which increased expenditure puts on them is increased by the growing impotence of their

resentment. There is an association which has for its object the repeal of the income tax. It receives, we may conclude, very little support, for it is plain that the revenue of the country must be supplemented under our existing liabilities; that it cannot be increased out of consumption; that direct taxes are the only alternative; and that Parliament, being very unwilling to tax property, will tax income.

There are two facts, however, the incidence of which is beginning to be seen, which will render a revision of expenditure necessary, and will probably force on a reconstruction of British finance. These are, first, the unquestionable exaltation in the value of gold, and the consequent depression of general prices. The other is the condition of the Indian revenue, and the indirect charges imposed on the English people for the maintenance of English supremacy in India. If, as the best informed people tell us, there is no perceptible rise in the price of commodities in those countries where silver is the legal currency, the difference between the value of silver as measured by gold, now and ten years ago, gives a fair index in the rise of the price of the latter metal. If, as is argued with much show of reason, the annual product of the gold mines is not in excess of what is annually needed for the wear and tear of gold currencies, and is quite insufficient to supply the demand for the new gold currencies, we must infer that the value of gold will continue to rise, unless we assert the paradox that the value of the precious metals is unaffected by the demands of a currency. Nor is the fact that the first great displacement of the existing stocks of gold, consequent on the payment of the French indemnity after 1871, was followed by an enormous inflation of prices in Germany any difficulty. If a nation gets money without earning it by fair labour, it gets the box of Pandora. The great spoil of Gaul in the first century before our era, accumulated by Julius Cæsar, was the beginning of the financial ruin of Rome. The spoliation of the native races in the New World, the extortion of metallic wealth by conquest, and by the compulsory labour of the aborigines in the Spanish mines, as much caused the downfall of Spain as the war which it waged in the Low Countries did. Wealth which is not gotten by industry is worse than fairy gold.

It is idle to assign the present depression of prices to one cause, and it is not the purpose of this paper to attempt an enumeration of the causes which have brought it about. But it cannot be doubted that the increasing dearness of gold has contributed to the result, and, if it has contributed, that it will not be the least permanent of these causes. If it be operative we shall find that a great depreciation will take place in the value of what economists call fixed capital, and thereby a diminution of the profit which industry derives from this kind of active wealth. We shall see a decline in rents which is not to be measured merely by the general average of depreciation, for it is a law of wages, that they increase slowly when prices are rising, and decrease slowly

when prices are falling—a law which the history of labour-prices in the fifteenth century, when prices were falling, and the same kind of records in the sixteenth century, when prices rose rapidly, proves to demonstration. But on the other hand, creditors, both public and private, are proportionately better off, customary payments partake of the intrinsic rise in value, and unless a large reduction be made in that kind of expenditure which Governments voluntarily assume, the charges of government become progressively more onerous. If, for example, the price of commodities procured by industry has diminished by 10 per cent., and a greater depreciation, as would certainly be the case, has been induced on fixed capital and land, the cost of government, the amount collected remaining the same, is increased by all the amount of the depreciation, while the burden or sacrifice of taxation is rendered more severe by the fact that the means from which it may be met are narrowed. Nor must it be forgotten that the enormous indebtedness of foreign countries to England assists in making the decline of prices more sensible here than elsewhere, as it also enables England to choose the form in which the foreign debtor may be made to pay his obligations. But of all kinds of expenditure that of the customary charges of government is the most incapable of reduction. If it be hard to check the impulse towards greater outlay, it is still harder to induce economies on outlay already become habitual, for though the services may be checked in their demand for increased votes, there are powerful influences which they can bring to bear on a Government which seems disposed to be thrifty, and to make its thrift bear the form of retrenchment. Opposition to a vote of money is rarely successful in the House of Commons, though perhaps some check would be imposed on grants if the particulars of supply were submitted to a committee of both Houses, or at least of the Commons, which should be independent of the Government for the time being, and which should report on the necessities of the department for which supply is demanded, and on the effect of the tax by which it is purposed that the need should be satisfied.

Still more serious, however, is the Indian question. It is probable that, excluding the charges of the public debt, and those of the civil service in the United Kingdom, fully one-half of the cost of the services is incurred in maintaining the road to India, in the maintenance of a policy which shall demonstrate our determination to keep India, and in creating means from which the necessary English contingent of those forces which are to be employed in order to maintain British ascendancy in India will be forthcoming. Since the formation of the great European armies we have been clearly rendered unable to exercise that influence over European politics and the balance of power which we did exercise from the accession of William III. to the Battle of Waterloo. We have seen treaty after treaty, the observance of which we have guaranteed, violated without effectual remonstrance.

We have even accepted a principle, which is more ingenious than creditable, that the breach of a treaty does not create an obligation that the treaty should be maintained by force of arms, unless all those who are under the obligation agree to act in concert. It is manifest that such a rule reduces a treaty to the level of a merely temporary arrangement, which will be set aside when any one of the consenting parties thinks it convenient to withdraw from the agreement, or to repudiate it in his own interest. We are quite aware that the colonies are, in a military point of view, a weakness rather than a strength to England, and by giving them the fullest powers of self-government, by allowing them to enact what revenue laws they may please, however hurtful such laws may seem to our manufactures and commerce, and by constantly informing them that the tie between them and the home country is one which it is in their power to keep or sever, we have instructed them indirectly but effectively that they must stand on their own defence. But we spare nothing which may keep up our communications with India. There was a time when the occupation of Gibraltar was considered useful as a means for maintaining the place of England in the councils of Europe. It is now of no value for such an object, but is merely the first of a chain of forts which is intended to guarantee the road to India. Our whole Eastern policy is parcel of the same purpose. The dislike felt towards the Russian Government by persons who have very considerable influence in English politics is due to a great variety of causes which it is often inconvenient to avow publicly, and which it would sometimes be hardly decent to avow. But the ordinary ground on which this dislike is justified is the menace which the advance of Russia in the East is to English supremacy in India. Whether the manner in which resistance to the reputed designs of Russia has been made is or is not the best that could have been made in view of this contemplated peril is a question which dispassionate persons would find very little difficulty in answering.

To judge from the conduct of Parliament, however, nothing would seem to be less interesting to the Houses of Parliament. It is true that very few members of either House know anything, and could know anything, of India. But very few members of the House do know, or could know, anything of politics. The rank and file of the House of Commons is made up of successful tradesmen, of ambitious lawyers, of country gentlemen, of elder sons and younger sons, who have neither knowledge nor interest in any higher politics than those of a vestry, or a chamber of commerce, or a county board, or the prospects of professional advancement. They can be got together to vote on subjects of greater or less domestic importance. But on the question of the greatest importance—that with which the whole foreign policy and most of the finance of the country is concerned—they know nothing, and will hear nothing. Rash experiments are made with the Indian

Civil Service, and the subject is treated as a trivial detail. The revenue of India is to those who have studied it a problem of the greatest difficulty, for it is said to be so oppressive in its incidence as to check the progress of the country, to be derived from sources so questionable as to shock the commonest principles of justice, to be inadequate for the wants of government, and to be withal precarious. But it is very difficult to get a House together for an Indian debate. Since India has been annexed to England, or, as some prefer to put it, since England has been annexed to India, far less interest is felt in Parliament towards the greatest and incomparably the costliest of the possessions of England than was felt in the days of the Company, when England did not spend a penny on the Peninsula, but employed all her military resources for Continental complications.

To the great mass of the English people, to all indeed but the holders of Indian stock, to those in receipt of Indian pensions, and to those who have a special interest in the country because their relations have temporarily settled in the country as planters and traders, the possession of India represents no advantage whatever. There is no reason to believe that if we did not possess the country our trade with it would seriously suffer. We do not, as the Company did, limit the benefits of our trade to the English people, and to a privileged corporation. We do not control the finance of India in the interests of British trade, for the cotton-spinners have expostulated with some warmth on the imposition of customs duties on cotton goods which are not counterpoised by a domestic excise. But it is certain that if we did not possess India, and therefore were free from our present liabilities on behalf of the road to India, we might undertake to make good all losses which would ensue from the severance, and effect a vast reduction in the public expenditure by the bargain. No country ever yet administered the affairs of a dependency on the plan adopted by the English in the government of India. We derive no direct profit from our holding, but incur a vast annual expense, in return for which the British taxpayer obtains no countervailing advantage whatever.

But this country, so costly to the English people at present, is, we are told on the best authority, unable to provide the means for the extraordinary charges of a war, entered upon either for the creation of a scientific frontier, whatever that may mean, or in order to demonstrate, as some say, that the central Government of India cannot with safety submit to sullen or suspicious behaviour on the part of native princes, though they be politically independent, or as others allege, in order to occupy ground which may be a century hence conterminous with the Russian frontier. Not the least capable of our military authorities tell us that our present frontier is the best for all contingencies, and it is probably safe, when military authorities differ as

to the value of a frontier, some saying that the present is the best, some that the line must be advanced, to conclude with those who deprecate any change. But there is an ominous agreement as to the inability of India to pay the charges which will be incurred by this change of front, and there are not a few who say that she should not if she could. If such a view is correct, the creation of the Indian Empire will have landed us at last in a situation which has never been recognized and accepted as yet, that the English people will be taxed in order to serve purposes which are solely connected with the Indian policy of the Indian Government—that is, we shall suffer ourselves to be put in the position against which a century ago our own American colonies were in arms. If this does come to pass, India will be soon as odious to the English people as Hanover was a century ago; and the English people will have it in their power, as they had not a century ago, to make the effect of their resentment felt. The charges at present incurred by the English people on behalf of the Indian Empire are masked, and can be explained away or accounted for on grounds which as yet satisfy the mass of the people. It will be far more difficult to perform this operation if England is called upon, for imperial purposes, to pay a direct subsidy to the Indian Government.

Stripped of fictions which it will be probably expedient at an early date to disavow, since fine phrases, when they are dissected, only irritate existing discontent, the justification of the English government in India is to be found in the facts that, by a process closely resembling that by which the Roman republic extended its arms beyond Italy, though with far less wisdom in detail, we have gradually occupied the Indian peninsula; and, far less thoroughly than Rome did, have made the princes of the country, to whom we permit a nominal independence, understand that we permit no hostile policy on their part. In return, we guarantee them the possession of their dominions, and though we debar them from making war on each other, we do not prohibit them from getting the means together by which they can hereafter make war against us, or from crippling Indian finance by affording a retreat to those who intercept most of the profit which comes from the industry which we protect, but who do not contribute to the revenue which protects the industry; for it is well understood that the wealthiest natives, usurers and traders, seek an asylum from taxation at the courts of the native princes. And next, having destroyed the native governments, or having left them without aims, the guides of a civilized government; or risks, the checks on uncivilized governments, we are bound to carry out the duty which has grown or stolen upon us. Now, no heavier scourge can be inflicted on a people than the bestowal of power on a ruler who need obey nothing but his own instincts, and has hitherto had the field over which he can obey his instincts narrowed. To remove British rule from India would be to introduce anarchy, to not only fail in a great and beneficent

experiment, but to commit a great national crime. It is to do what Rome did when she was exhausted—to hand mankind over to barbarism.

That such opinions as to public duties prevail among men who understand public duties is a fact of the highest moment. That they do not prevail in the House of Commons is apparently proved by the all but universal refusal to debate Indian affairs, or to interpret their urgency. That they will prevail among the masses of the electors who have latterly been taught or bribed to stifle public debate by violence and noise, may be doubted. It is at present hardly possible to address a public meeting on public questions without the risk of successful interruption from mercenary and drilled clamour. Men, otherwise respectable, brag of the ruffians they have in their pay. The Clodius of the aristocracy, and the Milo of the Stock Exchange, have each his gang, hired from the residuum. If, as seems likely, the pinch should come, and the eyes of those who have hitherto acquiesced in the device by which the taxes laid on industry have been spent on an imperial policy in the East are opened, there is no little risk that the principles of public duty hitherto successfully advocated by the few will be repudiated by the many, and even by those who debauch and cajole them.

It has been said that British finance depends for its success on two conditions, "that the mass of mankind make fools of themselves, and the majority of the British nation make sots of themselves." We owe the fact that we can make money to the folly by which other nations allow, under the mask of a false patriotism, special interests to tax them by protective tariffs; we owe the fact that the income is copious for the ordinary charges of government to the intemperate habits of the people. But if other nations adopt free trade, and the English people becomes temperate, and if thereupon, having become sober, it becomes critical, the budget of the future must be a new departure in English finance.

JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS.

ANCIENT EGYPT.

I.

THE object of these papers is to give the reader who has not made a special study of Egyptology some idea of its general results in reference both to the ancient Egyptians and to the races with which they came in contact. The subjects are the characteristics of the main periods of Egyptian history, the religion and civilization of the people, and the bearing of their records on Hebrew, Greek, and Phœnician history. The vast body of information by which we may now carry up the annals of the civilized world for at least two thousand years before the time of Herodotus is for the most part scattered in works both learned and costly of which no short summary has yet been produced.* It will be my endeavour to do my work merely as an interpreter, in order that the great value of materials almost unknown to the generality may be understood, and perhaps some new students added to a body which, in England at least, is now decreasing. In a short series of papers many details must be omitted, but there will be space enough to show that the study of Egyptology touches and illustrates in turn many of the great problems of the story of ancient civilization.

No country has more markedly influenced its inhabitants than Egypt. It is a table-land of rock, through which the Nile has cut a passage, which by its annual overflow it has gradually fertilized. The valley thus formed is but a few miles broad until it widens out into the triangular plain of the Delta. Small as is the deposit of soil—not more than four and a-half inches in a century for the last three thousand years—it requires no manuring to produce an annual crop, nor need it ever be left fallow, and the use of artificial irrigation adds

* In the "Records of the Past," the student unacquainted with the original Egyptian, Assyrian, and other Eastern texts, will find translations of the most important of these documents. Yet the necessary introduction to the study of the documents is wanting, and the critical apparatus is far too scanty.

a second and third crop. In no country is life easier or the acquisition of wealth from the land more rapid. The oldest Egyptians were agriculturists, who, having gained all they required, felt the natural desire of a settled people to leave some record of their lives for later times. The conditions were wonderfully favourable. The rainless climate preserves for ages what elsewhere perishes in a year. The sides of the valley afford quarries of limestone and sandstone, easily worked and lying close to the great water-way for transport, and at the First Cataract the Nile is obstructed by rocks of the fine red granite which the ancients called Syenite. At a very remote age the art of making paper from the papyrus reed, then abundant, was discovered, and black and red ink was manufactured. All these materials were in full use as early as the time of the king who built the Great Pyramid, in the earliest period of Egyptian monumental history.

But who were the Egyptians? in other words, what is their place among the races of man? Their neighbours were the yellow Shemite Syrians, the fair Libyans, and the Negroes. In the interesting pictures of the four races of man in the Tombs of the Kings (B.C. cir. 1350—1100) the Egyptians portray these three races and themselves "mankind" as a fourth. Like all such subjects in ancient Egyptian art, these are eminently characteristic, and the most elementary ethnologist will instantly recognize the four distinct types, three of which are markedly different from the Egyptian. Is the Egyptian a distinct race, or can it be directly traced to a fusion of two or more of the other three types? The modern Egyptian helps us towards a solution of this problem. If we knew nothing of his descent we should say that he was an Arab with a tincture of another race, so markedly has the westward flow of Arab immigration made the Arab type to predominate among the people. But this is a superficial view. Looking more carefully, we see usually in the Copts, who have intermarried among themselves for the last twelve centuries, and occasionally in the Muslim Egyptians, a type which, however modified since antiquity, forcibly recalls the old pictures. Here the Shemite traits are slighter, and we come to the conclusion that their race merely contributed an element, and perhaps not the most important, to the old Egyptian type. Another element, perhaps the only other, seems to be Nigritian. The weak calf of the leg and the flat foot are markedly indicative of Nigritian influence, and so is the thickness of the nose, and the fulness of the lips. Other circumstances seem to indicate the presence of Shemite and Nigritian elements in the ancient Egyptians. It will be seen that their language and their religion may be traced to two sources which exist together, mixed but not fused, like oil and water. One of these elements in language probably, in religion certainly, is Nigritian, the other in language is certainly Shemite, and in religion probably the same. Of any other element there seems to be as yet no proof.

Ancient Egyptian history does not help us to discover the origin of

the race. It dawns with the reign of Menes the first mortal king. Nothing is said of any previous movement of population. The prehistoric age, the time before Menes, called the reign of the gods, was evidently mythical, as it was reckoned by astronomical cycles, and the gods were arranged in it according to their importance, the rule of the great gods coming first, and very inferior mythological personages reigning towards the close. Between Menes and the earliest dated monuments, was an interval of probably not above seven or eight centuries, which may be called traditional, and of which legends were related. Yet at the head of this age stands the undoubtedly historical figure of Menes ruling at an Egyptian town over all Egypt.

The vestiges of a prehistoric period are thought to remain in the stone implements found in Egypt. Here, it is argued, as elsewhere, there was a prehistoric stone age. This may well have been, but two things must be borne in mind: that the paintings show the use of stone arrow-heads far down in the historic age, and also that the stone implements discovered may have been in some cases the work of a neighbouring savage race. For the present we want evidence of a true prehistoric stone age in Egypt. This subject has been neglected by explorers, who are probably diverted from it by the wealth of historical documents that reward them in all parts of the country.

History, then, but not pure history, begins with Menes, the first king of the first of those thirty dynasties under which the Egyptian historian Manetho arranged the kings of Egypt. The first historical event is the founding of the oldest capital, Memphis, "the good station," to which the seat of government was probably removed by Menes. He came from the still older town of Thinis or This, in Upper Egypt, close to the more famous sacred city of Abydos. Memphis is a little to the south of Cairo, and not far south of the point of the Delta. The site was therefore well chosen as a central point from which the whole country could be governed, while the valley of Upper Egypt was protected by it, and afforded a safe retreat in case of disaster. Here at Memphis, great and powerful seven or eight centuries later, the history of its foundation surely must have been well known, and this, combined with the consistent character of all which is told by the agreement of historians as to Menes, leaves no doubt of his historical character.

Passing at once from a time as to which we have no certain contemporary records, we are arrested by the earliest known monuments, the Pyramids of El-Geezeh and the lesser tombs around, and suddenly find ourselves face to face with the Egyptian life of more than four thousand years ago, recorded by architecture, sculpture, and hieroglyphic inscriptions.

It is not any longer necessary to prove that hieroglyphics can be read, but it may be well here to mention the method by which this is done. The ancient language is essentially the same as the modern or Coptic, which was written with the Greek alphabet and some additional

letters to express sounds wanting to Greek. The ancient characters are either phonetic (syllabic or alphabetic) or ideographic. Any word may be written phonetically or by ideograph (symbol), or in both ways combined, the ideograph then determining the sense of the word, as we write "fifty pounds, £50." Those words which we do not find in Coptic are interpreted either by the obvious meaning of the ideographs used to determine their sense, as when the figure of an animal follows its name, or by induction. The way to learn hieroglyphics is to begin with Coptic, in which the occurrence of Greek words aids the student's progress, and thus to obtain a notion of the genius of the language and a *copia verborum*, before entering on the harder enterprise of studying its older phase in the ancient character. After no long time the learner will be convinced that the general sense of all but the religious documents can be ascertained as readily as that of any similar Greek or Roman record. Philologically the most interesting phenomena are the monosyllabic (Nigritian) character of the roots, and the Semitic character of the pronouns whether isolated or affixed, the latter including the verbal forms. The roots lack the rhythmic vowelism of early (true) Semitic, and resemble its worn-away (Syriac) phase.

The religion of every nation is the key-note of its history. That of ancient Egypt is therefore the first subject as to which we must question the monuments. Here it may be well to dismiss the idea that the Egyptian religion continued to grow and went through changes during the historical period before it felt the influence of Greek philosophy. With the exception of a single permanent change, due apparently to foreign influence, it varied as little as the language in which it was written. It had of course its changing fashions, but the main doctrines, the objects of worship, and the rites, continued the same during this vast period of far above twenty centuries. Our chief difficulty in dealing with it is that we are often at a loss to grasp the real sense of the terms used. This is owing to three causes. When the Egyptians became Christians they eliminated most religious terms from their vocabulary as idolatrous, and substituted for them Greek equivalents. Thus the valuable aid of the Coptic often here fails us. We also find it very difficult to place our minds in the attitude of the Egyptians when we know the radical sense of a term: we can construe and cannot translate, like a schoolboy with a hard piece of Virgil. There is moreover another and very grave hindrance. There can be no doubt that the priests allegorized their doctrines, and that much which is nearly unintelligible is so in consequence of this practice. In the great Egyptian religious work, the "Ritual," the text is in general clearer than the commentary, which explains by allegory, and is probably but not certainly of later date. Notwithstanding these difficulties we have now a general idea of the Egyptian religion.

At first sight this religion seems a hopeless puzzle. The student

who attempts to understand it feels like a visitor to a museum, in which antiquities of all classes are mixed without even a rudimentary arrangement. Long and patient labours have quite lately made this difficult subject easier to understand than the religion of Greece, though much remains to be done. The results are strangely unexpected. Instead of finding, like older inquirers, a philosophic meaning in the lowest forms of worship, we now accept them as no more than what they appear; and yet in the higher forms we discover as lofty a philosophy as had been before imagined.

Long after hieroglyphics had been read, evidence from them was wanting that the Egyptians had any idea of one God. Lately M. de Rougé, the most philosophic and one of the acutest of Champollion's successors, advanced the strongest reasons for maintaining that they held this doctrine. In the "Ritual," one Supreme Being is distinctly mentioned, called by no proper name, and thus not identical with any member of the Egyptian Pantheon, although Ra, the Sun, is, probably by a later view, identified in the same work with this mysterious divinity. The Supreme Being was the source of another being equally unnamed, and is thus called "the Double Being." From him came the other gods. This idea of monotheism, though seemingly lost in the multitude of gods in the Pantheon, constantly reappears in their identification with one another in mixed forms or interchange of attributes. To what did the Egyptians owe this idea? Those who hold with M. Renan that the Shemites were essentially monotheists, will find a ready answer, and in this discover a fresh instance of the Shemite element. M. Renan's position is, however, one hard to maintain. In antiquity no Shemites were monotheists but the Hebrews, and though the Hebrew teachers were all monotheists, the people were constantly either adopting idolatrous objects of worship, or mistaking the true meaning of monotheism in their idea that they served a national God, instead of the Creator and Ruler of the universe. The contact of Hebrew with Aryan thought during the Babylonian Captivity seems to have afforded the people the means of understanding what they had before misinterpreted, and thenceforward they were true monotheists. The pagan Arabs before Mohammad were polytheists of the lowest type. It was due to foreign influences that they adopted monotheism. The Aryans, on the other hand, had this idea from a remote time, though the importance they attached to the conflict of good and evil is apt to make us forget it in the use of the term Dualism. The ancient Aryan religions which admit a Pantheon imagine it to be presided over by a chief divinity, thus preserving in an alloyed form the original monotheistic idea. It is in this feature of Egyptian doctrine, if anywhere, that we may trace an Aryan element in Egypt, unless we may suppose that the Egyptian priests attained the monotheistic idea by philosophic inquiry: if so, but this is a rash hypothesis, they must have done this

at a remote age, for the Ritual is, in part at least, as early as the period of the oldest monuments.

The Egyptian Pantheon, at first sight very complex, may be reduced to system by a study of the order of the great gods. The two chief forms of that order are made inconsistent by the addition at the head of two divinities of inferior consequence in their attributes, the gods of Memphis and Thebes. This was undoubtedly due to political causes, and marks the ascendancy of the priests of the two ancient capitals. Leaving these gods out, the order resolves itself into two groups, the Sun-gods and the family of Osiris. The true heads of these groups are Ra, the Sun, and Osiris. It is very noteworthy that these gods only and goddesses who were female forms of Osiris were worshipped throughout Egypt, Osiris everywhere, and Ra by combination with other gods, and as the representative of kingly power in the sky, as well as under the type of the king as Ra on earth. The myth of Ra and that of Osiris are strikingly alike. Ra as Osiris is the sun in constant conflict with evil. The enemy of Ra is the great serpent Apap, whom he vanquishes. The enemy of Osiris is his own brother or son Set, physical evil, who vanquishes him, to be finally overcome by Horus the solar son of Osiris. Ra has no consort but a very inferior divinity, a female sun. Osiris has Isis to wife, whose worship almost equalled his. That which distinguishes the myth of Osiris from that of Ra is its human aspect. It is solar up to a certain point in the conflict of light and darkness, and the setting of the old sun seemingly to perish and reappear in new young splendour in its rising. But in the destruction of Osiris by evil, the temporary triumph of evil, and its final defeat and the destruction of its force by Horus and wisdom (Thoth), and in the revival of Osiris, we see the story of human life in its war with physical evil, its death, and its resurrection, in its war with moral evil, its temporary fall, and final triumph. Thus while the myth of Ra remained a part of religion, that of Osiris became the part to which the affections of the Egyptians attached themselves. Osiris became, as the hidden sun, the ruler of the underworld, and so the judge of the dead, then represented as a mummy. It was to him or to a member of his family that the prayers for the dead were addressed. As the Egyptian entered into the divine underworld (Karneter), the west, the hidden land (Amenti), he placed himself under the protection of the sun of the night. Yet more, as one who hoped to be justified, he took the name of his judge, and an Osiris went through the ordeals of the hidden world, hoping for a new life in the Elysian fields. Thus Osiris became essentially the ruler of the unseen world, Ra became the ruler of the visible universe; but these ideas interchanged, Osiris appears as the Nile and as the source of productiveness, Ra as the ruler of the hidden land. Yet Osiris remained the judge of the dead, and hence the prevalence and strength of his worship. It would be impossible to explain the existence side by side of

two forms of the same myth, for this is the meaning of the two groups of great gods, did we not see in it the history of the early growth of the Egyptian religion. In a very remote age the doctrines of Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, and of Abydos, the ancient city of Osiris, were thus united. Menes, the first king, came from Thinis, so close to Abydos as to have become almost if not quite a suburb of the city which eclipsed it, and founded Memphis nearly opposite to Heliopolis. Thus the two systems, that of the worship of Osiris at Abydos, and that of the worship of Ra at Heliopolis, were brought so near that it was necessary that they should either be amalgamated, or that one should give way to the other. Hence the two groups of the great gods.

It is a long step from the lofty ideas that these archaic systems suggest to the figures under which the gods were represented, and the symbols regarded as their living forms. Osiris has indeed a human shape, but Ra is usually hawk-headed, and Thoth, the god of wisdom, has the head of an ibis. Some goddesses are lioness-headed and cat-headed; others sometimes have the head of a cow. Osiris, despite his human character, was supposed to dwell in the sacred bull Apis; and each divinity had a living representative in a quadruped, bird, reptile, or fish, while sacred trees and mountains were held in reverence. How can so low a pedestal be reconciled with so high a superstructure? When it is remembered that the Egyptian worship is intensely local, that each town had its special divinity and sacred animal, we find the clue out of this labyrinthine question, in which some inquirers have lost themselves, while others, having reached as they thought the end, have given up the subject in despair, like the old visitor who entered a beautiful Egyptian temple, and after traversing its spacious chambers rich with painted sculptures, marvelled to find in the innermost shrine a cat or crocodile or serpent. The clue is that at each settlement that worship of a local fetish which is a characteristic of the negroes, was a tradition derived from the original population. Generally, when a race of superior belief has conquered one of inferior belief, it has endeavoured to substitute its faith for the lower one, by connecting the two. Thus a taint has injured most religions, the higher never succeeding in effacing the lower. This theory accounts for much in Greek mythology. Why should the laurel have been sacred to Apollo, the tortoise to Aphrodite, save for this reason, that in their adopted country the Greeks found certain trees and animals worshipped by the earlier population whom they sought to conciliate by connecting the lower object of worship with the higher ideal they themselves revered? Similarly the old *agalmata* of barbarous form which their predecessors had received from Egypt or copied on Egyptian models were gradually superseded by more fit representations. In literature we may trace the transition when Homer uses epithets that cannot be doubted to be taken from old animal-headed forms for the divinities he describes with human character-

istics. In art the transition is seen in the story of Onatas the sculptor, who, when charged to execute a statue of the horse-headed Demeter, whose *agalma* had been destroyed by fire, being perplexed how to do so in an age of growing art, saw the goddess in a dream, and no doubt then represented her in accordance with the higher ideas of his time. Another striking instance is seen in the nome-coins of Egypt struck under Roman Emperors, when Greek ideas were strong in the country, on which the divinity of the province, though in some cases animal-headed, in others has a human form, and carries in his hand the sacred animal of the nome.

We can therefore scarcely doubt whence arose the combination of animal worship with sun-worship (of Shemite origin?), and the union of the animal's head with the human body in the representations of the local divinities of the mixed system thus formed. Rarely can we find anything appropriate in the union. It is true that the sun-gods have the head of the hawk, a bird of the noble family which gazes at the sun; the sun-goddesses that of the luminous-eyed feline tribe, usually of its highest member the lioness; but for the most part the associations seem to be the effect of mere chance. It may be asked why any should be appropriate if they were the result of the adoption of existing superstitions by new-comers into Egypt; but it should be remembered that we cannot suppose all the towns of Egypt to have been growths from older Nigritian settlements. Memphis we know was not, and we may infer the same of Hermopolis Magna. The prominence of the lower element in the Egyptian religion need not surprise us when we see the old sacred stone at Mekkeh (the Black Stone) still venerated by nearly all Muslims, and yet more remarkably see in Egypt itself a sacred snake revered at the tomb of the Sheykh el-Hareedee in Upper Egypt, which must be the representative of a long series of sacred snakes which have held their own from the overthrow of paganism through fourteen centuries to the present day.

Writing was as old in Egypt as architecture and sculpture. The papyrus reed, as already noticed, furnished the most ancient material for paper in the days of the oldest monuments. The dry climate has preserved a great number of ancient rolls, of which most are religious, and of these again the greater part copies of one book, the Ritual, which French scholars call the "Funereal Ritual," and Germans the "Book of the Dead." It is a work evidently compiled from time to time, divided into sections, originally separate books, and chapters, each chapter being usually illustrated by a representation of its chief subject above the text. Part of this book has been found of the date of the Eleventh Dynasty (before B.C. 2000), and according to its own statement, which derives collateral support from a more general assertion of Manetho, one chapter was discovered in the time of the great pyramid-building kings of the Fourth Dynasty. There can be no doubt that the greater part is of extreme antiquity.

Two great difficulties assail us in the endeavour even to construe this book. It was held to be specially advantageous to the mummified Egyptian that a copy should be deposited in his tomb. Consequently it became the custom to write these copies in great numbers, and, as they were not intended to be read, the scribes were careless in their copying. Hence arises a multitude of errors which at every step embarrass the student. The other difficulty is due to the causes which render the Egyptian religious writings more hard to interpret than the historical. Yet, thanks to M. de Rouge's patience and skill, the general purport of the work is now understood. It is throughout text and commentary, and curiously, as already remarked, the text usually simpler than the commentary, which by its allegorizing method renders the obscurity of the subject greater. The theme of the Ritual is the story of man's fate in the nether world, and the text consists of a series of prayers to be said in each of the several zones through which the soul was to pass on its way to judgment, and the confession of innocence that was to ensure its acquittal. It might be supposed that so great a matter would have been treated in the loftiest style of which the language was capable, with the simplicity of the Egyptian memoir, the pathos of the dirge, and the occasional grandeur of the historical writings and the religious hymns. But it is far otherwise. Nowhere is the lower element of the Egyptian religion so evident as in the Ritual. It is obscure and mysterious, without elevation or dignity. The student seeks in vain for a single passage worthy of the ideas conveyed through the eye by the Pyramids and the Tombs of the Kings. He wanders through a labyrinth peopled by the forms of the lowest superstition, and the idea forces itself upon him that the negro element of the Egyptian mind is here dominant, not always in the thoughts, but always in their expression. Nothing more forcibly shows the strength of this element, not even animal worship. Side by side with the Ritual we find another work relating to the underworld, the Book of the Lower Hemisphere, describing the journeyings of the soul after death through twelve zones corresponding to the twelve hours of the nocturnal sun. This book was in fashion at the period to which most of the Tombs of the Kings (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties) belong, and their pictures afford the illustrations of its chapters.

The "wisdom of the Egyptians" is not to be found in the Ritual and the Book of the Lower Hemisphere, but in the few moral treatises that are left. The oldest complete one of these, that of Ptah-hotep, a prince, son of a king of the Fifth Dynasty, is the first work of the character of the Hebrew Proverbs which has come down to us as a whole. It teaches a high morality apart from the Egyptian religion; that religion it almost ignores, in general speaking of God in the singular as the judge of men's actions. It is a curious question whether proverbial writing of this kind, that is, wisdom embodied in short pithy sayings, very often stating a duty and the reason for its performance, is not of

Egyptian origin. In Hebrew literature it is scarcely found before the date of the Proverbs. If that book is in its origin of the time of Solomon, and this can scarcely be doubted, a curious question arises. How are we to explain the striking similarity of method in the Hebrew and the Egyptian book? It is not likely that the contact between Egypt and the East between the times of Moses and Solomon was sufficiently strong to influence Hebrew literature. It is far more probable, unless the similarity is accidental, that tradition preserved a method of teaching that must have been known to Moses, who was "educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians." If so, the Hebrew work may contain archaic fragments preserved by the original collector just as it contains sayings added after its first completion.

Scientific literature, at least in the province of medicine, not un-mixed with superstition, is of the first age of Egyptian monuments, and probably historical literature in the shape of memoirs, afterwards among our best sources, is not much later. Fiction, letters, and state annals are not yet known of this antiquity, and therefore must be afterwards noticed.

Thus much we know of the belief and thought of the people of Egypt in the age of their first monuments. What they did and how they lived in those days is the next point of interest.

As we stand beneath the Great Pyramid the first question that rises in our mind is this. How long ago was this monument raised? Has it stood for four, five, or six thousand years? M. Mariette answers six, Professor Lepsius five, and some cautious reckoners adhere to Napoleon's forty centuries. But in truth the question cannot yet be answered. With all reverence for the scholarship that has attempted it, the difference of opinion proves that the date of the oldest Egyptian monuments must still remain blank. The cause may be explained in a few words which the student would do well to ponder lest he waste his strength on the unknowable to the loss of more fruitful research.

The Egyptians had no era, no reckoning from the building of Memphis or from the institution of a festival. They had at least one astronomical cycle, a vast period of 1,461 wandering years of 365 days each, a cycle pyramid-like in its dimensions, but we do not find that they dated by it.* Their reckoning was by kings' reigns, each year being called the first or second and so forth of the king from the current year in which he began to reign. There is one known instance in which a long period, from one reign to a later one, is stated, and unfortunately we only know the historical place of the later of the two kings mentioned. The Egyptians do not seem to have recorded eclipses,

* This cycle, called the Sothiac, because it began when the dog-star Sothis rose heliacally on the first day of the wandering year of 365 days, marked the coincidence of that year in its beginning with the fixed Sothiac year of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ days, which, of course, could only occur on the completion of 1,461 wandering years, and 1,460 Sothiac.

and their stellar observations are unintelligible, as we find a star-rising recorded year after year on the same day of the wandering year of 365 days, when it must have moved a day later every four years. They rarely recorded long genealogies. The succession of kings is broken by dire chasms in the series of monuments—ages almost, without records—of which it is not possible even to conjecture the length. Our chief authority is still the historian Manetho, an Egyptian priest, who, under the first or second Ptolemy, wrote in Greek the list of the native dynasties, thirty in number, from Menes to Nectanebes II., overthrown by Artaxerxes Ochus. His numbers are shown by the monuments to be untrustworthy in their present state, and he does not tell us whether the royal houses were all successive or some contemporary. The monuments, with the aid of a fragmentary ancient list on papyrus, and for the latest period that of Hebrew, Assyrian, and Greek documents, enable us in many cases to correct Manetho; and we have for the later part of Egyptian history a chronology, which, reckoning upwards, is first nearly exact, then roughly true, and at last merely approximative within a century, perhaps more, until we reach the first or most recent chasm.

If we reckon upwards from the overthrow of Nectanebes II. (Dynasty xxx.) B.C. 340? to the accession of the first Ethiopian monarch Sabaco (Dynasty xxv.) B.C. cir. 715, the dates are nearly exact. From Sabaco to Sheshonk I., the Shishak of the Bible (Dynasty xxii.) B.C. cir. 967, probably there is not an error of more than thirty years. Thenceforward to the beginning of the Empire (Dynasty xviii.) B.C. cir. 1600—1500 there is an increasing obscurity in chronology. We now find ourselves on the nearer side of the first chasm, the age during which Egypt was ruled by the Shepherd kings, Eastern strangers, whose rule began after or during that of the later Theban kings of the old line (Dynasty xiii.), and is generally held to have lasted, inclusive of a period of war at its close, for five centuries or a little more. This theory, however, rests upon a solitary passage of Manetho, cited by one only of his copyists, and if it seems supported by numbers in the dynastic lists given by this and the other copyists, we must remember the fatal facility with which numbers seem to lend themselves to the theories of chronologers. On the other side of the chasm we have all or a part of the old Theban kingdom (Dynasties xi., xii., and part or the whole of xiii.). Then comes another chasm, characterized by the rule of a line of kings of another capital. We then once more reach a period illuminated by the light of contemporary monuments, the age of the Memphite kings, the Pyramid-builders (last king of Dynasty iii. and Dynasties iv., v., vi.), which probably lasted six or seven centuries. Between this time and the rule of Menes stretches yet another great chasm, the age before monuments, to which a conjectural length of seven or eight centuries may be assigned. The reckoning, therefore, stands thus:—

- Pre-monumental age (Dynasties i.—iii., part) 800 or 700 years?
- Memphite Kingdom under Pyramid-builders (iii., part, iv., v., vi.), 700 or 600?
- Doubtful Period (vii., viii., ix., x.).
- Theban Kingdom (xi., xii., xiii., part?) 250 years or more.
- Shepherd Rule (xiii., part? xiv., xv., xvi., xvii.).
- The Empire (xviii., xix., xx., part) B.C. 1600—1500 to 1200—1100.
- Fall of Empire (xx., part, xxi.).
- Sheshonk I., or Shishak (xxii.) B.C. cir. 967.
- Shiebek, or Sabaco (xxv.) B.C. cir. 715.
- Psammetichus I., Saïte supremacy, (xxvi., part) 665.
- Final Persian Conquest, B.C. 340?

The Great Pyramid stands almost at the beginning of the first monumental age. Its date would be before at least B.C. 2350 by the length of the second and third chasms; in other words the length of these two unknown periods must be added to at least B.C. 2350 if we would obtain the date of the Pyramid. We must, therefore, surrender Napoleon's forty centuries. How much we must add to them is yet to be discovered.

The age of the Pyramids is doubtful. The object for which they were built is certain. There is no need here to examine curious speculations to which their measures have, like the numbers of Manetho's list, seemed to offer themselves with a strange facility, like false lights that lead a traveller into the quicksands. They were royal tombs and nothing more. We need not draw any idea of astronomical use from their facing the cardinal points, whereas the Chaldean pyramids pointed to them, nor, in the case of the Great Pyramid, from the curious circumstance that at the time of its building its entrance passage pointed to the then pole-star, *α Draconis*, nor from the excellent platform for astronomical observation on its summit, nor from its chief measures being in exact Egyptian cubits without fractions. There may have been a religious reason for the orientation of this and the other Egyptian pyramids, but it is quite obvious that a deviation of direction would have produced a disagreeable discord in the placing of these geometrically-shaped buildings. It was no use to point a passage to the pole-star as it had to be closed at the completion of the structure after the king's sepulture. The platform did not exist when the casing of the monument was complete to its apex. The most famous buildings of antiquity were constructed of full measures without fractions in all their chief dimensions. What perhaps originated in the difficulty of observing due proportion when fractions were allowed became a matter of religion.

The Pyramids then were tombs of kings. Each had its name. The Great Pyramid was called "the Splendid;" the second Pyramid, strangely enough, "the Great;" the third pyramid, "the Superior." Each must have been the chief object of a king's reign. Begun

at, or perhaps in some cases before, his accession, it was built on a plan which allowed constant addition and speedy completion. Thus the Pyramids are the measures of the reigns of those who built them, and happily in many cases we know from the tombs around who these royal builders were.

The main principles of an Egyptian tomb of this age are the same in the Pyramids and in the smaller built tombs, though the mode in which the principles are carried out is different. These smaller tombs consist of a quadrangular mass of masonry like an oblong truncated pyramid, having a pit entered from above descending to a sepulchral chamber cut in the rock beneath; and within is also a chapel entered from an external door, and a secret chamber to contain statues of the deceased. The Pyramids represent the purely sepulchral part of these structures. In front of the entrance of each was a chapel, to which was probably attached a secret chamber.

The form of the Pyramids is probably traceable to the natural shapes of the desert mountains. All Egyptian architecture is characterized by the same sloping lines as these mountains, varying like them from the sharp inclination of the Pyramids to the very slight slope of the built tombs, and, it may be added, of all the great massive gateways of the later temples. Whether these forms were thus derived or not, their adoption must have been due to their extreme strength.

The manner in which the Pyramids were constructed was first shown in Professor Lepsius's "Letters from Egypt." The objects of the royal builders were strength of position, a secure place of sepulture, and a method by which the monument could be gradually increased from year to year and finished with little delay, when the king's death made this necessary. A site was chosen on the low table-land of the Libyan desert, and a slight elevation was selected as a peg on which the structure should as it were be pivoted. In this core of rock a sloping descending passage, usually entered from the north, was cut, of sufficient size for the conveyance of a sarcophagus, leading to a sepulchral chamber. Above and around the rock a solid structure of masonry was raised, of cubical form but with slightly sloping sides. In the case of the king's death at this stage of the work, the pyramid was at once completed by the addition of sloping lateral masses and a pyramidal cap. Roughly this additional work did not exceed in quantity the first construction, excluding the excavation. If the king lived on, the first construction was enlarged on each of its four sides so as to form a great platform on which a second central mass was raised and a pyramid of two degrees without filled in angles was formed. At this stage again the work could be completed if necessary, or if the king still lived each platform from the lowest could be increased on the same principle. The form of the Pyramid of Steps at Sakkarah, the central monument of the Necropolis of Memphis, is a good illustration of the general principle,

and the change of angle in the Southern Pyramid of Dahshoor is valuable as a probable instance of hasty completion.

The manner in which the Pyramids were built is thus clear enough: the mechanical skill their construction shows must remain a marvel. The main materials were indeed quarried from the limestone rock on which the monuments stand, but the finest quality used was brought from quarries on the opposite side of the river, and, in the instances in which granite was employed, usually for details, from the First Cataract. How were the vast blocks lowered from the quarries and transported to the river, how embarked, again transported to the edge of the desert, raised to the low table-land on which the Pyramids stand, and then elevated to the heights required, in the case of the Great Pyramid up to above 450 feet, and how were not alone the casing-stones, but also the stones lining and roofing the narrow passages and chambers, fitted with an exactness that has never been surpassed? We know from their pictures something of the machinery of the Egyptians, how they transported huge masses of stone by the use of the labour of men or oxen, on sledges moving on rollers, and we also know that great causeways led up from the valley of the Nile to the plateau of the Pyramids. But this is all. Of their mode of raising masses we are wholly ignorant. People have talked of mounds up which the stones were dragged to build the Pyramids, but the work of constructing an easy incline for a pyramid 460 feet high would have been tremendous, and the materials, unless it was built of stone, would not have been at hand. At present we are as far as ever from a solution of this curious problem.

The Great Pyramid was originally 480 feet high, and each side of its base measured 764 feet, dimensions slightly reduced by its use as a quarry in later times. The successive Muslim capitals of Egypt, of which Cairo is the latest, have been built of the monuments of Memphis. The city and its temples have disappeared, and left scarcely a trace; yet the larger Pyramids have lost but a small proportion of their materials, and where there are marks of ruin, it is rather due to the efforts of explorers than to the actual removal of the stones from the site. Seen from afar, on what Horace well calls their royal site, the vastness of the Pyramids strikes us; as we approach them, and begin to distinguish the courses of stone, this impression wanes, to return with an oppressive force as we stand beneath them. All other works of man are dwarfed by them, but it must be remembered that no other works of man occupied a whole nation, as it is all but certain the greater Pyramids did, for one or even two generations each. No public works save the Pyramids are known of the Memphite kingdom. When true public works begin, Pyramids become far less costly, like that of the wise king who excavated the Lake Moeris.

The object of each Pyramid was to entomb a single mummied king: sometimes two sepulchral chambers may point to a double burial: in one case an early monument, the Third Pyramid, seems to have been

enlarged by a later sovereign ; but in general each monument seems to have been designed for a single entombment. The purpose of so vast a labour is no longer a mystery if we may assume that the Egyptians held the preservation of the body to be essential to immortality. It is certain that all Egyptian tombs were constructed under the influence of a belief in the immortality of the soul. The final aim of the pyramid-builders was that each head of the religion and state should rest securely in these vast monuments, whose form is a type of immortality, resting on the solid rock, themselves solid and indestructible, yet pointing heavenwards. It is a weakness of practical natures to laugh with Pliny at the Pyramids, as mere monuments of human vanity. We forget the human weakness of personal commemoration when we remember that the Pyramids are material records of a belief in immortality, the oldest and the most enduring.

Of the chapels in front of each pyramid there are but scanty remains. A priesthood was attached to each, and we know that as late as the time of the Saïte kings, in the sixth century B.C., the priesthood of some of these Pyramid kings was still maintained. That one of these is a king whom Herodotus charges with hostility to religion, is a curious commentary on the historian's untrustworthiness when dealing with matters he did not know except on the evidence of mere gossip.

The Sphinx, true to its character in legend, has still a riddle—the date when it was carved out of the rock. An inscription in the name of the king who built the Great Pyramid, but perhaps recut at a later time, speaks of it as already extant in his remote age. It was the symbol of the god Har-em-akhu, Horus in the horizon, or the rising sun, and was thus particularly connected with the worship of Heliopolis, the City of the Sun, on the opposite bank of the Nile, not far to the northward. In later times avenues of sphinxes led to the temples. This solitary sphinx has no such purpose, and was itself worshipped, a little chapel being constructed between its fore-paws.

While there is much to perplex us in the great monuments of the Pyramid field, the lesser ones are full of fruitful information. Around the royal mausolea lie the multitudinous sepulchres of the subjects of the kings of that time. Each has its chapel, or more rarely chapels, decorated with a great variety of scenes of daily life, which bring us face to face with the Egyptian of this distant age. It has been thought, somewhat fancifully, that these subjects relate to the occupations of the future state, but the absence of any but the most reserved representation of funereal matters, as well as of all religious pictures, forbids an allegorical view inconsistent with the simplicity of this early age.

Thus the first thing that strikes us in these oldest of contemporary pictures is their extreme reticence as to religion. There is a short prayer, characteristically not directly addressed as in later times to Osiris, but to Anubis, an inferior divinity of his family. Its purport is simply for

the welfare of the chief person of the tomb in the divine underworld. We miss the appeal of later inscriptions to the voyagers up and down the beloved river, towards which most of the Egyptian tombs look, to repeat the inscribed formula for the good of the soul of the deceased. In the tomb there is but a slight indication of its purpose, the occasional representation of the occupant as a mummy. No ceremonies of sepulture are pictured, no passages of the Ritual inscribed. We are at an extreme limit of Egyptian usage in this respect, and it is not till the end of the monarchy that the other extreme is usual, religious subjects having gradually won a preponderance.

Still more remarkable is the absence of pictures of the king, even in tombs of members of his family, unlike the usage of the Empire, in the tombs of which we sometimes see the king receiving the homage of his subject. It would seem that at this remote time the Pharaoh stood as high above his subjects in rank as his Pyramid overtopped their modest sepulchres. Even a queen is spoken of as having had the honour of seeing the king. The most important priestly function seems to have been the priesthood of each king, to which was entrusted the ceremonial of his sepulchral chapel. Each great man held priestly, military, and civil power, or at least could do so. There was not at this time the distinction into classes, and the habit of hereditary transmission of functions, that made the later system from the Empire downwards almost one of castes. It is also significant that nearly all the high functionaries are of the blood royal, though there is a remarkable exception in the case of an able man who probably rose from the ranks and was rewarded by a marriage with a princess, Ti, whose beautiful tomb at Sakkarah is one of the most interesting of the many sights of Memphis.

Notwithstanding the greatness of royal power, the Egyptians of this age were a light-hearted people. No one can have seen the wooden statue of a gentleman of that period which was shown at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, and is now one of the most precious monuments of early Egyptian art in the Boólák Museum, without being struck by its air of well-fed content; indeed the word "jolly" is almost the only term by which its character can be described. And this is evidently the type of man whose daily life was portrayed as a memorial in his tomb. There we see him walking afoot, for the horse was not yet known in Egypt, his staff in his hand, seeing the various occupations of the field, the garden, and the vineyard, taking stock of his asses, oxen, sheep, goats, and ducks, witnessing the various handicrafts of his folk—we do not know that they were serfs—or superintending the transport by river of his produce. We see him too watching the fishers or those who bring in game and wild fowl, more rarely himself engaged in sport. His home-life is not forgotten. He entertains his friends at feasts, while players on instruments of music and singers are present for their diversion.

These are the subjects of the wall-pictures, or, more strictly, painted sculptures, of the tombs of the age of the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties, those of the Pyramid-period in the neighbourhood of Memphis. The Sixth Dynasty, evidently another line, if it did not transfer the royal seat to Middle Egypt, certainly has left more memorials of its subjects there, and at Abydos in the Thebaïd. Then the Egyptian memoir is first found, thenceforward to be our most precious source of history.

It is worth while to see how the Egyptian memoir had its origin. The purpose of all the sculptures and inscriptions of the Pyramid-age is historical. They embody the wish of the old Egyptian who caused them to be graven, that all should know what he was and what he did, not in a vain-glorious sense, but with the natural desire to record good service. It is indicative of the growth of this idea that the oldest memoirs only speak of service to the king, and careful and just administration; but the later ones dwell in addition on services to the people, each governor being specially anxious for the well-being of his province.

The first, and in some respects the most important, of the memoirs, is that of Una, which tells us almost all we know of the history of the Sixth Dynasty. The writer was a great officer under three kings, whom he probably served for at least sixty years, perhaps much longer. Like many of the earlier Egyptians, he attained high office in youth, and held it in old age. The story of Joseph finds its parallel in the selection of young men of character and talent for the highest offices; and yet the wisdom of experience is not seen to be undervalued in ancient Egypt.

The story of Una shows a change in the national instincts. In earlier times there is no hint of foreign wars. The older Pharaohs are not known to have attempted any expedition against their neighbours. They maintained the frontiers, but we do not find any record telling us that they crossed them except to establish and hold against the natives mining-stations in the peninsula of Sinai. But under the Sixth Dynasty foreign expeditions were undertaken. Whether they arose from a threatened invasion, or whether ambition prompted them, we do not know. The story reads as if there was danger on the borders. Una made a levy *en masse* of the Egyptians, and tributary negro states, which now appear for the first time, contributed a contingent, which all the Egyptian officials, including the priests, were ordered to drill. A series of successful expeditions by land, and one by water, were carried out. All was under the direction of Una. Who the chief enemies were we know; they were "the dwellers on the sand;" but we fail to identify any later race or tribe with this designation. Probably they represent a great pressure of Arab tribes, either driven by famine or attracted by the wealth of Egypt, into which the Arab race has never ceased to pour.

In the same memoir we see the first indication of the growth of

Egyptian power in the south. In the land of the tributary negro princes, stations and dockyards are made for the purpose of supplying Egypt with timber. At this time the Ethiopian forests must have extended far north of the Atbara, or the Egyptians must have penetrated a great distance beyond the First Cataract to the south. A hint of the different character of the country in very early times is afforded by the name of the Island of Elephantine, near the First Cataract, of which the meaning is the same in Egyptian as in Greek, for when the elephant was found so far north there must have been forests at no great distance. The subsequent change in the level of the Nile, which before the Empire was much higher in the Upper Thebaïs and Lower Nubia, may have had something to do with a general modification of the productions of the country.

We find this great officer of state, Una, whose last post was that of governor of Upper Egypt, occupied in the duty of conveying stones from the quarries for royal buildings, and we observe that the first care of a new king was to provide himself with a block of alabaster for a sarcophagus.

With the beautiful Queen Nitocris, the subject of many legends, the Sixth Dynasty either ended or lost all power. It was she who appears to have enlarged the Third Pyramid, as a tomb for herself, and to have cased it wholly with red granite of Syene, making it worthy of its name, "the Superior." In Greek tradition she is confused with Rhodopis, and by the Arabs she was thought, in the middle ages, still to haunt her burial-place as an evil fairy who lured the wayfarer into the desert to his destruction.

One of the chasms of Egyptian history follows the Sixth Dynasty. Other Memphite kings then ruled, a rival or later royal house arose at Heracleopolis, either the town of that name in Middle Egypt or that in Lower Egypt, and we have no records but the names of kings in later royal lists, which we cannot assign to any dynasty. Contemporary monuments fail us until the rise of the Theban house, when Egypt again appears rich and powerful, with signs of a fresh development of art and civilization.*

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

* Most of the authorities for the statements of this paper may be found in the article 'Egypt,' in the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica."

THE PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY OF BANK DIRECTORS.

RESPONSIBILITY is a general and abstract word. There is probably no more celebrated illustration of what it means than in a passage written by a great statesman now deceased. In that paragraph M. Thiers, when sketching the qualities necessary for success in war, brings vividly before us the tremendous issues that hang, moment by moment, upon the genius, the strength of will, the promptness, and the presence of mind of a general on the day of battle. There, if anywhere, is the highest responsibility to be realized. But there was one day this year when our peaceful Scotland, under the sun of a most plenteous harvest, showed as if upon the morning after a battle or a bombardment. In every direction we found either the bewilderment of suspense or the bewilderment of despair. The bravest held his breath as he saw his neighbour, a more cautious and a kindlier man than himself, struck down at his right hand, or watched on his left how serried files of men, connected in family or business ties, were prostrated by an indiscriminating blow. In almost every town and hamlet of our land, however far from the centre of explosion, there stands some home unroofed and torn open to the hard gaze of public curiosity and public compassion. It is true that the sufferers have, in public and in private, shown resignation to God and constancy before men, even beyond belief; but how many lives, maimed and all but cut in two, have crept away beyond our ken into a seclusion where hope and energy are slowly ebbing from the wounded spirit! Peace, we know, hath her victories no less than war. Apparently, she has also, like war, her reverses and defeats: and hers are equally ghastly.

It would seem, then, not too much to say that the responsibilities of a bank director *may* be as great as those of a general in the field. They may at least be so in a country like Scotland, where unlimited responsibility is the basis of large and popular joint-stock companies. I do

not say that his responsibilities are of the same nature. I do not say that the rules—the plain and simple rules as some are bold to call them—of banks, institutions which, according to one definition, receive and invest money, or which, according to another, buy and sell money,—I do not, of course, admit that these duties ever infer, necessarily or legitimately, the speculative uncertainties of the great game of war. But, on the other hand, having used this illustration, it is only fair, in parting with it, to observe one point of resemblance, and one of contrast, with the thing signified. We all know that there are generals who, as in the greatest battle of our age, succeed to the responsibilities which others have created or abandoned, who find themselves, like that hapless Imperialist, hemmed in by a narrowing circle of iron, and who have scarcely lifted the baton of the fallen marshal before they are confronted with the alternatives of a hopeless struggle or a horrible capitulation. And the word I have just used is not too strong. For in this particular point the horrors of war yield to the darker responsibilities of false or guilty finance. The general in the field who stops the fighting, thereby stops the carnage. But he who, whether weakly or wickedly, leads the shareholders of a bank along the road of ruin, knows at last that only to stay his steps is to invoke destruction, and that at the moment when he lifts the white flag of surrender above those who have trusted and followed him, he must bring down upon their heads, by his individual and perhaps meritorious act, the long-deferred and desolating storm.

In this paper, however, I am to treat of the responsibility of bank directors—and only of their personal responsibility—not in a popular, but in a strict, and indeed in a purely legal, sense.

Responsibility means the obligation of a man to answer for a thing. Every private man answers for his own acts. But when a man holds an office, like that of a bank director, he may have to answer in two capacities. For his official acts he is responsible as director with his brother directors, and on behalf of the bank. In this official responsibility, which of course is the usual case, he does not answer with his own private means, but with the funds of the bank, and to the extent to which it has funds, and no farther. But there are acts which a bank director may do, either acting in his official capacity, or professing to act in his official capacity, and at least using his official powers and opportunities, acts for which the director is responsible as an individual. The bank also may in some cases be made thereby responsible, and in others it may not. There is important law upon that point, with which I am not in this discussion called upon to deal. But whether the bank is responsible for such acts or not, the director is responsible for them as an individual, and he must answer for them with his own means, and in his own person.

In his person he answers to the public or criminal law; a matter

with which, for obvious reasons, I do not meddle. With his means he answers an inquiry which may be less august in external form, but which is far finer and more searching in the application of the principles of law. For criminal law winks at many things which have not attained a magnitude or publicity to attract its sword. But the law of private responsibility extends to the smallest coin of which any individual within or without the bank has been wrongfully deprived; and it runs therefore sooner or later into a system, of which the roots are deep and the branches are many. Now such a system Great Britain possesses in its greater form of English and its smaller of Scotch law. Strictly speaking, these two laws are independent of each other—as truly so as the law of France and the law of Japan. But practically, according to a principle not unlike that of the diffusion of gases, jurisprudences which are near each other in locality, resemble each other in spirit, especially in matters which, like this, depend upon universal equity more than upon statute, or history, or custom. And, curiously enough, the law of Scotland, which on this matter happens at present to attract the attention of the whole island, has in this branch of it one distinct advantage for the student. I do not mean the minor circumstance that all Scotch courts are courts both of law and equity, and that the severance in the law of England which embarrasses strangers, and I think must sometimes perplex English laymen, has no place in the other. The special advantage which this branch of the law has in Scotland is that of a certain separateness and priority. The facts are rather curious. There is also almost no reported case on the responsibility of directors in the Scotch courts before 1850. But from that date down to about 1865, there is a succession of important cases, which, unless I am mistaken, have built up something like a law upon the subject, a law not of course perfect, but yet solid and complete so far as it goes. Now I do not say that there was nothing on this subject in the much larger and richer law of England during all these years before 1865. But there was comparatively little either before or during the fifteen years which then closed, in comparison with what has followed. For in 1865 the crash of Overend, Gurney, & Co. inaugurated a second period of fifteen years now ending—a period in which the English law has been as rich in cases as the immediately previous period had been in Scotland; while during it the northern part of the island has scarcely seen another case in its courts. I propose in this paper to sketch the position attained ten years ago by the law of Scotland, as a small but independent jurisprudence where equity has never been separated from law; and afterwards to complete the subject by reference to more recent cases in the law of England, where equity has been studied as a separate department indeed, but studied by men of consummate power, and with an intensity and care scarcely equalled on the other side of the Border.

The law of Scotland on the personal responsibility of bank directors was built up within a period of fifteen years, extending from the year 1850. In that year an action was brought, not against directors, but against a bank, and demanding that it should be declared dissolved on the ground of losses to an amount specified in the contract. The answer made was, that these losses did not appear in the public balance-sheets, and that the rules of the bank prohibited investigation into its books. The rejoinder was, that the balance-sheets issued by the directors were false, and that the directors, in the transactions which the balance-sheets ought to have summarized, but did not, had been guilty of gross fraud and irregularity. The court found that the usual clauses as to secrecy will not exclude investigation, "where a positive averment is made that the books are fraudulently concocted to conceal the true position of affairs. Sitting here as a court both of law and equity, there is nothing in the contract which entitles us to refuse this investigation."*

Such a finding plainly opens the door to cases of more direct personal responsibility. And, accordingly, next year, in the case of the Banking Company of Aberdeen,† two of the most important points in the whole subject with which we deal were at once decided. That was an action brought by a shareholder against the directors of a bank personally, demanding reparation for the loss he had sustained. It was founded upon alleged fraudulent transactions by the directors, carried on in order to promote the private interests of themselves and their connections; transactions which were said to be covered by concealment and misrepresentation in reports, paying dividends out of capital, and keeping false and irregular books. Now, when a man makes such charges, there is no doubt that he is entitled to reparation from somebody for his loss. But the first question is, From whom? In this Aberdeen case there were twelve directors, but the action was only brought against five of them. It was pleaded, You must call the others, and you must also call the company itself for its interest. The court said, No. You are not bound to do so, in an action founded on fraud. Fraud is a personal thing, and you have a right to go against men, in respect of it, individually. If you think that some of them are not so guilty, or that it will not be so easy to prove some of them guilty, or that some of them, though equally guilty, have not as much money to make reparation with,—in all these cases you may select your victim. You may get full redress from him for your full loss, leaving it to him to find a remedy against others who had been associated with him. And, secondly, as reparation may be demanded from one or more of the directors, so it may be demanded by one or more of the shareholders. In this case the action was brought by one shareholder, and the court rejected the plea that

* The North British Bank, 18 December, 1850. 13 Dunlop's Reports of Court of Session Cases, p. 349.

† 17 December, 1851. 14 Dunlop's Reports, p. 213.

he must take the company with him. And since that date the law has been fixed, that any one shareholder can recover from any one director the whole loss caused to himself by the fraud in which that director can be proved to have been sole actor or participant.

But in order to found such unlimited responsibility, you must clearly prove the personal act or personal participation of the director. And on this rock the case, in which the general law was laid down, afterwards split. It was found that, although they selected five out of the twelve directors, they had not made their statements against any of them sufficiently precise. They had been satisfied with a general charge of "joint and several liability" for a course of acting extending over a number of years, and the court refused even to send this to a jury. They held that, as *culpa tenet suos auctores*, every act of wrong charged must be brought distinctly and articulately home to the party committing it. And the importance of this, as the next step in the development of the law, was brought out by the contrast between two cases against the directors of the same bank—this case of Leslie,* which failed, and that of Tulloch,† which succeeded. In the later and more successful case, the general rule already laid down in that which preceded, that any shareholder can sue any director on fraud, without calling the other directors or the company, was literally acted upon; and its authority was confirmed without difficulty by the House of Lords, sitting as a Court of Scotch Law. And in this case it was found, also, that the statements made against the one director were sufficiently specific to send to a jury. What has been held, in this and other cases, to constitute sufficient specification, we may see afterwards; but, in the meantime, we must notice another step in advance taken in this second Aberdeen action. The first, *Leslie*, was brought by an old shareholder, who complained that the fraudulent actings of the directors, commenced after he had bought his shares, had run down the value of his holding. Of his right to reparation for this loss there was no doubt. But the second case, *Tulloch*, turned upon a purchase of shares in open market by one of the public. Dr. Tulloch did not buy from the bank. He did not buy from the directors. He bought from a third party; and he now demanded back his money, or at least his loss, from the directors of the company which he thus entered. The court in Scotland now laid it down, and the House of Lords did not hesitate to confirm it, that publicly presenting fraudulent reports to the company was sufficient publication to render the directors liable even to a stranger purchasing shares. In the higher court, too, it was held, after a full argument, that this liability does not terminate with death on either side: that the representatives of the defrauded shareholder succeed to his right to go against the wrong-doing director,

* 19 June, 1856. 18 Dunlop's Reports, 1046.

† Sustained by Court of Session, 3 June, 1858 (20 Dunlop, 1045); and by the House of Lords, 23 February, 1860 (3 Macqueen, 783).

and not only to go against him, but to go against his representatives, in so far as these have succeeded to property from him. And lastly, as to the measure of the loss, Lord Chancellor Campbell observed that the claim must be for the difference between the purchase-money you have paid and that which you ought to have paid—that is, between the price paid under deception, and what would have been the fair market price if the circumstances of the company had been truly disclosed.

Such were the cases in which the personal responsibility of bank directors was first acknowledged in the law of Scotland. They extend over the decade which followed 1850, and we have already come down to the fall of the Western Bank in the year 1857. That event gave a powerful impulse to the development of the legal doctrine, and during the few years which follow many additions were made to the principles already quoted. We may, I think, group these additional results for the sake of convenience under the following heads:—

By whom may the action of damages be brought?

Against whom may it be brought?

And, in respect of what kinds of wrong-doing?

1. We have seen already that defaulting directors are exposed to an action at the instance of any shareholder deceived by them to his loss, or of any stranger deceived by them into buying shares or otherwise to his loss; and, indeed, it may be put generally that by the law of Scotland they, like other men not directors, are liable to every individual to whom they have caused loss by gross wrong-doing or fraud. This was very early understood. But it was pushed to a very surprising length by the defendants in the great action directed by the liquidators of the Western Bank against the directors of that institution.* The directors who defended in that case said, "We know we are responsible to individuals for the loss, if any, which we have caused them. Let them bring their action on the principles already laid down, and we shall meet it. But we object to the company itself, through its liquidators, bringing a similar action against us." The present head of the Court of Session, then a judge of the Second Division, made short work of this argument. He remarked that if each Western Bank shareholder brought an action for each year of malversation against each director, "there must be brought into this court 19,500 summonses. It is to be hoped that the parties who state such pleas are prepared to approach the legislature with urgent petitions for a very large extension of the judicial establishment in Scotland." But he also pointed out that every company, whether solvent or in liquidation, has a right to sue for moneys of which it has been wrongously deprived. Individuals have a right to sue all who have defrauded them, but when the individuals are members of a company, that is a

* January and March, 1860. 22 Dunlop's Reports, 447.

right which it is very inconvenient to exercise. The company, on the other hand, is, "primarily at least *the* party to sue the directors for reparation, to the effect of restoring the company's estate against the loss it has sustained." Ever since that decision in 1860 it has been fixed that directors of a bank are personally responsible both to the company and to its individual members, and may be sued by either.

2. Directors in the strict sense of the word may be sued: are we to include in the same rule those who more properly act along with or under directors, *e.g.* the manager or the secretary? This came up in the two following years in the case of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Bank,* and in this the Court of Session unquestionably went wrong. It sustained an action laid on fraudulent representations against a director, but threw it out as against the manager and secretary, on the ground that they "are only the servants of the directors, are employed by them, must obey their instructions, and may be dismissed by them at any time." But the case went to the Court of Appeal, and came into the hands of that keenest of legal intellects, Richard Bethel, then Lord Chancellor Westbury. He held the Court below to be doubly in error according to the law of Scotland. In the first place, the manager and assistant manager or secretary are not in point of fact "only the servants of the directors." The directors and managers together are the officers; all the officers are in a legal sense the servants of the company; the public and the shareholders depend as much on the managers as they do upon the directors; and they accept, and in the ordinary case are entitled to accept, the reports of the latter as emanating also from the former. But, secondly, supposing that these officials are mere servants, the order of a master is no justification, either moral or legal, for a servant's committing what he knows to be a fraud. The master in such a case is no doubt himself liable; but so is the servant, and each is liable to the full amount of loss.

3. The more difficult and complicated question remains, what are the actings which infer this personal responsibility, whether in the directors or the manager? And this inquiry divides itself into two branches. In the first place, what are the classes of wrong actions, what are the general descriptions of wrong-doing, which as a matter of law bind liability upon the person against whom they are proved? When we have answered this general question of law, it will be time enough to inquire into the matter of detail, how these general categories of wrong-doing are to be proved against any man, and what transactions or omissions on the part of bank directors have already been held to bring them within their range.

The earlier cases against bank directors all turned, as we have seen, on charges of fraud. But it was soon perceived that this, though

* Court of Session, 16 February, 1861 (23 Dunlop's Reports, 574), and House of Lords, 23 July, 1862 (4 Macqueen, 424).

one of the gravest, was not the only form of wrong-doing by which a man in an official situation may cause enormous loss to those who trust him. And the question of broadening the grounds of liability came up and was substantially decided, in the leading Western Bank case already mentioned, that first brought by the liquidators against the directors.* It has sometimes been supposed that the liability of directors on such a ground as gross negligence or neglect of duty was never laid down till the last of these cases, so late as 1872. And the present chief of the Scottish court, in deciding that last case, said pointedly that neither in England nor in Scotland had the question down to that date arisen "under circumstances which admitted of any general decision upon the principle." Yet twelve years before, in the first case as to that bank, the other division of the same court, in deciding an important point as to the form of the action, held unanimously that it turned on the question whether neglect as well as fraud gave an action for delinquency against the individual. And it was the same judge who then answered this question for himself and his brethren in the affirmative, in terms even more comprehensive than those of the subsequent judgment of 1872, and at least equally instructive. In the case of 1860 the action was laid partly upon fraudulent concealment, but partly also upon what was described as *either* gross and wilful mismanagement and malversation in office, *or*, alternatively, gross, habitual, and total neglect of the duty of directors, and leaving and delegating that duty entirely to other irresponsible persons, while themselves retained office. Is this neglect of duty a ground of action against individuals in the same way as fraud is? The Lord Justice-Clerk Inglis, in answering this, did not deny that fraud is morally and legally a worse thing than negligence, however gross. The law of Scotland, following that of Rome, has made a distinction between *delicts* or delinquencies, and *quasi-delicts*; and fraud, being classed among the former, may infer even criminal liability, which lesser wrong-doing does not attain to. But to the effect of a mere claim of reparation for pecuniary loss sustained, it was held that there is no practical distinction. The same measure of reparation is due, on the same conditions, and by the same form of action, whether the cause of the damage be the one kind of "delict" or the other.

"It is a mistake altogether to suppose that no *delict* or *quasi-delict* can be made the foundation of such an action as the present, without the use of the term 'fraud,' or the epithet 'fraudulent.' There are many *delicts* to which such language could not with propriety be applied—for example, all *delicts* the essence of which is physical violence, others which derive their mischievous effects and illegality from reckless disregard of consequences to one's neighbour's property in the prosecution of some profit or pleasure of our own—cases of libel, of wrongful imprisonment, of wrongful though not fraudulent refusal to perform a statutory duty, as in the example of members of Presbytery already cited; and other cases where—as in one of the alternatives in the

* 27 January, 1860 (22 Dunlop, 474).

present summons (in which the weakness of the pursuer's case in this discussion is supposed to lie)—the ground of liability is to be found in systematic and wilful neglect of a duty undertaken, on the performance of which, by the defenders, others have naturally and justifiably relied, which the law designates as *crassa negligentia*, and holds equivalent to dole or fraud. All of these equally in our opinion belong to the class of *delicts*, or *quasi-delicts*, inferring from the nature of the misconduct a joint and several liability against all who are implicated in them, and entitling the injured party to demand his remedy against any one or more of the delinquents in his option."

Compare this with the more popular exposition of the law, as to negligence alone, in 1872: *—

- "It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of the question thus raised. . . . The general question as to how far the director of a joint-stock company—such as the Western Bank—is liable for mere omission to discharge his duty, or what amount or kind of omission will be held to be *crassa negligentia*—has never as yet been authoritatively determined. It may be said, not without force, that the duty undertaken by the directors of joint-stock companies, such as the Western Bank, is subject to some qualifications which may not be always incident to offices of agency or trust. Such officials are generally chosen from their official position, their habits of business, and the amount of credit which their name will command. They are generally persons who have their time occupied by avocations of their own. When the shareholders elected William Baird as a director of the Western Bank, they could not have expected him to make himself conversant with all the details of the management, or the items of all the accounts kept at the head office and the numerous branches of so vast a concern. The ordinary conduct of the bank was placed in the hands of a professional manager, to whose integrity, as well as to whose skill, the directors were entitled in great measure to trust. But, on the other hand, it is impossible for a court of law to assume that such an appointment is a mere name. The duties which are prescribed by the contract must be performed by the directors. If these are not very specific, their scope and object at least are sufficiently intelligible, and if a director grossly neglects the discharge of them he must be liable in the consequences, as agents or trustees are who grossly neglect the interests of those for whose benefit they are appointed. Whatever the duties are, they must be discharged with fidelity and conscience, and with ordinary and reasonable care. It is not necessary that I should attempt to define where excusable remissness ends and gross negligence begins. That must depend to a large extent on the circumstances. It is enough to say that gross negligence in the performance of such a duty, the want of reasonable and ordinary fidelity and care, will infer liability for loss thereby occasioned."

Let us now go back to 1860. The result of these views to the particular action of that year was that it was held not an action on contract, but one to enforce an obligation of reparation arising *ex delicto*. Consequently the defendants, the whole of the directors of the Western Bank, were held to be brought into court not as joint debtors but as joint delinquents, and under not merely a joint but also a several liability. But the result to the law of this and the latest case has been apparently to broaden out the particular rule as to fraud into a general one, and to make bank directors and others liable for loss resulting from what English lawyers call *torts*, what Scotch lawyers call *delicts*

* Western Bank, Baird's Trustees, 22 November, 1872 (3 Macpherson, 111).

or *quasi-delicts*, and what men who speak plain English call wrong-doing. Only if you insist upon using a popular word like this to gather up a class of actions, you must modify it in two ways at least in order to be accurate. In the first place, the wrong-doing which founds our action may mean, and often does mean, doing nothing—refusing or neglecting to do what it is an official's duty to do. But further, wrong-doing, whether positive or negative, is a vague word, including everything, from the darkest hue of guilt to the lightest shade of moral infirmity or imperfection. And it is not everything which I, or a jury, may on the whole think not quite right, which will found an action against any man—even against a private individual. Still less will it do so against an official, a man who, not for his benefit but for mine, has accepted a position in which he must continually act, and act in difficult circumstances. To say that his way is morally wrong, and that my way is right, is scarcely enough to infer damages for my loss by him. It may be enough indeed to say that he has acted fraudulently, for that is a definite and unelastic word. But it is not enough to say that he has acted negligently—I must allege gross negligence—*crassa negligentia*. Nor is it enough to say generally that he has acted wrongfully—to charge him with *culpa* or fault—I must allege *culpa lata*, or gross fault. For it is only these which share in the moral quality of fraud or crime so far as to found a claim for reparation.*

Fraud and negligence may therefore be said to be the two great heads under which practically arises the personal responsibility of directors. I shall take each of them in its order. Both were sustained as grounds of action in the earliest Western Bank case, and both, as we shall see, were referred to in those which followed it. But in three actions which appeared and reappeared in the court during the seven years after 1858, relating either to the National Exchange Company of Glasgow or to the Edinburgh and Glasgow Bank, only one of these charges, that of fraud, was brought forward. We may therefore look at them first. In the case of the former company (which, by the way, was not exactly a bank) the Lord President (Colonsay) had occasion in 1860 to charge a jury as to what amounted to false and fraudulent representations in reports.† He pointed out that the statements made by the directors as to the value of the bank's securities, though they turned out to be quite false, were not contradicted by the bank's books. To get at the truth the directors must have sifted the value of these securities by a process outside the books, and that they had not done so did not in itself necessarily amount to fraud. But if they grossly neglected the investigation of this sort which they ought to have carried on, and at the same time falsely published to the company that they had made such investigation, and

* *Culpa lata equiparatur dolo.* *Dolus* is the moral quality of crime.

† 27 July, 1860 (23 Dunlop, 1).

professed to give the results, then such representation was probably not only false but fraudulent. In the first Edinburgh and Glasgow Bank case* the issue sent to the jury was much the same with that just mentioned, only instead of charging false and fraudulent representations generally, it demanded whether fraudulent representations were made "that the bank was flourishing when it was in reality insolvent;" and both forms of inquiry have been since approved and employed. This bank appeared in the courts for the last time in 1865,† when the judge whom I have last mentioned, dealing with the same form of issue, instructed the jury as follows:—

"If a person makes a statement which he knows to be false, or which he believes to be false, or if, being in a position of trust and confidence, he makes a statement which he does not believe to be true, and if he makes that statement with a fraudulent purpose, intending to deceive and mislead others into a course of action which might be injurious to them, and if they are by these means induced so to act, and by so acting suffer loss, he would be guilty of falsehood and fraud, and might be made liable accordingly for the consequences."

This is rather a long story; but one alternative in it, making a statement "which he believes to be false, or which he does not believe to be true," was repeated by the same authority in the same year in another form, and went to the House of Lords. This was in a case against the Western Bank,‡ and what the late Lord President then said was this:—

"If the case should occur of directors taking upon them to put forth in their reports statements of importance in regard to the affairs of the bank, false in themselves, and which they did not believe, or had *no reasonable ground* to believe, to be true . . . that would be a misrepresentation and deceit, and in the estimation of law would amount to a fraud."

This ruling was excepted against in the Edinburgh court, but was unanimously confirmed; and in the House of Lords, the phrase "reasonable ground" caused a difference of opinion, or at least of expression of opinion, between the then Lord Chancellor Chelmsford and Lord Cranworth.§ Lord Chelmsford held the ruling good, and laid no weight upon the objection that an honest though false belief might be entertained by directors, and that the jury, under this ruling, would have to sustain its reasonableness. "Supposing," he says, "a person makes an untrue statement, which he asserts to be the result of a *bona fide* belief of its truth, how can the *bona fides* be tested except by considering the grounds of such belief?" And if it be "destitute of all reasonable grounds," how can it be honest? Lord Cranworth takes the other side. He puts it thus:—

"If persons in the situation of directors of a bank make statements as to

* *Dobbie*, 4 March, 1859 (21 Dunlop, 624).

† *Cullen*, 10 July, 1865 (3 Macpherson's Reports, 335).

‡ *Addie*, 9 June, 1865 (3 Macpherson, 899).

§ 20 May, 1867 (5 Macpherson, 80).

the condition of its affairs which they *bonâ fide* believe to be true, I cannot think they can be represented as guilty of fraud because other persons think, or the court thinks, or your lordship thinks, that there was no sufficient ground to warrant the opinion which they had formed. . . . If they are guilty of fraud, it is on account, not of their having stated as true what they had not reasonable ground to believe to be true, but of their having stated as true what they did not believe to be true."

I think it plain that the question between the two learned lords was a question of words, and probably the verbal misapprehension was rather on the side of Lord Cranworth. "Reasonable ground," as used by Lord Colonsay, was not equivalent to the other phrase into which Lord Cranworth translates it, "sufficient ground to warrant the opinion." For the opinion, *ex hypothesi*, is one false in point of fact; and there can be no sufficient ground for a false opinion. But there is a sense in which there may be a reasonable ground for a false opinion: *i.e.*, ground may be conceived on which a reasonable man may honestly entertain it. If there is no such reasonable or at least conceivable ground, the jury will no doubt find him guilty of deceit; and they will do rightly. But they are not in that case making themselves judges of the false opinion in itself; or of the sufficiency of the grounds for that opinion in itself. They merely inquire whether there were sufficient grounds for the false opinion existing in another's mind; *i.e.*, I think, whether there were grounds sufficient for honesty; and this comes round to Lord Cranworth's own view, which is no doubt substantially correct, that the whole question is as to the *bonâ fides*. Good faith, however, as we have seen, is denied by Lord Colonsay not only where a man says what he believes not to be true, but where he says what he does not believe to be true. And I shall close this section by an important commentary upon and qualification of that statement by Lord Colonsay's present successor in the chair of the court. In a trial well remembered in Edinburgh, in connection with the Edinburgh and Glasgow Bank, which happened in 1861, the judge charged the jury on the personal responsibility of bank directors as follows:—

"If a man makes a statement, believing that it is not true, although not absolutely knowing that it is not true, that is still a personal falsehood, and it is falsehood within the meaning of this issue, because it plainly implies dishonesty in the person who makes the statement. But, gentlemen, the person making the statement may not be in the condition of believing the statement to be untrue, and yet he may be in this condition that he does not believe it to be true—for there is a material distinction between these two things. Now when you come to that case—of a party making a statement, who does not actually believe it to be true—that is a mere negative state of mind, and it will depend then upon the relation of the party making the statement to the fact which he states, and to the person to whom his statement is addressed, whether it is dishonest in him, in these circumstances, to make the statement or not. If I make a statement upon an indifferent subject without having any belief in its truth, and without caring whether it is absolutely accurate or not, there is no dishonesty at all: I am not seeking to mislead anybody. I may be making the statement rashly, but there is no harm done.

But if you find a person who is in a position of acquiring knowledge in reference to the fact of which he is speaking; who has the means, and peculiar means, of acquiring knowledge upon the subject; and if he makes a statement which is in point of fact not true, and in the truth of which he has no personal belief himself, then that is dishonest also—there is no doubt about that, especially if it is done for the purpose of deceiving another. It would be dishonourable to make it even although there were no direct purpose of deceiving; but if done for the direct purpose of deceiving another, it will then become dishonest and fraudulent.”*

So much as to the side of fraud. And now as to the other, of neglect of duty—including, of course, and *a fortiori*, violation of duty. This ground of liability, as we said, was laid down in the opinion of the court in the first of the Western Bank cases, and it was applied in the decision of the last of them. And in these, and the intermediate Western Bank cases, we are to look for our chief authority in the northern part of the island, as to what amounts to neglect of duty, and how it is to be made out. One of the earliest cases against the Western Bank directors† was laid exclusively on fraud, but distinctions of great importance were there admitted between one director and another, distinctions which pointed to what must be done when another kind of case should come up. What was alleged here, was that the reports contained representations that the bank was prosperous when it was the reverse. This statement was found relevant against the directors who were present at the meetings where the documents were prepared and approved of, and who signed the reports and the docquets at the ends of the balance-sheets. But it was not sustained against directors who did not sign them, and who were not present at the meetings where they were prepared. To make people responsible for false representations they must be shown to have made or authorized them, and the mere fact of being directors at the time they are issued by the board is not enough. But that only means that it is not enough for an action on fraudulent representations. Plainly, while staying away from the board may obviate the imputation of fraud, it is not the way to escape the imputation of negligence. And accordingly the next action was one which demanded two and a half millions of money from a couple of directors,‡ upon charges which ultimately amounted only to gross neglect. Originally, indeed, the action had another shape. It was against the whole fifteen directors. And it charged them, both with excess of power and wrongful acts on the one hand, and with fraudulent concealment of losses on the other, putting in neglect of duty merely as an alternative under both heads. As the case went on some of the defenders were left out, and the graver charges in the summons were dropped, leaving only the averments, first, that the directors had neglected their duty, and thus

* From Mr. Irvine Smith's shorthand report of the trial, published in 1861.

† *Inglis*, 16 February, 1861 (23 D. 561).

‡ *Western Bank, Bairds*, 20 March, 1862 (24 Dunlop, 859).

allowed the whole management to fall into the hands of a manager who was guilty of the excess of power and the wrongful acts; and, secondly, that the directors were guilty of gross negligence in failing to ascertain and disclose the losses which the bank had made. It does not appear to have been questioned by the court that such averments, if competently made against individuals, might found liability. But it was found that the existing action was not constructed with that view, and, indeed, the statements in it had apparently been rather intended to support a joint case against the directors as a whole. Such a case, the court expressly found, was competent against directors even as a body. They may be accused not merely of individually neglecting their duty, but of agreeing or conspiring to neglect it, and to delegate to a manager the duties they profess to perform. This is negligence, but negligence systematized and prepared; and, indeed, is a sort of fraud. In the Western Bank it was alleged that the directors, as a whole, had made themselves so liable by allowing the manager to set up a firm in America, to embark the funds of the bank in American discounts and speculative investments; and the court found it a good charge against the directors as a body. But though such a case is possible against directors in slump, it is not one which it will be very easy to prove against them all. And if you fail to prove it against one of the number, you lose your action against all. It is much better, the court suggested, to try the case as against particular directors, specifying, with regard to each, the act or class of acts of which he is accused, with dates and circumstances. In such a case, of course, you don't conclude for millions as you do against the whole, but for the particular sums or balances which you can show to be connected with the wrong actings alleged against the particular man. And the particular actings or negligences may vary exceedingly. In that very case, and with reference even to a joint liability, the Lord Justice-Clerk Inglis referred to the varieties of negligence which directors may cultivate:—

“Some may never come to the bank at all, but content themselves with hearing by letter from the manager that everything is going on well; others may, after accepting office, go abroad, and beyond the reach even of correspondence; others may visit the bank occasionally, or even at stated times, and assume all the airs of bank directors, and take their seats at a Board, but without ever really performing any duty. I do not dispute that in such a case all may be liable for joint negligence, and possibly each *in solidum*. But,” he added, “I give no opinion what may be the liability of a person so absenting himself, and keeping beyond all knowledge of the conduct of the bank's affairs by his brother directors, after undertaking the duties of a director. I only say such a case is not to be found in this record.”

A very fair commentary on the imaginary case, which was not found in that record, may be found in a later, where a Western Bank director was charged with gross neglect, first, during two years in which he attended the meetings of directors, and second, during two

following years in which he did not attend them at all. One would think that last fact was enough. And so it is, to prove gross negligence. But then you must show that the gross negligence led to your loss: you must in some way connect it with specific losses which it occasioned. And this was found, rather to the scandal of Scotch law, though perhaps to the credit of the ingenuity of Scotch lawyers. to be exceedingly difficult. For example, one of the things that was found in a general way to infer liability was this—"the making of reckless advances of enormous amount, by way of discounting bills of exchange, to four firms—the bills for the most part being known to be accommodation bills, and the obligants being alleged to be for the most part unworthy of credit."* One observes this is a matter of degree—often therefore a delicate and sometimes a difficult question. All advances by way of bills of exchange are not reckless. But it is possible to make such reckless advances on bills of exchange. So as to overdrafts on accounts. Overdrafts are things usual, legitimate, and profitable, and so the court expressly found. But there may be overdrafts which are otherwise.

"If, under the colour of an advance on open account, continuous drafts are made without any payments to credit over a long period, or if the accounts are manipulated so as to conceal the true balance, or if large drafts are made in single sums without any counterpart, in such cases it will be difficult to maintain that these form legitimate advances merely because they appear in an open account."†

Now in the Western Bank the overdrafts and bills were extravagantly wrong, and that during the very period in which one gentleman of great wealth, while a director, had not attended the meetings at all. If he had been sued by the bank or by any shareholder at the end of that period, he would apparently have been held liable for the loss as caused by neglect. But the bank did not break, and the action was not brought for five years after he ceased to be a director. And during those years the bank dealt with the same customers, and trusted them to an enormous account (or to an amount which we before 1878 used to think enormous), for the balance of £340,000 grew into £1,400,000. The old balance was obliterated, and the court

"could see no principle of justice on which, at the termination of such a period of speculation, during which the balance of 1852 became entirely absorbed and merged in operations of such magnitude, the bank can be permitted to revive this claim, after the position, the assets, and the liabilities of the customers had undergone changes so material."‡

These, we see, are in a certain sense difficulties of proof—difficulties in connecting the director who has admittedly neglected his duty with results in the shape of loss. But we must not forget a prior prin-

* 20 March, 1862 (24 *Dunlop*, 860).

† 22 November, 1872 (11 *Macpherson*, 113).

‡ 22 November (11 *Macpherson*, 117).

ciple, that mere want of knowledge of many facts about his bank does not always show negligence in a director. I closed the former branch of our inquiry by a severe passage from a judge of great authority to the effect that a man is fraudulent, not merely if he says what he knows not to be true, but if he says what he does not know to be true—provided he has peculiar means of knowing the truth, and makes the statement to those who have no such means, and who, he is aware, rely upon him in regard to it. Now that strong statement requires qualification or explanation, as applied to bank directors, and it was so explained or qualified in the same jury charge, in a passage a summary of which may close this second branch, of *neglect of duty*. In the first place, the learned judge remarked, the directors are not paid officers of the company; they get a small fee every board day, but that is nothing. In the next place, they have generally business of their own to attend to, and those who elect them know that they are bound to attend the bank meetings with some regularity, and to give advice and assistance in the business and exercise control over it. But they “cannot be expected to make themselves familiar with the books of the bank;” they must take results from the books, and not details. They check the states by comparing them with the balances; but that is, or was, done quarterly by committees appointed for the purpose; and apparently that was thought quite a fair method of dealing. Then with regard to such matters as old debts due to the banks, the judge at that trial was by no means prepared to say how far it was the duty of *each* member of the board to look individually into and make up his own mind upon the solvency of every debtor, and the value of the securities held for each debt. Some one director, by his training, might have a much greater knowledge of some classes of these things—say, for example, of railway securities—than the others; and it might be gross neglect of duty in him not to look carefully into that, and give the bank the benefit of his knowledge. But another director is not bound to educate himself for that special department. In short, such a question, he concluded, must always be judged with a reference to the individual director in question, as well as with a regard to the “general run of the duties of bank directors,” which he assumed to be better understood by the community of Scotland than by any other in the world, and by a Scotch jury better than by a Scotch judge.

My English readers will observe that down to this point I have given the Scotch law almost without reference to that of England. I hope they will think that there may be some advantage, or at least some compensation, in doing so. Practically, that happens to be the law to which a good many eyes are at present directed. Theoretically, if you can find a jurisprudence which builds itself up in a question of this sort, on “the common law of the world,” but within a definite and limited period, its self-development makes a specially interesting

subject of study. Of course the Northern lawyers while professedly finding their repository of equity as much in the law of Rome as in that of England, have not been neglectful of the magnificent work done by the professors of that science where it has been studied separately and specially. And in some cases it has been forced upon their attention by public events, even during the period I have considered, as in the Royal British Bank case (which no doubt was on the criminal side) in 1858. Still down to about 1865 English law contributed much less than afterwards, while, very curiously, the subsequent law of Scotland on the subject is a blank broken by only one case in 1872. One result of the course that things have thus taken is, that in now completing a sketch of what is common to both countries from exclusively English sources, we can afford to lay aside much that might be gathered from the latter even by incompetent and foreign hands, from the period before 1865, and may refer chiefly to findings added since that date; findings which the equitable law of a small adjacent country must receive with the deepest respect.

There are two points which we have not yet noticed on which English law is clear and strong. One is the inadmissibility of those who, like directors, are in the position of trustees, making any personal profit from their position, or even entering into a valid contract including such profit. But Scotch law on this matter is also clear, and indeed one of the leading cases always founded upon in the English courts is a Scotch appeal in the House of Lords. It requires at present to be noticed only in relation to the two branches of fraud or misrepresentation, and violation or neglect of duty. Allegations under both heads, in themselves inadequate, would assume a more conclusive aspect if the wrongful acts of the directors or officials attacked were complicated with the motive of the receipt of such moneys, or even with the receipt of them. According to the rules of both countries it would seem that such moneys are to be paid back *ante omnia*, leaving thereafter to all parties their remedies. A matter on which English law, however, is conspicuously strong is that of *ultra vires*. It holds it indeed

“no mere canon of English municipal law, but a great and broad principle which must be taken (in the absence of proof to the contrary) as part of any given system of jurisprudence, that the governing body of a corporation which is a trading partnership—that is to say, the ultimate authority within the society itself—cannot, in general, use the funds of the community for any purpose other than those for which they were contributed.”*

And on this principle the law founds a personal liability distinct from any that is based on fraud or misconduct. This was explained and applied in 1870,† but was based upon a previous case in which directors, “apparently with perfect *bona fides*, but being misled by a

* V.-C. Wickens in *Pickering*, 1872. 14 L. T. Equity, 322.

† By V.-C. James. 22 Law Times (N.S.), 839.

false table on which they had calculated their profits," had made dividends really out of capital. The proper order was held by the Lords Justices to be that they should personally pay back the money they had improperly paid to the shareholders, without prejudice to their recovering it back from the shareholders to whom they had paid it. But this is qualified by the important doctrine that "shareholders may ratify an act which is *ultra vires*;"* that is, probably, as the Scotch law more pedantically but accurately puts it, they may "homologate" it, or ratify it so far as they are concerned. And it appears settled that "a shareholder is bound by the acts of the directors if he had the means of knowing that they have acted beyond their authority, and he does not interfere."

But the chief English authorities during the period we are considering, on the heads of fraud and negligence respectively, are probably the cases connected with the catastrophe of Overend, Gurney, & Co., which opened that period. On the former matter, that of fraud and misrepresentation, the question arose, what is the effect on concealment or omission in prospectuses and reports? It was held that mere non-disclosure of material facts (though it may be a ground for setting aside an allotment or purchase of shares) is not in itself a ground for an action on deceit or for proceedings in equity such as those with which in this paper we deal. But though it is not necessarily a ground for the latter, it may become so in special circumstances, and was held to be so in the case in hand. The Lord Chancellor Chelmsford states it thus:—

"It is said that the prospectus was true as far as it goes, but half a truth will sometimes amount to a falsehood; and I go further, and say that, to my mind, it contains positive misrepresentation. The language of the prospectus must be read in the sense in which the respondents must have known it would be understood."

And Lord Cairns, following him, puts it with great exactness that to ground an action in the nature of an action for misrepresentation,

"there must, in my opinion, be some active misstatement of fact, or, at all events, such a partial and fragmentary statement of fact, as that the withholding of that which is not stated makes that which is stated absolutely false."†

On the other side, of neglect of duty, the law of personal responsibility was in the Overend, Gurney, & Co. case discriminatingly lenient, as on the side of fraud it was discriminatingly severe. It was held in Chancery, and confirmed by the House of Lords, in 1873, that

"imprudence in the exercise of powers undoubtedly conferred upon directors will not subject them to personal responsibility; the imprudence must be so great and manifest as to amount to gross negligence."‡

* *Phosphate of Lime Co.*, 25 L. R., 636. Mr. Justice Willes, however, refers in this case, not in a reassuring way, to certain "sapient persons" in the House of Lords.

† *Peck v. Gurney*, 6 L. R. (H. L. Cases,) 377.

‡ *Overend, Gurney, & Co. v. Gibb*, 5 L. R. (H. L. Cases), 480.

In this case the directors were authorized to purchase a business. It turned out to be ruinous. But "unless that character was obviously apparent when the purchase was made," the directors making it were not responsible. And in closing my notice of a subject on which the law of different parts of one country must be substantially one, I find a valuable contribution from the Irish Court of Chancery seven years ago.* It makes important distinctions, and deals especially with the relation of those who are merely negligent, to others who are fraudulent, a case which will be found to be the ordinary one raised. The distinction is between directors who have been *active* in breaches of trust, and others who have been *passive*, and are liable by reason of negligence only. "Presence without dissent," it was held, "at a board meeting where any of the objectionable resolutions were passed is an active participation in such breach of trust." On the other hand, "where knowledge of such breach of trust is first actually acquired when it is too late for remedy, though with due diligence and knowledge it might have been acquired sooner, this is only passive participation therein." But, at the same time, a warning suggestion was thrown out, that if such knowledge is acquired by a director while remedy is still possible, neglect to enforce such remedy may be held to be active participation in what was previously done.

The preceding pages, I believe, include the principles upon which bank directors in any part of the United Kingdom can be held to incur personal responsibility, while they refer specially to the law in Scotland. But they treat of personal responsibility in its wider sense, as exposing to a claim for pecuniary reparation or damages. They make no attempt to discriminate or to deal with that more limited class of cases which infer also a criminal responsibility. No such attempt must be made until the close of a criminal trial for which we in Scotland wait.

ALEX. TAYLOR INNES.

* V.-C. Chatterton. 19 Weekly Reports, 923.

THE ALCOHOL QUESTION.

VIII.

TEMPERANCE *VERSUS* ABSTINENCE.

THE argument in favour of temperance as opposed to abstinence from all alcoholic beverages, based on the universality of their use by mankind in almost all civilized countries and in all ages, which Sir James Paget has so well employed, is, to my mind, both valid and very cogent. If, as we are told, the famous Vincentian Rule "*Quod semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*" is to be accepted, only "with certain limitations," it may, I think, be taken as at least equally applicable to the temperate use of alcohol as to faith. To the broad statement that the moderate employment of fermented liquors is useful and desirable for most people there are doubtless numerous exceptions to be made. Different climates, different modes of life, and different constitutions, will show the necessity for modifying and limiting very greatly any such broad general affirmation. But if our attention be confined, say, to our own country, to the British Isles, the proportion of exceptions to the general rule will be considerably reduced, and if our view be still further restricted to those past middle age who are subjected to the wear and tear of the ceaseless struggle of life in our populous cities, or even in many of our country districts, the exceptions would probably be not more numerous than will serve only to prove the rule. But what is to be understood by the moderate or temperate use of alcohol? On the answer to this question it will depend whether the position assumed can be maintained. It is not, however, easy to give a categorical answer to such a question. To lay down the same rule for all persons would be like saying that every one must take the same amount of water, of meat, of exercise, or of sleep. If there be any truth in the adage that every man by the time he is forty years of age is either a fool or a physician, it would seem that it would hardly do to say that every man must judge for himself. For even if we should pay the physicians the compliment of assuming

that they, at least, would be able to decide how much wine was good for them, there would still be the former class to be instructed and guided by some rule. And without adopting Mr. Carlyle's estimate of the proportion of fools to the rest of mankind, it may safely be asserted that with reference to the present question the proportion is considerable. Whose fault, then, is it that there are so many foolish and ignorant people, who cannot tell whether they are better or worse in health for the amount of alcohol that they daily take? The doctors', reply the teetotallers and some other equally dogmatic people. But, who have demonstrated by irrefragable proofs the dire effects of the abuse of alcohol? who have been loudest in their denunciation of the widespread evils of intemperance, physical, moral, and social? who have instituted and carried out all the laborious investigations into the physiological action of alcohol with the express purpose of determining its action and uses in health and disease? Assuredly the doctors. The utmost pains have been taken by the profession to enlighten the public on this burning question of the day. It is true that much difference of opinion prevails on the physiological action and therapeutic use of alcohol. But this is mainly owing to the undoubted fact that the scientific problems have not yet been solved. Hence in the vast majority of cases in which alcohol does good we do not know how it acts. We do not know precisely what becomes of it after it enters the stomach,—in what, if in any, true sense it is food,—when the benefit which it confers is due to its stimulating and when to its sedative action. But that it does act virtually in each and all of these and, perhaps, also in other ways, it seems to me idle to deny. When a man is maddened by brandy, and with a flushed face, fiery eye, and throbbing pulse, loses all control over his actions, and murders his wife and children or blows his own brains out, are we not to admit such evidence as proof of the stimulant action of alcohol? And who that has ever had occasion to struggle with such an one can doubt that his muscular strength is, for the time being, enormously increased, however little enduring power it may have. No doubt there is a stage or degree of intoxication when the brain becomes narcotized, all power of volition is lost, and a child may restrain the drunkard's arm.

Nor is the evidence of the sedative action of alcohol less decisive. Without at present citing examples derived from actual disease, when some unfortunate victim of heartless fraud or subject of anxiety and carking care seeks in vain for rest and relief in the oblivion of sleep, or the overwrought brain of the student or statesman fruitlessly longs for respite from exhausting thought and mental strain, and on the advice of friend or doctor, or from past experience, has recourse to a glass or two of wine or a tumbler of toddy, and falls into refreshing sleep,—what shall we call this effect of alcohol if not by the term sedative? And so it is true that one man may be rendered feverish, irritable, peevish, and quarrelsome by a small quantity of wine which will soothe

the irritated nerves of another, and make him contented and amiable. The stomach of one man is irritated and offended by wine and his digestion impeded, whilst the appetite of another is improved and his digestion facilitated. The former is unquestionably better without alcohol, and he comes into the category of fools if he takes it, but the latter has no claim to the character of a physician if he abstains, at the bidding of either a mistaken fanatic or a theorist. And there are doubtless those who in rude health and in the full vigour of life are in blissful ignorance of the meaning of either dyspepsia or anorexia, and need neither the stimulating nor soothing influences of alcohol. To all such I would say, Abstain, run not the risk of dispelling your ignorance and losing your bliss.

But it is perhaps on the brain and nervous system that the greatest difference is seen as regards either the immediate or permanent effects of alcohol. There are few people, I believe, who are aided in the actual performance of brain-work by alcohol; not that many, nay, most persons, are not rendered more ready and brilliant in conversation, or have their imagination quickened for a time. But the steady continued exercise of the mental powers demanded of professional men is more often impeded than aided at the time by alcohol. When, however, the labour is over, and the hour for food and rest is come, the question arises—Does a moderate amount of alcohol as a part of the restorative meal aid or not in repairing the waste that has taken place? Has alcohol any special advantage over other articles of diet in restoring exhausted nervous power or repairing the waste attendant on its exercise? I believe it has, and that where one man may be met with who finds “a few raisins” answer the purpose, there are more whose experience has told them that “three or four brandied cherries” are better, and the majority of those who have to go through the labours of a parliamentary session or any similar continuous mental strain will, I am convinced, admit that they do their work better and with more comfort to themselves if they take three or four glasses of sherry or claret as a part of their daily food. I agree with those who have maintained that children and young persons do not, as a rule, need alcohol in any form, and believe it to be a grievous error to suppose that every sick or weakly child requires alcohol as a constituent of its diet. Judging from my own experience, both personal and professional, there is need for every one to relax his rule and modify his practice according to the varying circumstances of his life; and to this most men’s instincts prompt them. Many a barrister or doctor in his summer holiday feels that he does not need his customary glass of sherry or port, does not care for it, and does not take it; but he no sooner returns to his duties than he becomes conscious that he is happier, more comfortable, and ready for his work by resuming his accustomed habit. I do not believe that such an one is, *ceteris paribus*, a worse but a better life for an assurance office than a pledged abstainer.

As regards the therapeutic use of alcohol, I believe there is much more real unanimity of opinion in the profession than many persons suppose, or than might be inferred by non-professional readers from a superficial perusal of the various articles that have appeared in previous numbers of this REVIEW. The very natural and wholesome desire to improve our therapeutic methods, and augment our power of controlling disease in proportion as our knowledge of its course and nature is advanced, almost necessarily leads to experimental modifications of treatment in accordance with new discoveries in science and the prevalent theories of the day. Nor is the temporary popularity of particular practitioners without its effects, sometimes most prejudicial, in this respect. In many cases where the therapeutic use of alcohol has either been abandoned or materially limited, this has arisen, not from any change of opinion as to its action and capabilities, but from more perfect knowledge of the nature and normal course of disease. Sydenham said of opium that it was "*Donum Dei, ut sine illo manca sit ac claudicet medicina.*" Most sober-minded physicians of any experience, even those who may be most chary in the use of alcohol, must, I think, admit that in not a few instances they would feel their art to be indeed lame and impotent if they were deprived of its aid. I, for one, believe it, as well as opium, to be among the gifts of God, accorded to man for therapeutic as well as other beneficial purposes, to make glad his heart and strengthen his nerves, though alas! too often perverted to his physical and moral ruin. There are no sufficient trustworthy statistics available to prove to what extent disease may be safely and satisfactorily treated without the aid of alcohol. But that in many cases where it was formerly given as a matter of course it may advantageously be dispensed with there cannot be any doubt. In many cases of simple continued fever, when alcohol would formerly have been thought necessary, I am not in the habit of prescribing it during the regular course of the disease, although in the same cases, in convalescence, I believe it to be an important, often an indispensable aid. But in the severer forms of fever and in many of its more dangerous complications, I believe its use to be imperative, and know nothing that will take its place. In the crisis of many a severe case, when the action of the heart and the pulse is so feeble as scarcely to be felt, it is by alcohol alone that the life of the patient can be saved, and whether it act as a stimulant, or, as Dr. Wilks would maintain, as a sedative, is immaterial to me, if I find the fluttering pulse become steady, and can again feel the impulse of the heart, and thus tide my patient over the few hours that are to decide between life and death. But the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW is scarcely the place to enter on details of medical treatment, or it would be easy to adduce many like examples of the signal aid afforded us by alcohol in cases of great danger. In the present state of physiological science we are not justified in allowing theoretical views and assumed or half-knowledge to take the place of real well-

tested experience. Daily observation convinces me of both the benefit to be derived from the proper use of alcohol, and the vast amount of disease, and that of the most irremediable kind, that it induces when wrongly used.

And now as to the philanthropic, the moral arguments in favour of abstinence as opposed to temperance, what shall I say? In the first place, that intemperate language and uncharitable insinuations had better be avoided. On this score, many good people, and doctors among the rest, have much reason to complain. In the next place, that if every man is to forego his freedom of action because many make a licentious use of it, I know not what is the value of my freedom. If in the case of alcohol, as of meat, or any other thing, I am to abstain from what I conscientiously believe to be the lawful and beneficial use of it, "lest I make my brother to offend," my life would be an intolerable burden, worse than that of any ascetic monk that ever lived. And, worse still, I should be perpetually giving the lie to what I believe to be a truth, that "every creature of God is good, and to be received with thanksgiving." Again, if I am to judge of the probable benefits to be derived from the abstinence principle in the matter of drunkenness by its influence in the cure of other vices, I have good reason, for the present at least, to remain in doubt. But in proclaiming and denouncing intemperance as the crying social evil of this country I will yield to none. It is equally fatal to health, peace, and virtue, to domestic happiness and social prosperity. Every man who has the least regard for either the physical or moral welfare of his fellow-creatures is bound to use every legitimate means and sound argument to exterminate this foul canker of society. For the intemperate, his duty and only safety is abstinence; for the temperate, his duty is thankfulness and unremitting effort to reclaim his erring brother.

JAMES RISDON BENNETT.

IX.

A CASUAL CONVERSATION ON THE SUBJECT.

THE day before yesterday, in answer to a verbal invitation to send a short paper of four or five pages to the present No. of this REVIEW, in continuation of the discussion upon the Alcohol Question which has been going on in the last two Nos., I objected on the ground that want of time and want of space were difficulties with which I did not see how to contend to any good purpose. Half an hour afterwards, for no sufficient reason perhaps, I had changed my mind, and come to the conclusion that a simple report of a conversation

I had had in the interval with a clerical patient might furnish not unsuitable matter for the short paper in question; and before the day was over this report was very nearly in the form in which it is here presented.

There was not much the matter with my clerical patient. He was, he said, without appetite, easily tired, in a state of unrest, unable to sleep soundly, not quite up to the mark generally; and after that the conversation went on very much in this way.

Patient. I may be wrong as to eating, but I cannot be wrong as to drinking, for I do not touch anything with alcohol in it. All stimulants—malt liquor, wine, spirits, alike—stultify me, and you must not try to persuade me to take them.

Myself. Why do you speak of alcoholic drinks as *stimulants* when you find, as you say, that they always stultify you? Ought you not to regard them as *sedatives* in your own case? Or rather would it not be better to speak of them neither as stimulants nor as sedatives, for in fact they may be taken so as to be stimulant or sedative, or even tonic in their action. For several years, when I had to lecture on *Materia Medica* at the Westminster Hospital, I held that it was wrong to deal with any of these *materia* as necessarily stimulant, or sedative, or tonic; and I have not changed my mind in any degree since, except in becoming more strongly convinced of the stability of my position. As ordinarily given, opium may be regarded as sedative, but opium may be given so as to be stimulant, or even tonic. As ordinarily given, quinine may be regarded as tonic, but quinine may be given so as to be strongly stimulating or strongly sedative. And so more especially with alcohol. Every one knows that alcohol may be taken so as to be strongly stimulating or strongly sedative; what is not so well known, unfortunately, is that this agent may also act as a tonic.

P. It is certainly news to me that alcohol may be taken so as to act as a tonic; and, even allowing that you may be right in saying so, I do not see that this agent ought to be used for ordinary dietetic purposes. Tonics, you must admit, are not wanted ordinarily. Surely common food, with no other drink than water, ought to yield all the nourishment that man really needs.

M. I don't care to fight in the cause of tonics. I will give in if you like. Indeed, all that I really meant in saying that alcohol may be used so as to be tonic in its action was to say that this agent may be made to take the place of food. On this position I take my stand, and, as I think, more safely than I could do on that which you choose to occupy. You say that common food, with water as a drink, ought to supply sufficient nourishment in all ordinary cases. Is this true in your own case? You say that your appetite has failed, and that you are not up to the mark in bodily and mental strength, and you want me to help you. How? By giving some suitable ton

will probably say. I do not say so. On the contrary, I tell you to take alcohol in some form or other properly and regularly, and try to dispense with the tonics you so often think you want, and are so ready to take: and I have, as I think, good reason for giving you this advice. Alcohol, properly used, is of great service, partly in keeping up the animal heat by supplying easily kindled *fuel* to the respiratory fire, partly in producing nerve-power by furnishing easily assimilable *food* to nerve-tissue, and partly in *lessening the necessity for ordinary food by diminishing the waste of the system* which has to be repaired by food. Now see how all this applies to yourself as a water-drinker. Your appetite has flagged for some time, and you are not able to eat enough to keep up your weight and strength to the proper standard; and what I advise you to do, for the reasons given, is to take a little alcohol in one form or another regularly, and see for yourself whether you cannot dispense with tonics. I have no doubt as to the result. You will soon be out of your present state of *seediness*, and that too without tonics. And what you may gain in this way you may keep by going on in the same way, and that without detriment.

P. Without detriment?

M. Yes. Not only without detriment in the vast majority of persons, but with positive advantage in a very large minority. Take two cases of water-drinkers, the one of a man with a large appetite and the means to gratify it, the other that of a poor man who cannot get sufficient food, and you will, I am sure, follow me quite easily in all that I now want to impress upon you.

The well-to-do hearty man, I will suppose, frightened, as you are, by the terrible consequences of intemperance in the use of alcoholic drinks, has set his face, as you have done, altogether against the use of these drinks for ordinary dietetic purposes, but he has not taken the trouble to make himself well acquainted with the evils consequent upon over-eating. He is blessed with a good appetite, and he indulges it without a suspicion that he is doing wrong in any way. He is, perhaps, a muscular Christian, who in all sincerity thinks that he is more likely to carry on the fight of life successfully by copying the habits of the carnivora as to eating, and trusting to the animal strength so derived, than by following the old-fashioned rule which enjoins fasting and praying and working or waiting, not in his own name and power, but in the name and power of God. Be this as it may, however, the case supposed is that of a water-drinker with a good appetite, and with the means of satisfying it, who goes on eating and eating as if ~~there were~~ **there were** no such thing as over-indulgence in this direction until—
~~what?~~ **until** he finds himself, as he is sure to do sooner or later, ~~slightly~~ **slightly** out of order in one way or another,—soon enough if he be ~~a~~ **a** man, before very long if he be the strongest. His powers

of digestion and assimilation eventually become unequal to the task imposed upon them, and something must be done to help them. And what? Abstinence in the matter of ordinary food, you will say, is all that is wanted, and I am not disposed to say otherwise, if the vital powers of the man are, so to speak, up to a certain mark. But simple abstinence in this direction is, as I think, not all that is wanted, if from age, or from any other cause, these powers are not up to this mark; and so far as my experience goes, the simple truth is, that the man is *not* likely to get well and keep well unless he has recourse to the moderate use of alcohol habitually, partly because this practice will, by lessening the waste of the system, bring down the amount of ordinary food actually wanted to a point in which it can be dealt with effectively by the enfeebled powers of digestion and assimilation, and partly because it will, by supplying more easily kindled fuel to the respiratory fire, and more easily assimilable food to nerve-tissue, augment vital warmth and nerve-power, and in that way promote the activity of digestion and assimilation, and every other vital function. At all events, the result, so far as my experience goes, will be in every way satisfactory.

Nor is it necessary to shift from this position in order to deal, to some extent satisfactorily also, with the case of the water-drinker without the means to satisfy his appetite fully. He, for the sake of argument, I allow, would do well enough if he could get sufficient food, but this is precisely what he cannot get, and because he cannot get it, sooner or later he, too, must break down. The poor from want of work will never cease out of the land, and this consequence of poverty, this breaking down, is inevitable. And what must be done here? I answer, that in this case, as in the last, the natural remedy is to be found in the moderate use of alcohol habitually, partly for the reasons just given, but chiefly because the glass of malt liquor, or cider, or perry, or common wine, if the man have the luck to live in a wine-growing country, will cost less than the amount of ordinary food which must otherwise be eaten in order to preserve health. I have no doubt as to the actual saving in pocket which will result from the adoption of the practice recommended, if only the prevalent delusion can be got rid of that animal food, especially meat, is the only food worthy of the name of food, and that vegetable food—bread, porridge, pudding, potatoes, beans and peas, fruit, and the rest—is to be regarded as little better than padding; and I am equally certain that the result will be as beneficial to health as it will be satisfactory financially. And I cannot help saying that he who chooses to urge the poor to forego the *proper* uses of alcoholic drinks for the simple reason that semi-drunkenness and drunkenness are, what they are indubitably, evils of incalculable magnitude, is no less than culpable—I cannot use a milder word—in a high degree.

P. Culpable ?

M. I am ready to admit that I ought not to apply this word to those who would have all persons in all cases abstain from the use of alcoholic drinks because so many are ruined by them. I know that these persons are actuated by the sincerest wish to do good to their fellow-creatures, and that they are at the worst no more than wrong-headed ; but I cannot allow that goodness in the advocate for any particular cause is to be allowed to take the place of soundness in argument. Good wrong-headed people, you must allow, are very dangerous people. You must also allow that I am not too hard upon the people in question in calling them wrong-headed, if I am right in what I have said about the proper uses of alcoholic drinks. If I am right in what I have said, there is a wise as well as an unwise use of these drinks ; and even if I were unable to satisfy myself by argument upon this point, I should still hold to it, for I find it impossible to suppose—as I must do if I believe that the only effect of alcoholic drinks upon man is mischievous—that the process of alcoholic fermentation in the economy of nature was a mistake on the part of the Author of nature. Moreover, I cannot but find further proof of the wrong-headedness about which I am speaking in the common assumption, not only that drunkenness and the tendency to drunkenness is an almost universal vice, but also that it is wrong to enjoy in moderation anything which may lead to drunkenness. All my own experience in hospital and private practice teaches me that drunkenness, or even a tendency to drunkenness, is the exception and not the rule—the comparatively rare exception even ; and this being the case, I cannot but feel a little indignant with those who malign their fellow-creatures by maintaining the contrary. I rest upon my own experience : I leave others to deal with theirs. Nor can I consent to let pass unchallenged the other part of the assumption with which I am concerned, that it is wrong to enjoy in moderation what may lead to intoxication when taken immoderately. The normal state of humanity in respect of comfort, so far as my experience goes, is one of *minus* rather than one of *plus* ; and, no doubt, it is well that it should be so, for if man were too comfortable here he would for that reason be more disposed to conduct himself as if his life were not a state of discipline for a higher life here and hereafter. Be this as it may, however, there is surely no reason that man should allow himself to be needlessly uncomfortable. On the contrary, it is highly probable that he in whom a sense of discomfort, of *malaise*, is the one predominating feeling is not in that state of equanimity in which he can do anything well. Such a man—and his case is only too common—will be apt to be absorbed in his own sufferings when he ought to be doing his proper work. Such a man, most assuredly, will need every legitimate means by which he can master the feelings of discomfort which prevent him from working with all his might ; and if he should have found that the

proper use of alcohol is one of those means, who shall blame him? No doubt there is a danger of making himself too comfortable by making improper use of this particular means; but this is no real ground for blame, for every blessing of life may be made a curse to him who abuses it. Nay, it may be no unimportant part of his discipline here to learn how to practise moderation in the use of alcohol. Besides, it is not at all likely that there is any ground for uneasiness on this score, for in the majority of cases (from common sense alone, or from common sense combined with narrow means, or from finding that he must pay heavily in subsequent suffering for any over-indulgence, or for some other reason), the simple fact is that the man is perfectly sober in the true sense of the word. And here, therefore, I may fairly find, in passing, an additional reason in favour of the use of alcohol for dietetic purposes, namely in this—that alcohol when properly used is, what it is abundantly proved to be, a natural and very potent means of comfort. Nor should I be disposed to speak differently if I were dealing with those who transgress the bounds of moderation in making use of this means of comfort. For I hold that a very great number of those unhappy persons have erred, not because they have liked too well what they have taken too freely, but because their feelings of habitual discomfort have been intolerable. And, for this reason, I should try to reclaim them, not by holding forth on the necessity for total abstinence from intoxicating drinks, but by teaching them to use wisely what after all may be almost a necessary of life to them. But here, as I know full well, I am on ground upon which I must not venture to tread without having more time and light to pick my steps than I have at present, and therefore I will, without venturing further in this or any other direction, step back to my former position, and there take leave of you.

P. I am content, or rather I am in that passive state of mind in which I am not unwilling to do your bidding. I, of course, allow that it is idle to say that a thing must not be used because it may be abused. I also, as far as I can follow them, accept provisionally the conclusions to which you would have me come, and all the more readily because I find in the Bible, to which as a clergyman I am bound to pay heed, many other arguments to the same effect, especially that which may be founded on the use of wine in the Last Supper. At all events, as I said before, I am ready to do your bidding, without bothering you any more at present to say why, if you will tell me definitely what I am to do. What, then, am I to do? What especially about moderation in the use of the products of fermentation, and what about the choice of these products?

M. What moderation is you must find out for yourself, and all that I can do to help you in the discovery is to say that you are no longer moderate if what you have taken excites you or stultifies you, or has any other effect upon you beyond that of balancing, calming, com-

forting you. And as to the choice of fermented drinks, all that I can do now is to give you two or three very bald hints. Speaking generally, I may say that light wines—not excluding even home-made wines—and small beer and cider and perry are to be preferred to water with a little whisky or some other spirit in it,—light wines, I say, not the strong brandied wines which have so long found favour in this country. Indeed, as to these strong brandied wines, I hope the day will soon come—and the signs of the times justify this hope—in which it will be felt by all that they are brandy or some more evil spirit diluted with wine rather than the honest and comparatively innocent wine which is commonly drunk in wine-growing countries,—as, for instance, Petit Bordeaux, in France, or, better still, a *vin du pays* like that which I had the good luck to drink a few weeks ago at Orvieto in Italy,—and that for this reason they ought to be banished from the table. Nor can I make any exception even in favour of dry sherry, for what is this in too many cases but a compound made up of water, and the worst and rawest kind of whisky, called “silent spirit,” and certain liqueurs concocted in the chemist’s laboratory—a compound which, if not altogether untravelled, has never been much further abroad than Hamburg? I hope, too, that the day is not far off when there will be more sympathy with Prince Hal’s liking for “the poor creature small beer” than with Falstaff’s craving for strong sack,—when all strong malt liquors will have gone as much out of fashion as strong wines. In many cases, I allow, water with a little good whisky or some analogous spirit in it is, for ordinary dietetic purposes, more suitable than even good wine properly diluted with water; but these cases, I contend, form the exception and not the rule. Ardent spirits, all of them products of distillation, are wholly or in great measure deprived in distillation of the flavouring and saccharine principles which are naturally met with in wine and malt liquor and cider and perry; and for this reason these spirits may be—perhaps mischievous. The cheering influence of wine, as is well known, is in no way proportionate to the amount of alcohol contained in it, and there is good reason to believe that a considerable portion of the work which is not due to the alcohol may be ascribed to these particular principles. But even if the contrary to all this held good, and it could be shown, on hygienic grounds, that water with a little spirit in it was unobjectionable as an ordinary beverage, I should still shrink from recommending such a drink, and for this reason—that a man must of necessity run a greater risk of contracting a habit of taking alcohol in excess who had a spirit decanter constantly within reach, than a man who took care to be always out of the way of temptation on this score.

C. B. RADCLIFFE.

X.

TEMPERANCE AND ITS BOUNDARIES.

AT the present time it is most important for all men to hold fast to true moderation in the use of alcoholic fluids.

The more vehement of the total abstinence orators try to brand the advocates of temperance as evil-doers, as half-hearted, disguised enemies, if not false friends.

It behoves the advocates of temperance not to allow themselves to be stormed into angry opposition nor beaten back into passive non-resistance.

Temperance is the larger thing, and has room to absorb total abstainers into its domain—a happier place for them than that they now occupy.

Temperance brings in what is highest in the faculties peculiar to the human mind. The controlling faculties mark the human brain as a stage quite beyond and above the instinctive developments of the lower animals. To restrain desire, to hold animal passions and impulses within control, is the highest phase of civilization, one of the truest aims of education.

To be enabled to rule self and to transmit to children an organization accustomed to self-restraint and moderation in all things is one of the chief delights and aspirations to the moral nature of a true man.

In the present day, when the frightful evils of intemperance are so disastrous to society—drunken parents sending crowds of epileptic and criminal children into the world to create need for hospitals and prisons—it behoves the physician who looks beyond the narrow sphere of the mere treatment of disease to the large questions affecting the public welfare, to resist the spread of evil, to cast in his voice for good. “Cease to do evil; learn to do well” is the divine precept towards the true life.

Many who cannot and dare not advocate the doctrine of total abstinence, as erroneous in fact and principle, yet would rejoice to help in the spread of true temperance. To do this it is essential to place the action of alcoholic fluids on a scientific basis. For this, fortunately, Chemistry—one of the most exact of the sciences—gives the clue.

The most scientific experiments on the action of alcoholic fluids are undoubtedly those of the late Dr. Anstie and Dr. Dupré. Those experiments were made upon themselves with all the exactitude of trained experts searching for truth. They showed that about one ounce and a half of absolute alcohol is the limit of the food use of that substance. The most careful chemical experiments failed to detect alcohol passing out of the system unchanged till the limit of what may be called “physiological saturation” has been exceeded. Up to that

point the alcohol has acted as food-creating force, and has had no injurious effect upon any organ, nor upon the blood. This quantity of absolute alcohol corresponds to nearly six table-spoonfuls of brandy, to four small glasses of port or sherry, or nearly twice as much claret, hock, or Chablis. To one needing the use of wine in ordinary daily life, that is, to a person not in perfect health, half this amount is the dose to be advised—two or three table-spoonfuls of brandy, two glasses of port or sherry, or about four small glasses of claret, hock, or Chablis. Few require to go beyond this amount, as it is very undesirable to keep the body in a state of alcoholic saturation. When the quantity taken is more than the blood is able to absorb—*i.e.*, more than the physiological limit—all, or nearly all, can be collected by distillation from the urine within a few hours—twelve to twenty-four hours, according to the dose.

In the process of passing out of the system by the kidneys, the excess of alcohol has an irritating disease-producing action on the organic structures of the kidneys. On the dead human body, strong alcohol, such as brandy, can be seen to harden and corrugate the delicate tissues of the brain, liver, and kidneys. On the living body it has an action much the same. Hardening of the brain is found to be the most frequent organic disease of the nervous system in those accustomed to excess in the use of alcoholic fluids. Fibroid hardening or degeneration of the kidneys is the essential change in the worst cases of Bright's disease of the kidneys. The "drunkard's liver" is the most frequent cause of dropsy and death to all classes of immoderate drinkers.

In disease of the kidney and bladder, cure seems impossible till the use of all alcoholic fluids is given up; then the bland, simple qualities of milk and pure soft water quickly aid the cure of the disease. The poisonous effect of the excessive use of any substance proves its injurious action when pushed beyond moderation.

In his experiments upon himself with alcohol, the late Dr. Anstie relates a singular circumstance. For many years he suffered from neuralgia or brow ague. In the paroxysms of the disease, the hair upon his eyebrow became white, the colour returning after the attack passed off. When the doctor, in health, took a large dose of wine—nearly double the usual limit—the hair on the eyebrow became white, the *excess of alcohol* acting, in fact, as a DISEASE PRODUCER, just like the neuralgia.

The total abstainer has worked his case well, and proved most conclusively the ill effects of excess in the use of alcoholic stimulants. Having stated his own case so clearly before the jury of the human family, he has good grounds for demanding that the advocate of temperance should not shrink from giving an exact reply to his demand of what is moderation. The physician whose conscience is on the alert to avoid the greatest calamity to himself and to his patient, that

of helping to make a drunkard, has his limits sharply defined, so sharply, indeed, that his most urgent advice should be not to exceed Dr. Anstie's rules, except under peculiar circumstances, for a short time. Beyond that the use of alcoholic fluids must do harm. As one entrusted with the welfare of a human being, his desire should be to watch the opportunity to lessen the amount of alcoholic fluids, as health becomes restored,—to reduce it to one-half the limit of physiological saturation. For the sake of the coming generation the doctor ought to do his utmost to promote temperance in the family by advising more nutritious food, more milk and beef-tea, and the sparing use of alcoholic fluids. If disease or debility in the young renders it essential to prescribe wine, it should be the least seductive in quality, Bordeaux or Chablis in preference to port or sherry, so as to keep back the luscious taste of sweet wines, so pleasant to the young, for whom especially the doctor ought to name a definite time for the use of alcoholic fluids (a month or two). When the disease necessitating its use has passed off, he should order it to be discontinued altogether.

When the doctor has any reason to know or suspect intemperance in the patient or in his ancestors, he should be doubly watchful to advise total abstinence or extreme moderation, and then to give the patient good reason for his advice—to point out the organ that is weak, whether it be the brain, kidneys, or liver, and then to show that on such the action of alcoholic excess is injurious. To cause and effect clearly explained few patients are blind or insensible.

Science speaks so clearly that there should be no uncertain sound from the doctor, who should delight to do his part in the grandest moral movement of the age—the spread of temperance.

To a person of perfectly sound constitution, in ordinary good health, undoubtedly the rule of life should be, not to take alcoholic fluids habitually—to reserve their use, like medicine, for actual states of disease. In the ordinary wear and tear of civilization, unfortunately, few are the individuals who can be called perfectly healthy.

A large part of the ordinary workers in town have marks upon them of feebleness of some organ or function, causing want of appetite, languor, inability for exertion of mind or body. In many such cases the most generous food, the most careful management of diet, does not avail to arrest the symptoms of declining health, yet a very small dose of wine or beer speedily restores the balance, enables the enfeebled organ to perform its function, and assists the performance of the daily duties.

Setting out from the foundation that alcohol is a food in small doses, and a powerful poison in large doses, it becomes the duty of the physician, as the trained expert of moral as well as physical science, to know and point out the limits of the moderate use of stimulants, to prescribe the dose of alcohol as he should in a suitable case prescribe a dose of morphia. As carefully as he would measure the latter,

should he regulate and define the dose of the former. The moral evil of morphia is akin to and equally disastrous to mind and body as the alcoholic intoxication.

I knew a lady of high intellectual endowments suffering severely from nervous headaches. After much unavailing treatment, her own brother, a physician, gave her a prescription for small doses of morphia, which afforded perfect relief to the headaches. Alas! the relief was so delicious that she began to take the morphia even when free from headaches. The habit grew upon her to the extent of taking three grains of morphia two or three times a day, till her moral nature became debased below the level of the worst drunkard, as she added whisky-drinking to the morphia intoxication when the latter became insufficiently exhilarating.

What is moderation in the use of alcohol to a man in average health somewhat below par from anxiety and weariness of daily life in the City? On no account to use it beyond the first stage of its action—the quickened state of the nervous system, the livelier mental expression, the gentle warmth of the extremities. The second stage of the action of alcohol should be strictly avoided—"the falling temperature, the slight failure of muscular direction and power, restlessness, and excitability,"—above all, even the slightest degree of mental confusion or unconsciousness should be avoided.

For this reason, the worst of all "sleeping medicines" is alcohol in any shape.

Above all, it is to be avoided for the relief of pain in the young, as the ease given by alcoholic sleep is most seductive. Far better to give, in severe pain, a positive mild opiate.

In many cases of dyspepsia, the most palpable improvement follows the use of a glass or two of light wine at dinner. With many the simplest food causes a degree of oppression till a mild stimulant sets digestion to work, by the slight flush of blood it excites to the mucous membrane of the stomach. It is the daily experience of many men in the vortex of town life, that every organ and function of the body goes on more naturally when a very moderate amount of wine is taken, than when total abstinence is the rule of life.

In the experience of my own life—fragile in constitution—the seventeenth child of a worn-out mother, pushed early into hard struggles for life—I lived nearly a total abstainer till thirty years of age. Weakness increasing upon me, languor and unfitness for work, I adopted a new *régime* of three glasses of good Bordeaux or of hock at dinner. As I did so my working power increased, all my delicacy vanished, boils ceased, and for the past twenty-five years, in good health, I have worked as hard as most men, and never changed my regimen, still limiting myself strictly to three large glasses of good wine once a day. I accepted my conditions and have not allowed myself to diverge a hair's breadth as to quantity, taking extra care as

to the quality of the wine, which, under any provocation or difficulty, I never touch till dinner.

It is a sovereign rule in the use of alcoholic fluids that in ordinary cases the dose should not be taken in divided portions at intervals, but the moderate quantity taken at one meal. Thus the blood is not saturated with alcohol, the little not used in "force-creating" is quickly carried out by the kidneys, and thus the blood is left sixteen hours out of the twenty-four quite free from alcoholic impregnation.

In typhoid fever and hæmorrhage alcohol may be taken with advantage in frequent doses so as not to allow reaction to occur.

Patients often prefer that the doctor should prescribe the exact amount of stimulant, not to leave it to the patient's discretion.

In no way is the physician more aided than in being accustomed to explain the logical results of the effects of alcohol on the different organs of the body. To one with a dark sallow complexion, of a bilious temperament, to be able to say, "Beyond a glass or two of claret, hock, or Chablis once or twice a day, the alcohol must cause hardening of the structures of the liver, and dropsy." To another with an irritable brain and excitability of the nervous system, "The immoderate use of alcohol may cause idiocy or epilepsy in your child." To another with gouty disposition, "The most frequent cause of Bright's disease of the kidneys is excess in the use of alcoholic fluids." To the inveterate drinker the words of Dr. Moxon are, alas! too true:—

"When the sot has descended through his chosen course of imbecility, or dropsy, to the dead-house, Morbid Anatomy is ready to receive him—knows him well. At the *post-mortem* she would say, 'Liver hard and nodulated. Brain dense and small; its covering thick.' And if you would listen to her unattractive but interesting tale, she would trace throughout the sot's body a series of changes which leave unaltered no part of him worth speaking of. She would tell you that the once delicate, filmy texture which, when he was young, had surrounded like a pure atmosphere every fibre and tube of his mechanism, making him lithe and supple, has now become rather a dense fog than a pure atmosphere:—dense stuff, which, instead of lubricating, has closed in upon and crushed out of existence more-and-more of the fibres and tubes, especially in the brain and liver: whence the imbecility and the dropsy."*

The physician should stand out as the friend—ay, the advocate—of temperance; in every way discourage the unnecessary or immoderate use of stimulants.

A gentleman at Enfield sent his gardener to consult me. For some months he had been dropsical in the lower extremities from nephritis, a form of Bright's disease of the kidneys. After a careful examination I prescribed for him, and advised him not to touch beer, wine, nor spirits. With careful treatment and the free use of milk, I perfectly cured him in about three months. Some time afterwards his master called to express his satisfaction, and said, "Do you remember laying special stress

* Dr. Moxon : *The CONTEMPORARY REVIEW*, December, 1878, page 111.

on your advice to my gardener not to touch beer, wine, nor spirits? It pleased him and me beyond measure," said he, "as we are both total abstainers, and as such the village doctor hates us. When my gardener was taken ill the village doctor attended him, and said over and over again, 'Unless you drink beer your strength will give way and you will die.' He refused to drink the beer, and then I sent him to you without any explanation, so you can imagine our surprise at your positive order not to touch alcohol in any shape. You cured my gardener without alcohol, to our great delight."

In exhausted states of the nervous system, whether from prolonged anxiety or long-continued mental exertion, even the advocate of total abstinence has to yield to the necessity for the temporary use of alcoholic stimulants. Twice it has fallen to my lot to attend well-known total abstainers—one who had for many years publicly advocated that cause. Under prolonged anxiety and mental strain, the utmost care in diet, although aided by much open-air exercise and the use of baths, failed to sustain him. At last, when reduced to a pitiable state of emaciation and exhaustion, I advised a large glass of port wine twice a day; to my surprise he said, "Yes, if you order it I will take it." I gave the order—he took it for three months; his anxiety continued, yet his health recovered rapidly, sleep and strength returned; he gained a stone in weight in three months, although his food was unchanged.

Another well-known advocate of the temperance cause was under my care for some time. Although young and healthy, food and tonics seemed powerless to restore his fagged nervous system. To my great surprise, he said one day, "If you will order me a pint of stout a day I shall soon be well." I wrote out the order; he took it for a few weeks, and rapidly recovered, when he at once discontinued it.

"The weapons of our warfare are not carnal." It should be our delight to fight with evil in every shape, to protest against all falsehood, to help manfully to ameliorate the progress of the human family, to enlighten the ignorance of the masses, and to give a clear reason for moderation, and define its true limits.

The interests at stake are so vital to the welfare of the human race, that the physician cannot stand neutral; he must take sides against the frightful evils of the immoderate use of alcoholic fluids.

What heart can be indifferent to the private message from the anxious wife to the physician, "The cares of business are driving my husband to find a solace from his exhaustion in brandy; pray help me to save him the worst fate that can befall him—that of becoming a drunkard?" Again, the careworn face of a manly husband, coming into the consulting room not many days since: "Can you help me to persuade my wife that all this wine and brandy she is taking is not necessary for her strength?"

To such entreaties the physician cannot refuse hearty co-operation. Then his chief help or argument lies in the direction of extra food, clearly to explain that milk or beef-tea, taken two or three hours after meals, sustains the energies of the human body in a better and more permanent way than brandy or wine. To explain also that the habits of food and drink which the parents indulge in are transmitted to children. Many a parent would give up the use of alcoholic fluids, no matter how engrossing, to save the child from becoming a drunkard.

JOSEPH KIDD.

XI.

THE PLACE AND USES OF ALCOHOL AS AN ARTICLE OF DIET.

WHENEVER any question is of such a nature that its final solution can be reached only by an appeal to experience, it is plain that the experience most valuable to each observer will be that which he may acquire in his own person; on account of the preciseness of the knowledge which, if he will take the necessary pains, he may obtain concerning all the facts of the case. Upon such personal experience my own convictions about the uses of alcoholic drinks have been chiefly founded; and their action, as displayed in myself, has furnished me with a clue to the interpretation of what I have witnessed in others. For this reason, and also because there is no such thing as an isolated case, whatever is true of any individual being equally true, *mutatis mutandis*, of many others, I am induced to begin these pages by a brief fragment of dietetic autobiography.

I have been accustomed, from early childhood, to the regular and moderate use of alcoholic drinks as part of my daily food; and first laid them aside in the summer of 1855, when serving at Eupatoria, in the Crimea. The weather was very hot, and it so chanced that my position on the staff of Omar Pasha entailed upon me no duties of any kind. My life was one of pure rest or idleness, at a seaside town where there was just enough variety to furnish amusement. My abstinence from alcohol was the result of a belief that English people, as a rule, are better without it when living in a higher temperature than that of their own country. I remained in perfect health; and, as colder weather returned, I resumed my accustomed habits.

In the following winter, having accompanied the Turkish expedition into Mingrelia, I was encamped some dozen miles up the river Poti, after many weeks of exposure to cold and wet, and of scanty and indifferent food. The English officers with the expedition were eleven in number; and our last bottle of rum was devoted to the manufacture of a bowl of punch on Christmas day. Thenceforward, of course, we were com-

pelled to be abstainers by the want of anything, except dirty water, to drink; and, by the end of January, I was not alone in suffering from intestinal troubles of a weakening and depressing character. One happy day, however, there arrived in camp some packages of stores for our consumption; and the immediate result was a good dinner and a "big drink." We were all much improved in health by our potations, and we returned to more civilized quarters before our means of taking a little alcohol were again exhausted.

In the summer of 1857, practising my profession in a mining district in a midland county, and daily in contact with the results of drunken habits in producing disease and domestic misery, I felt, as many others have done, that I should be a better preacher of abstinence if I practised it; and, encouraged by my recollections of the Crimean summer, I determined to be able to say to my patients, concerning drink, "No one works harder than I, and I never touch it." My life was a laborious one, requiring me to traverse, on foot or on horseback, an extensive range of country; and coal-miners, who go to their work at night, think no more of calling up the doctor on their way, and of sending him five miles to visit some trivial case which they represent to be extremely urgent, than they would of throwing a stone at a sparrow. My habit had been to take a glass of bitter beer, or perhaps two glasses, with my early dinner, and the same quantity with my supper; never drinking spirit, and drinking wine but seldom. After about two months of total abstinence, the conviction was reluctantly forced upon me that the experiment was a failure, and that I must give it up. This is not the place in which to describe my symptoms, but they pointed, in a perfectly plain way, to an excess of waste over repair. I returned to my bitter beer, and in the course of a week was well again.

In 1862, still engaged in country practice, but in a different part of England and in a much less laborious manner, I recounted my former experience to a well-known advocate of total abstinence, who said that I had been wrong in abandoning beer without taking something as a substitute. He recommended strong coffee for this purpose, a cup to be taken daily after dinner. I determined to try again in the way which he advised, and took the coffee regularly. My abstinence lasted longer than on the previous occasion, perhaps a month longer; but it was terminated by the recurrence of the symptoms which I had formerly experienced, and which, this time, were noticed not only by myself, but also by another medical man, one of great experience and sagacity. I cannot say whether the longer endurance should be ascribed to the coffee, or to the fact that my work was less arduous than it had been during the continuance of the first experiment.

In 1876, having then lived for eight years the comparatively sedentary life of a London specialist, I tried total abstinence again. The

experiment was terminated, on this last occasion, more quickly than before, and by a wholly unexpected result. In the course of a short time I became so sleepy in the afternoon that I could not stay in the house and apply myself to any subject requiring attention. The immediate cause of sleep is supposed to be a diminution in the quantity of blood supplied to the brain; and some physiologists tell us that one effect of alcohol is to dilate the smallest blood-vessels, so that their carrying powers are increased. Perhaps, therefore, my brain requires, as a condition of its full activity, that this dilatation should be accomplished. I do not vouch for the occurrence of the dilatation, nor do I pin my faith to the explanatory hypothesis, but I am sure about the facts. I returned to my customary moderate drinking, and the sleepiness has vexed me no more.

In order to complete the story, I ought to say that it has been my constant habit to occupy my brain actively, both within and beyond the work of my calling; that I am a small—of late years, I think, an unusually small—eater; and that the quantity of alcohol which I can take with advantage is very limited, not exceeding half a wineglassful of whisky, largely diluted, or half a tumbler of light wine, with luncheon and dinner. More than this is apt to produce discomfort, and, if taken late in the day, is often followed by a restless night. I have been assured, by one who is well known for the high quality of his intellectual work, that his own experience is of a similar kind. He drinks very weak brandy-and-water; and he said, "I find that a third of a wineglass of brandy is better for me than half a glass. *But I cannot do without the third.*"

If we come to inquire in what way this small dose exerts a beneficial action, we are at once met, on the part of many of the advocates of total abstinence, by the assertion that alcohol is not food. I have no inclination for a controversy about words, but, if we may accept Johnson's definition of food, as "anything that nourishes," I do not hesitate to say that the advocates of total abstinence are mistaken. I have recorded a case in which an old gentleman took no other food for many months, and was kept not only alive, but in moderate strength and comfort, and with no remarkable emaciation, upon alcoholic drinks alone. He liked variety, and rang the changes upon champagne, old port, brandy, the strongest Burton ale, and other liquids, some of which contained a certain amount of saccharine matter, but not enough to maintain life as he maintained it. Cases of a similar kind have been published by the late Dr. Anstie and others; and nothing is more certain than that people will live upon alcohol and water for long periods. The evidence by which this is proved seems to me altogether to outweigh the opinions of those who declare that alcohol is not food, on no better ground than that they are unable to discover how it nourishes, or what transformations it undergoes within the body.

While I fully admit, therefore, that there are many who can support vigorous life without alcohol, I nevertheless affirm, alike from my own experience and from that of others, that there are some, I do not pretend to say how many, to whom it is a necessity if they are to exert the full measure of their powers. Those who have lived among total abstainers, and are familiar with their habits, will bear me out in the assertion that they are generally large eaters, with an especial craving for food which contains a considerable quantity of sugar. I am much inclined to think that sugar, a substance of very similar composition, may fulfil the same office in the organism as alcohol; and that the need for alcohol may vary inversely as the power of assimilating sugar, which, in many persons, undergoes acid transformation and becomes a source of discomfort. If it is necessary to advance any hypothesis on the subject, the weight of probability seems to me to rest with the belief that alcohol, within certain limits of quantity, undergoes such decomposition as to liberate force which may be applied to the maintenance of vital processes, and that it is also a source of stability by diminishing the waste or disintegration of tissue. I incline to the belief that it not only supplies force itself, but that it also retains within the body other materials which may render the same service.

As regards the action of alcohol in disease, I believe there is an entire agreement, among all medical men whose declarations of opinion are entitled to respect, that there are conditions in which it is a valuable remedy. Dr. Richardson, for example, whose earnest advocacy of abstinence is so well known, does not hesitate to prescribe alcohol as a medicine; and I presume that the chief differences of view with regard to it would have reference to the frequency of the conditions in which it is required, or to the relative place which should be assigned to it in a certain class of medicinal agents. But it is interesting to note that nearly every practitioner finds it to be of especial value in that particular department of the healing art in which he himself has the largest and the most constant experience. The physician describes its efficacy in certain forms of internal inflammation and of fever; the surgeon describes its efficacy in conditions consequent upon injury. Perhaps the most remarkable testimony ever borne to its usefulness is that of a distinguished ophthalmic surgeon, Dr. Gustav Braun of Moscow,* who, a few years ago, was accustomed to lose no less than forty-five per cent. of the eyes on which he operated for cataract in his hospital, that is to say, among badly nourished Russian peasants. He was not singular in this experience, for his colleague, Dr. Rosander, was equally unfortunate. At length, after trying many expedients, including the use of quinine and other tonic remedies, Dr. Braun administered a dose of brandy or of sherry to every patient immediately after operation, and

* Archiv f. Ophthalmologie, Bd. xi. Abth. 1, s. 200.

repeated it twice a day for two or three days. The result of this plan was, after a year's trial, to reduce the number of cases in which the eye was totally lost from forty-five to six per cent., with an additional three per cent. of imperfect recoveries. Nothing was altered in the mode of operating, or in the other treatment; and Dr. Braun asserts that the improvement was attributable to the alcohol alone. Within the last few weeks I have myself had occasion to give brandy, disguised as medicine, to a gentleman far advanced in age, who had nearly all his life been a total abstainer, and in whom the dose certainly saved both his eyes from perishing after an operation. It may be that other agents would produce the same effects as alcohol; but, as a matter of fact, even those who have theoretical knowledge of these agents are seldom sufficiently versed in their employment to feel safe in discarding the old familiar friend. When the integrity of an important function, or even life itself, is at stake, no conscientious physician or surgeon will venture upon coquetting with new remedies, so long as he has at hand those tried ones with which his experience has been gained. To use the homely illustration of President Lincoln, it is bad to change* horses while crossing a stream; and the feeling which induced David to prefer his sling to the weapons with which Saul furnished him is likely, I think, to prevail among all who are acquainted with the value of alcohol, and who have realized the meaning of responsibility.

It will be seen that I have endeavoured, throughout this paper, to place the question upon purely empirical grounds, and, in truth, I do not recognize the existence of any others. It is conceivable that we may some day understand the digestive and assimilative processes completely, and may be able to trace out the course and action of food and drink in the economy. At present, we are not even at the threshold of such knowledge, and there is no reason to believe that the hypotheses which are in vogue to-day will have any longer existence than those which have preceded them. A few years ago, we were told by chemists that all the solid framework of our bodies was in a state of continual destruction and renewal, and that the destination of nitrogenous food was to supply materials for the never-ending repair. We are now tolerably sure that the tissues do not waste and change to the extent which was once believed, and that food is required to supply force rather than material; but, although it is a gain to have discarded a false hypothesis, it does not follow that we are any nearer to the possession of a true one. We may assure ourselves, by common observation, that the moderate consumption of

* I am told that Lincoln said "swop;" but, if so, the word seems to me neither to convey his meaning nor mine. I understand swop to mean to exchange—to change ownership—while the change referred to is one of use. Two men may swop horses in crossing a stream, and only "change" on the further bank; while a man may "change" in mid-stream from one of his own horses to another, and may get a ducking in the process.

alcohol is useful to many persons, and that it does not produce, at least necessarily, or in any but exceptional cases, the dire effects which have been ascribed to it. These two positions, as the teachings of experience, appear to me to be as unassailable as the familiar knowledge which we have of alcoholic excess as one of the chief causes of misery and disease among men; but the argument for discarding the use of anything, for fear of the consequences of its abuse, is one to which the majority of mankind will turn a deaf ear as long as human nature retains any semblance of its present characteristics. The claims of chemistry and physiology, in the actual state of those branches of inquiry, to regulate our habits in conformity with their fleeting hypotheses, are as ludicrous as anything that Swift imagined in the University of Laputa; and it is high time that the intelligence of mankind should assert itself in opposition to the pretensions of sham science. The tendency of the day is to exalt what is technically called "research," as opposed to ratiocination; and one consequence of this tendency is that a number of otherwise unemployed and unappreciated persons set themselves to work with microscopes and test-tubes, and fancy that they are making discoveries. The laborious trifling of six months is then described as a "research;" and the conclusions of the great unknown who makes it are regarded as part of the general stock of knowledge for the six months longer which may possibly elapse before these conclusions are overthrown by somebody else. The ordinary sequence of events is that the iconoclast sets up his idol in its turn, which in like manner is dragged through the dirt by his successor; and the common people, who are not scientific, are expected to worship at each shrine as long as it endures. For much of all this we are indebted, of course, to the impatience of slow processes which is characteristic of the age, and to the modern facilities for gaining notoriety; but, before we can hope to regulate our diet on any broader basis than experience, we must witness a return, on the part of the scientific community, to the patient industry and the habitual caution of an earlier generation; and we must see these habits guided, when the time comes, by the powers of insight and of generalization which are given, once in a century, to a philosopher who stamps the mark of his genius upon the epoch in which he lives.

I have written so far about "alcohol," as if under the dominion of the teetotal delusion that all liquids which contain it are of the same general character, and produce the same effects. Against this delusion, however, it is necessary formally to protest. When obtained by any simple method of fermentation or distillation, alcohol is mingled not only with water, but also with various substances derived from the fruit, the grain, or other vegetable matter which furnishes it. Alcohol is a very powerful solvent, and it retains most of these substances in solution. It influences its action in various ways; and every one who is acquainted with the subject is aware of

the different effects which different kinds of alcoholic drinks will produce. In many instances, too, the non-alcoholic fruit or grain products undergo great modifications by keeping; and this to such an extent that between new and old wine, or new and old spirit, there may be little in common but the name. Differences of either class are as inappreciable by teetotallers, generally speaking, as the differences in a chromatic scale by the blind; but the former are no less real than the latter. Of late years, however, and chiefly by means of a machine which is called a "patent still," manufacturers have succeeded in separating alcohol from the other products with which it was formerly always associated; and the consequence is that spirit is now distilled very cheaply, from materials which would communicate a nauseous flavour if anything more than alcohol and water were brought over in the process. In commercial language, the spirit thus made is called "silent," because it does not betray its origin; and the chemists who are employed by advertisers testify to what they are pleased to call its "purity." It is neither brandy, nor whisky, nor rum, but is artificially flavoured for sale in such a manner as to admit of being called by one or other of these names. Whatever it may be called, it is simply nude alcohol, divorced from its natural alliances; and it is worthy of note that this nude alcohol is the agent chiefly concerned in the production of those organic changes which Dr. Moxon, in the last number of the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW, described in such graphic language. A man who is sinking into sottishness loses his palate, while he retains a lively appreciation of cheapness. He does not mind the nastiness with which cheapness is proverbially associated; and he seeks for a degree of concentration in his drink which the manufacturer of silent spirit is able to supply at a small outlay. Hence it is quite possible that many of the denunciations commonly levelled at "alcohol" may approach much more nearly to the truth when applied to the nude forms of it which are in common use among sots and the labouring population, than when applied to the alcoholic drinks which are in use among the temperate and the well-to-do. Of course even the latter kinds may be taken in such quantities that the alcohol in them will reduce the other ingredients to insignificance; but this is not the way in which they are ordinarily consumed. The palate which can appreciate flavour is scarcely in danger of leading its owner into excess; and there can be little doubt that the alcoholic liquids in which a natural flavour is retained are far less dangerous than those, unfortunately too common, in which flavour, if it exists, is the result of artificial admixtures.

The use of alcohol is a question upon which any writer, who has formed opinions and who has seen no reason to alter them, can only repeat himself. The substance of these pages appeared a year ago in a medical journal, and called forth several communications of greater

or less interest; while total abstainers, writing in various other publications, were induced to assail me with such rhetorical weapons as they could command. Fortunately for my safety, there was more smoke than impact, more powder than ball; and the appearance of many pages covered with printed characters furnished me with nothing to refute.

R. BRUDENELL CARTER.

XII.

RESULTS OF EXPERIENCE IN THE USE OF ALCOHOL.

WHAT the public really want to learn from the medical profession on this subject seems to me to be this: How far can the moderate taking of alcoholic drinks be indulged in without producing any evil effects on the system; reference being had to the artificial circumstances under which most of us live, and to the strain on the nervous system resulting from the wear and tear of modern life?

To answer this question to the best of my ability and with as much definiteness as my experience has enabled me to arrive at, will be my effort in the following pages.

The use of alcoholic beverages in some form, as malt liquors, wines, or distilled spirits, is so universally diffused among European nations and their offshoots, and is of so great antiquity, that a natural hesitation arises to prevent our coming to the conclusion that, taken in moderate quantities, they are prejudicial to health; and it is at the present day a most important and "burning question" to ascertain the real truth as to the benefit or the mischief arising from their employment.

In discussing the question it is desirable at the outset to have some idea of the nature of alcohol and of the changes which it undergoes when it is taken into the system, seeing that many deductions with respect to its properties and their beneficial or mischievous effects have been put forward and somewhat hastily accepted, though they have started from purely theoretical considerations rather than from a firm basis of practical experience.

With regard to its direct and immediate action on the parts with which it first comes into contact when swallowed, it is well known that alcohol, if taken in a concentrated form, such as distilled spirits, acts as a powerful irritant, and tends not only to injure the mucous membrane of the gullet and stomach, but also, when digestion is going on, to arrest it, by altering the properties of the pepsine or digestive principle which at such a time is present in the stomach; if, on the other hand, it is taken in a very dilute form, it serves only to stimulate the membrane, and to increase the secretion of the gastric

or digestive fluid, without in any way injuring its character. After a time, the length of which depends much upon the state of the stomach as to food, alcohol becomes absorbed by the veins of the surface, passing thence to the liver and ultimately into the general circulation; the liver being the organ chiefly affected by it, after its absorption, though it also influences the other organs and tissues of the body.

The question as to what ultimately becomes of the alcohol taken into the system is one of the highest importance; as we shall see later on. The view which was propounded by the late Baron Liebig was that it becomes destroyed and converted into other compounds, acting as a heat-producing body or fuel to the system, but within the last few years observations have been made which show that alcohol in an unchanged state passes out of the body through the breath, perspiration, and other secretions, even when taken in very moderate quantities; hence, as has been conclusively shown by many trustworthy experimentalists, hasty and erroneous conclusions have been drawn, for, although alcohol is thus detected, yet only comparatively small quantities are eliminated in this way from the system, by far the greater bulk being converted into other compounds before it is finally thrown out. The incorrect conclusions above mentioned have, however, led to objections to the use of alcohol in any, even the smallest, quantities. It has been argued that, all the alcohol imbibed escaping from the system in an unaltered form, it can in no way act as food, but can only do injury. But even if it were true that none of it undergoes modifications in the system, this would in no way justify the conclusions drawn from this now disproved premiss, for it is quite possible that its temporary presence may be of value as giving increased activity to various functions, for there are other articles of undoubted value, such as common salt, which, after a certain sojourn in the body, are thrown out in the same condition as when taken into the system.

I think it most convenient to give the results of my experience of the use of alcohol in the form of propositions, each of which will be shortly discussed.

1. *The majority of adults can take a moderate quantity of alcohol in some form or other, not only with impunity, but often with advantage.*

I have purposely limited the use of alcohol in the above proposition to adults, as I am of opinion that during the growth of the body, when the function of nutrition is in a state of great activity, there is little or no need for its employment; of course, my remarks are strictly confined to healthy children; for, as a medicinal agent, alcohol may be often used with advantage in the treatment of the young. There are many facts which show that by the use of alcohol in some of the lower animals the growth of the body may be checked or stunted, and possibly the same applies to children. It is also pro-

bable that when any one has arrived at adult age without having taken alcohol, the same abstinence may often be continued, not only without inconvenience, but in many cases with advantage.

It must be remembered that there exist certain peculiarities, or what may be termed physical idiosyncrasies, in different people, which show themselves in reference to alcohol as well as many other articles of diet; it is well known that some cannot take tea or coffee without experiencing unpleasant results; some are intolerant of tobacco in any shape; in some the white of the egg always disturbs; in others shell-fish; and one instance has come under my notice in which any fish belonging to the order *Pleuronectidae* invariably caused violent disturbances, although every other kind of fish, as well as molluscs and crustacea, could be taken with impunity: this last case is the more remarkable as the sole, brill, turbot, flounder, plaice, &c., are usually looked upon as fish of easy digestibility. The same holds good with regard to alcohol: there are some few who cannot take it without discomfort, and, of course, for such people total abstinence is most desirable. Passing over these exceptional instances it will be found that by far the greater number can partake moderately of alcohol, not only without any injurious consequences arising from it, but with positive benefit; and as it is a source of much enjoyment, and discomfort often springs from its discontinuance, it is difficult to say why it should be discontinued under ordinary circumstances. It is of course well known that there are many nations that thrive without alcoholic drinks; nations, for example, professing the Mohammedan faith, and to whom alcohol is forbidden by their religion; but on further inquiry it will be found that amongst them the use of the stronger narcotics, such as opium and Indian hemp, is extremely common, and the exchange from alcohol to these narcotics can scarcely be looked upon as a gain. As yet there are no trustworthy statistics to show that abstinence from the moderate use of alcohol is attended with unusual length of life or improvement in health.

2. *As a beverage, alcohol should be taken in very moderate quantities, freely diluted, and usually at or after meals.*

It is a matter of no little difficulty to define what is meant by a *moderate quantity*, and experience shows that this differs much in different individuals, and in the same individual under different circumstances; still it is a matter of much importance to endeavour to arrive at something like what may be regarded as an average amount which can be taken daily without the probability of its causing any present or remote injury to the system. My own opinion, based upon a great number of careful observations, is, that the quantity of alcohol taken in the twenty-four hours should seldom exceed that contained in half a bottle of claret of good quality; and it will be found that,

in the case of French bottles, this is very little more than half an imperial pint, or eleven fluid ounces. The amount of absolute alcohol in claret may be taken at eight per cent., and therefore, if we reduce the claret to pure or absolute alcohol, this would fall short of a fluid ounce by more than one-tenth. Many observations were made at the Netley Hospital by the late Dr. Parkes, on the influence of alcohol in the form of distilled spirits and claret,—the subject of these experiments being a soldier,—and it was found that nearly one ounce* of pure alcohol (in the form of ten fluid ounces of strong claret) could be taken without causing any very appreciable symptoms, whereas when twenty fluid ounces, or an imperial pint, was substituted for the smaller quantity, the man became hot and uncomfortable and flushed, his face became congested, and slight drowsiness was induced; at the same time alcohol began to appear in some of the secretions. The man was one who appeared to be very easily brought under the influence of spirit, and seemed to thrive very well without it; he had gone through the Abyssinian campaign, and had found that when the force was without rum, owing to the deficiency of transport, he had in no way felt the want of the stimulant, although some of his comrades suffered. It will be well to give an idea of the proportion of absolute alcohol contained in the different beverages ordinarily indulged in. In brandy an ounce is contained in two ounces and a quarter of that spirit; in whisky and rum the same proportion holds good, assuming these to be about ten degrees under Excise proof. Gin is usually weaker. In port wine, one in about five to six ounces; and the same holds good with regard to the different kinds of sherry, as also Madeira and Marsala. In champagne one in ten, as also in Burgundy; and in Bordeaux (claret) about one in twelve. In strong ales (Burton), one in twelve; in pale ales, one in sixteen. In porter, one in twenty-five; in stout, one in sixteen. These numbers are to be considered as approximations only, as differences of strength are often found in wines and malt liquors of the same name.†

The quantity of the different beverages which we have given above must be looked upon as quite the maximum which should be taken, and many would find it more than is really suitable to their constitutions, and would be better if only two-thirds or even less were taken; and it may be regarded as a prudent rule never to take so much alcohol as will cause flushing of the face, heat of surface, marked

* As the public are often not acquainted with the smaller divisions of the imperial pint, it may be well to state that the fluid ounce is a twentieth part of that measure, that when it consists of pure water it weighs an avoirdupois ounce, or the sixteenth part of the pound. Two tablespoonfuls of any liquid measured in a medicine glass is the same as a fluid ounce, but when measured in the modern tablespoon it generally far exceeds that quantity.

† It is important to remember that the percentage of alcohol as measured by the Excise differs much from the calculations given above. The Excise standard is proof spirit, which contains 49 parts of absolute alcohol to 51 parts of water, and therefore each degree of proof spirit is rather more than two of absolute alcohol. Claret would contain about 17 per cent. of proof spirit.

quickness of pulse, or subsequent thirst. If a man is taking full exercise in the open air, more alcohol can be taken without the production of physiological symptoms than when he is remaining quiet at home.

The extent to which the alcohol contained in any beverage is diluted is a matter of some importance; for if taken in a very concentrated form, alcohol may irritate and even influence the mucous membrane of the stomach. It is, therefore, very desirable that its percentage in the liquid should be small. The light French and German wines are quite strong enough, and many find advantage even in the case of these in the addition of water. The Frenchman dilutes his Bordeaux. This is at least one of the reasons why so many can take claret or hock with benefit to their digestion, who find the stronger Peninsula wines, as port and sherry, cause acidity and heartburn. I say one of the reasons, because the stronger wines contain matters from which the fully fermented light wines are free, and these probably are partly a cause of the indigestion.

The last point to be discussed under this proposition is the time at which alcohol should be taken. As one of its chief uses is to stimulate the stomach, increase the secretion of gastric juice, and aid digestion, it should, as a rule, be taken at meal times, or very shortly afterwards, during the time the digestive process is in operation. If taken on a completely empty stomach its effects are much more powerful, not only upon the stomach itself, but upon the system at large, on account of its being rapidly absorbed into the circulation. Hence it is so apt to be taken at such times to relieve nervousness and worry, an effect desirable when it is employed strictly as a medicine, but the habit is one to be deprecated severely when it takes the shape of "morning nips" with men, and the "glass of port at eleven" with women.

My counsel to patients as to the time of taking alcohol is this: "Never take any before the mid-day meal," and to many it is prudent to advise them to wait till a late dinner before indulging in any such beverage.

3. *Many can abstain from their accustomed alcohol without any unpleasant result, and some with marked advantage; but others, when they have ceased to take it for a little time, experience symptoms indicating that the nutrition of the system is not fully kept up.*

That very many who have been accustomed to the use of alcohol for a long period of time can leave it off completely is a matter of every-day experience, and the fact needs scarcely occupy our attention. That some do so to advantage is indubitable; but, on the other hand, it is equally true that many suffer seriously from the omission, not only for a few days, which would naturally be expected, but more especially after the abstinence has been maintained for

weeks, months, or even years. A very common effect at first is a feeling of chilliness, probably from imperfect digestion, and possibly from the withdrawal of a slight warmth or increase of temperature which alcohol often produces. This chilliness may pass off after a time if the stomach regains its power and the function of digestion becomes improved; but in some this is not the case, and the longer the abstinence the more prominent the symptom becomes, added to which there is a feeling of heaviness and discomfort after taking any food which taxes the digestive organs. The absence of other stomachic stimulants will often cause similar discomfort; for example, those who have been accustomed for many years to the use of strong curries and other spices cannot suddenly leave them off with impunity. Another ailment very apt to ensue is some form of neuralgia, which is almost certain to become developed in those who have at any previous time been subject to it.

Others, again, are apt to suffer from boils under the same circumstances, and I have known those who from various motives have been most anxious to abstain from alcohol, yet have been unable to do so for any length of time on account of their health failing under the trial. There are many who can abstain for a week or two, not only without suffering but with advantage, but some who are quite unable to persevere in such a course.

I am fully of opinion that individuals in whom the nervous system is much taxed require a moderate quantity of alcohol far more than those who are accustomed to great physical exertion; it is mental rather than physical labour which demands it. By the former the digestive powers are often lowered in tone through the exhaustion of the nervous system; by the latter, on the other hand, both the digestive and nutritive functions are usually enhanced.

4. *Alcohol in the different combinations in which it exists in the various fermented liquors produces different effects upon the system, and discrimination is necessary in the selection of beverages by different individuals.*

As yet our attention has been directed to the action of alcohol *qui* alcohol, and the forms of combination have been disregarded; it will be desirable now to consider the nature of some of the principal combinations in which it is found, and point out any influence produced by such combination. They can conveniently be grouped under the three heads of distilled spirits, wines, and malt liquors.

The members of the first group, including brandy, whisky, rum, gin, and Hollands, are spirits with little more than traces of volatile matters derived from the substances from which they are distilled: thus brandy (Cognac) distilled from French wines contains some oenanthic or wine ether which appears to influence the action of the

alcohol on the stomach; hence it is often used when that organ is disturbed. Whisky, when new, contains amylic alcohol (fusel oil), but when long kept in wood it loses this acrid principle and becomes nearly a pure spirit, and may be used when little more than alcohol itself is required. Gin and whisky contain juniper oil in small quantities, which usually produce an action on the kidneys.

The wines which constitute the second group must be subdivided into the light and stronger varieties. All true wines result from the fermentation of the juice of the grape, but the process of manufacture differs considerably, and very different products are thus obtained. The light wines are made by completely fermenting the juice, and nearly all the sugar of the grape is converted into alcohol, the amount of which never exceeds twelve per cent., for more than this cannot be produced, as the alcohol already formed, when it arrives at this strength, arrests further fermentation. In grapes grown in the Bordeaux and Burgundy districts the amount of sugar is not equal to the production of a wine containing twelve per cent. of pure alcohol, and hence, after fermentation, there is a complete absence of sugar; if the amount of sugar were much larger in the grape-juice a portion would be left unfermented.

In making the stronger Peninsula wines, such as port and sherry, there is an addition of spirit to the very partially fermented juice; hence much of the sugar remains, and the wine is fortified by the added alcohol. There is likewise much difference between the light and stronger wines in regard to the saline constituents, a difference of great importance as regards their action on the system. The lighter wines are rich in acid tartrate of potash (cream of tartar); the stronger varieties have but very little of this salt, as it is precipitated in the casks from the presence of the larger amount of alcohol which renders it insoluble. Apart from their alcoholic strength, the physiological action of these two varieties of wine is by no means the same. The absence of sugar and the presence of the cream of tartar in the lighter wines cause them to sit easier on the stomach, and subsequently to be eliminated more readily from the system than the stronger kinds of wine; there is also something in partially fermented wines which has the power of causing in many people a form of dyspepsia and ultimately of inducing a gouty state of system, an effect scarcely ever produced by the fully fermented light wines.

The third group of beverages includes the various malt liquors, as ales, porter, stout, &c., in most of which the alcohol, although more diluted than in the lighter wines, is combined with sugar, gum, and other matters derived from the malt and hops; these substances act to some extent as stomachic and nutritive agents, are often useful in debility, but as a rule are apt to induce disturbance of the stomach and an alteration in the function of the liver, and its consequences, unless their use is combined with a considerable amount of physical exercise. The

discontinuance of malt liquors is as a rule more felt by those who have been accustomed to them than the disuse of wines or spirits, but after middle age there are few people of sedentary habits who are able to indulge in them with comfort.

The results of the discussion of the four propositions may in a few words be thus summed up :—

Most people can partake moderately of alcohol without prejudice to their health ; many with benefit.

Few can take much without at least ultimate injury.

As a beverage, alcohol should be drunk freely diluted.

Different combinations of alcohol should be selected by different constitutions.

The question of the value of alcohol as a medicine I have purposely avoided, as being one of a purely professional nature, and scarcely adapted for these pages.

Those who without the use of any alcohol can keep up their full bodily health, and who have reasons for abstaining from it, are certainly fully justified in so doing ; but it is questionable if they are equally justified in speaking in disparagement of others who may not have arrived at the same conclusions on this subject as themselves.

In concluding these remarks on the Alcohol Question one can hardly help referring to a book in which the use of wine and strong drinks is constantly referred to, a book whose writings extend over very many hundreds of years, and its history over thousands. In both the Old and New Scriptures the moderate use of wine is certainly sanctioned, and even to some extent encouraged. In the Old Testament, vineyards are often spoken of among the blessings of the nation ; and the first miracle recorded of the Founder of our religion was the turning of water into wine at a marriage feast. On the other hand we must not lose sight of the frequent denunciations found in the same writings of the abuse of wine and strong drinks. Suffice it to give the words of the prophet : “ Woe to them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink, and continue until night, till wine inflame them ! ”

A. B. GARROD.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT.

I.

IN FRANCE.

PARIS, December 15th, 1878.

SUMMARY.—Political Review:—The Exhibition—The Grand Manœuvres—Foreign Politics—Internal Condition—Finance—Public Works—Progress of Public Instruction—Reactionary Opposition in the Country and the Senate—Election of three permanent Senators—Powerlessness of the Right—The Senatorial Elections of January 5—Moral Ruin of the Men of May 16—Death of M. Dupanloup—Election of M. Taine to the French Academy—Future Dangers—Divisions of the Republican Party—Difficulty of M. Gambetta's position—Incompatibility of Parliamentarism with a centralized Republic—Establishment of New Museums. Literature:—Gift-books: *Aucassin et Nicolette*, translated and illustrated by Bida; *Correspondance de Eng. Delacroix*; Thenriet, *Sous Bois*; Stapfer, *Shakspeare et l'Antiquité*. Erudition: Port, *Dictionnaire Historique*; Donen, *Le Psautier Huguenot*. History: *Mémoires de Bernis*; Sorel, *La Question d'Orient*; Broglie, *Le Secret du Roi*; Loménie, *Les Mirabeau*. Philosophy: Caro, *Le Pessimisme*. Theatre: *Polyeucte*, by Gounod; *Les Amants de Vérone*, by Marquis d'Ivry; *La Mort Civile*, by M. Giacometti. Election of M. Massenet at the Académie des Beaux Arts.

THE year 1878 has been a fortunate year for France, doubly so as compared with the year 1877 of mournful memory, when the criminal fatuity of a small knot of drawing-room politicians all but dragged the country into a civil war. Not that France has escaped the effect of the political disturbances and the economical uneasiness that reigned elsewhere, nor that she can hope to tread henceforward in smooth paths, but considering the comparatively short period that has elapsed since the fall of the Empire and the Peace of Frankfort she may well experience a feeling of pride and satisfaction. The success of the Universal Exhibition has exceeded all anticipation. More than sixteen millions of visitors, receipts exceeding half a million pounds sterling, the Exhibition of 1867 outdone in every way, the industrial and artistic forces of the country seem to be not only unimpaired but greater than before, the Republican Government receiving a fresh act of recognition from the foreign princes who came to partake of its hospitality and festivities, the general and spontaneous enthusiasm with which the whole population celebrated this grand undertaking, symbolical of peace and industry,—all has helped to make 1878 the first happy date for France since the fatal dates 1870-71.

The peace *fêtes* had a military interlude. The military manœuvres that took place on such a large scale in the month of September were the first in which the reserve forces took part, and in spite of the many wants and shortcomings still apparent, especially in the military administration and the commissariat, a notable improvement was manifest, and both bearing and discipline were exemplary. It is hard as yet to say what the result of the military reforms would be in the field, but as a means of national education the excellence of the new system has been proved beyond a doubt.

Looking at other countries, the French have more than one reason to be satisfied with their actual position. There was nothing very flattering, certainly, to the national pride in the part taken by France in the Berlin Congress. After playing a leading part for so long to come down to that of confidant, after being a preponderant power in Europe to have to content herself with being official adviser and mediator, might well at certain moments appear hard.

But by the frank and dignified manner in which he accepted it, M. Waddington elevated the part that was assigned to France, and made it serve for the defence of certain general interests of civilization and liberty of conscience and of the rights of a State which the other powers would have willingly disregarded, namely, Greece. Thus without any show, but at the same time honourably, France has resumed her place in the councils of Europe, and having come to the Congress without advertising any claims and without secret ambitions, she came away with clean hands, guiltless of usurpation or bargains of any kind, and with a heart free from regret or deception.

Comparing her internal condition with that of other States, she has no grounds to be discontented with her lot. England is undergoing a crisis that impedes her commercial transactions; she is undertaking the responsibility of reforms in the East which, to judge from former experience, would seem impossible; her honour is pledged for the support of a power that seems doomed to perish; she is engaged in a war in the far East of which it is impossible to foresee either the end or the consequences. Russia, at the last extremity of her resources, is obliged at all costs to carry on the work she has undertaken, and in so doing spare neither men, money, nor violence; she is divided between a Government that clings to a superannuated despotism, a revolutionary party that disowns its country, exalted patriots who cherish Panslavist chimeras, and impotent Liberals who condemn everything, hope for little, and do nothing. In Germany, the industrial crisis is occasioning misery amongst the people and a deficit in the budget, the Government wrings from the Chambers a discontented adherence to iniquitous laws that are applied with a violence and an arbitrariness worthy of the Second Empire. In Austria the occurrences in Bosnia have exhibited in a scandalous light the hopeless antagonism that separates the two parties in the Empire. In Italy, as in Spain, people are seeking in vain for the elements of a majority capable of guiding the country. Finally, everywhere, in Russia, Germany, Italy, Spain, attempts, as stupid as they were criminal, on the lives of the reigning powers have revealed the disturbed state of men's minds and the serious nature of the economical and political uneasiness that prevails.

The only warlike contest France is at present engaged in is the Kanak rising in New Caledonia. Marshal MacMahon can manifest the most disinterested sympathy with the sovereigns whose lives have been threatened, and for the last year the agreement that has reigned between the Ministry, the Chamber of Deputies, and the country has been well-nigh perfect. Although, like all other countries, France suffers from the commercial crisis caused by the protective system of the United States, the war in the East, and the famine in China, she is undisturbed by social questions. The strikes have all come to a peaceful termination, and the interdict put upon the Workmen's Congress, iniquitous in itself and justifiable solely on grounds of international prudence, occasioned no disturbance.

In spite of the enormous increase in the expenses and the taxes, the Budget shows a considerable surplus, which has justified the issue of fresh stock,—viz., the New Three per Cent.,—with a sinking fund to redeem it in seventy-five years. This loan is intended to meet the expenses necessitated by the vast plans of M. de Freycinet. This intelligent, audacious, and indefatigable minister wishes to improve all our ports, as well as to complete the network of our railways and canals. As regards the army and navy, the Chambers have never haggled over millions, nor has a dissentient voice ever been raised on that point. But it is especially in connection with public instruction that important progress has been made. The reports and statistics recently published by M. Bardoux on elementary, secondary, and higher instruction are a striking proof. In Paris alone the elementary schools contain 60,000 pupils more than they did ten years ago, and new schools are still in course of erection. M. Bardoux's law relating to the higher elementary schools will realize a plan dating from 1833, and will admit of raising the level of the instruction of a considerable portion of the lower classes.

As to the higher instruction, 175 new professorships have been created within the last ten years, lecturers have obtained fellowships at almost all the Faculties, and 300 yearly scholarships are distributed amongst poor students. The higher education budget, which was 3,895,000 francs in 1868, is 9,165,330 francs in 1878, an increase that has taken place within the last three years. The present state of our higher instruction, no doubt, is far from answering to the wishes of the more enlightened friends of education. Large universities with an independent life of their own, like the German universities, still remain to be founded, to become great centres of scientific life and production; but we are on the right road, and M. Bardoux's report shows that the central administration has a correct understanding of the country's needs.

There are dissentient voices, no doubt, and certain important elements of society which have not given in their adherence to the present Government. The ecclesiastical establishments of education contain a great number of pupils; at the new Catholic universities the numbers are rapidly increasing, and the direction there given to study threatens the unity of the national life. A rector of the Lyons Academy, M. Dareste, was even lately seen reserving his favours for the Catholic university, and doing his best to prevent the opening of the faculties of the State from being celebrated with the due solemnity and splendour. Too many of the members of the magistracy make no attempt to conceal their hostility to the existing institutions, and now and then even venture to oppose them by a partial or jesuitical administration of the laws. Hitherto it has been in the Senate that these reactionary elements have found their support. The feeble majority the Right showed at the time of its formation has considerably increased since then, owing to the death of a number of permanent Republican members, and to the compact entered into by the Orleanist, Legitimist, and Bonapartist parties to name in turn a candidate designated by each of the three; a pleasure they enjoyed for the last time on November 15. Though the candidates of the Left, MM. André, Montalivet, and Gresley, were men of known moderation, the Orleanists and Legitimists preferred to vote for M. de Vallée, a decided Bonapartist, and the Bonapartists for M. d'Haussonville, one of the most violent opponents of the Empire. As for the Legitimist candidate, M. Baragnon, his opinions could hurt no one; for he was once a Republican, and will, if occasion require, become a Bonapartist. This abnormal state of things, in which those who call themselves *conservateurs* are seen to reject men of recognized moderation and merit, simply from a wish to overthrow the existing political régime, cannot last long. The days of the reactionary majority in the Senate are numbered. The elections which will renew a third of the 225 removable members of the Senate take place on January 5, and the result of the voting can already with certainty be foreseen from the nomination of the delegates of the communes, who form the chief part of the electoral senatorial body. On the Right, as on the Left, it is estimated that after the elections the Republicans will have a majority in the Senate of from ten to fifteen. In the debates on the verification of the powers in the Chamber of Deputies, the Right has moreover received some hard hits which have brought final discredit upon it. The audacity with which M. de Fourtou dared to apologize for the Government of May 16, and express his regret for their not having been able to carry their lawlessness and violence still further, has awakened the recollection of that painful time when a *coup d'état* was hourly expected. The discussion on M. Decaze's election dealt a final blow to the men of May 16. The facts that came out then were so outrageous that the Conservatives themselves did not venture to defend them, and more than half of them by their abstention ratified the vote of invalidation pronounced by the Chamber. It was, indeed, unheard of that a Minister of Foreign Affairs should clandestinely beg for the votes of the separatist party in the Maritime Alps, whilst M. de Broglie, the Minister of Justice, should in turn institute and suspend proceedings against a notary, according to whether he was opposing or supporting the official candidate. Burlesque incidents,

such as that of the fire-engine sent in hot haste to Puget-Théniers by the Ministry, mingled with these shameful and guilty acts.

Other blows besides these fell upon the reactionary party. By giving it, in spite of M. de Falloux's prudent warnings, the watchword *Contre-Révolution*, M. de Mun has rendered it easy for the peasants, who owe everything to the Revolution, to oppose all the Legitimist candidates; and the Comte de Chambord, by congratulating M. de Mun on his frankness, and adding that "God must reign as master, in order that he might reign as king," destroyed the last hopes of his party by this profession of theocratic faith. Finally, one of the authorized heads of the senatorial Right, whose fiery clericalism had become a link between the various reactionary parties, and who, at the same time, was the only really eminent man the higher clergy possessed, Monseigneur Dupanloup, is dead. The son of a serving-maid at an inn, never having known who was his father, he raised himself to the see of Orleans by his own unaided merit. His talents as an administrator, and, above all, as a teacher, his activity, his beneficence, his ready pen and fervid eloquence, and, lastly, his liberal ideas, assigned him a distinctive place amongst the French clergy. The seminaries he directed were in the full tide of prosperity; his great work on education was appreciated even outside Catholic circles; some years ago Liberals of every shade spoke of him with unvarying respect; some few fanatical Ultramontanes alone dared to attack him, and alone abused him after his death. But from about 1860 onwards, M. Dupanloup's liberalism was seen to wane, and the leaven of fanaticism rose in him. He defended the Syllabus, and levelled attacks as unjust as they were wanting in good taste against MM. Renan, Taine, and Maury. The Vatican Council and the establishment of the Republic quenched a liberalism lacking both soundness and depth. He was the head of the clerical party in the National Assembly and the Senate, and with him, as with most of the men of that party, the religious question became one of political domination. He showed it by his zeal in supporting M. Taine's candidature at the French Academy, once as zealously opposed by him. He forgot that he had resigned his own seat at the Academy on account of the nomination of M. Littré, who of all freethinkers in France has invariably paid the greatest deference to Catholicism; whilst, in his "*Philosophes du XIX. s.*," M. Taine went so far as to ridicule even supernaturalism itself. But what mattered supernaturalism to M. Dupanloup then! M. Taine had written a volume on the Revolution which furnished the reactionary party with arms; that was enough. Fortune favoured M. Taine in the death of M. Dupanloup before he could re-enter the Academy to vote for a freethinker. He was elected, not as before, by the coterie that wished to place him in M. Thiers' seat, but by the Academicians of all parties, who did homage in him to one of our best writers and most vigorous thinkers.

After taking joyous and grateful leave of the year just expired, is it with confidence unminged that we greet the opening year? We think not. The Republican party in France leans too much to a somewhat superficial optimism that yields to the satisfaction of the moment. It is apt to forget past misfortunes, and not foresee future dangers. In the midst of the Exhibition rejoicings, it apparently had no thought for the defeats of eight years ago, and what they cost; it congratulated itself with frivolous pride on giving a *fête* in the gallery where the King of Prussia was crowned Emperor of Germany, and was on the verge of celebrating as a national glory the gigantic lottery of twelve millions, honourable no doubt in its object, but productive of the basest covetousness, and the occasion of the most deplorable stock-jobbing. We must look facts in the face with a more manly gaze, and recognize that not until after the 5th of January, and not until the Republican party are in actual possession of power, will the real difficulties and the real dangers begin. At present the representatives of the Left form a very small proportion of the ministry, whose members belong chiefly to the Left Centre, some having even once formed part of the Right Centre. It is an open secret that with the first

months of the opening year the ministry will fall asunder, that M. Dufaure, M. Bardoux, and M. Léon Say, will have to withdraw on account of being in more or less open disagreement with M. Gambetta, and that a homogeneous ministry of elements of the pure Left will have to be formed. The present state of things, in which M. Gambetta is the head of the ministry, the prop of the ministry, and at the same time its intended successor, cannot long continue. It is necessary that M. Gambetta, or at any rate his party, possessed as they are of the real power, should also bear its responsibility and burden. Nor is that burden a light one. Is the Left capable of directing the government alone? Will it find the necessary men to fill the important posts? Will it inspire sufficient confidence to obtain a large majority in the Chambers, and such as to enable the country to attend to its business with security? All will depend on the attitude of the present head of the majority, M. Gambetta, and the manner in which the parties group themselves. Two things are possible. Either the Left will continue allied to the Extreme Left,—in which case the Left Centre will be thrown back upon the Right, and it is easy to foresee that the Government will again find itself in inextricable difficulties, for a Right majority will immediately re-form itself in the Senate; or else it will separate from the Extreme Left to consolidate its union with the Left Centre,—in which case the moderate elements of the Right will rally round the great Republican party, which will be the true representation of the country. In this case the peaceful and orderly development of the Republican Government may be hoped for. But the second alternative, it must be owned, is the less likely. The very absorbing and ruling personality of M. Gambetta has, in spite of his great intellectual capacities and personal charm, alienated a great part of the moderate Left from him; and if he has won new sympathies, it is rather in the ranks of the Right. It is impossible that he should remain aloof from power and govern France as President of the Budget Committee; but has he ministerial aptitudes? will he be able to control a temperament that led him in 1871 to commit such grave faults? will he bring the necessary prudence and discernment to bear on his choice of men?—a choice on which the worth and the success of a Government in a great measure depend. Finally, what will be the new ministry's programme of reform? Hitherto the popular democratic mass has given the Government credit up to the moment when the obstacles raised by the reactionary majority in the Senate should be removed; but the time for action has come. Much will be demanded of M. Gambetta because he has promised much; it is the lot of all who pass from opposition to power. If they do nothing, they are accused of having combated abuses merely because they did not benefit by them. If M. Gambetta is too zealous a reformer, he will lose partisans on the moderate Left; if too moderate a one, he will lose them on the advanced Left. What is to be hoped is that the moderate party, not being called to a direct share in power, will not adopt a negative and hostile attitude towards the new ministry, but will form a large balancing party, prepared to support or even take the initiative in all wise reforms, but powerful enough, through its union with the Right, to arrest and annihilate the ministry of the Left should it embark on dangerous courses. What must also be hoped is, that M. Gambetta will not allow the struggle against the clergy to divert him from meeting the need for social reforms which exists amongst a portion of the people. Religious strifes in which the individual conscience comes into play, always lead governments further than they intend.

Lastly, beside these secondary difficulties, which may with wisdom be averted, there is a fundamental difficulty arising out of the very nature of our constitution. Parliamentary government is all but incompatible with a centralized administration like ours. The ministers depending on the deputies, and the life of the whole country depending on the ministries, the ministers spend their whole time in conferring with the deputies, listening to their demands and complaints, and attending their *protégés*, and no time is left

for serious business. It would require superhuman energy to resist these calls; and the minister possessed of it would risk the loss of his office. For parliamentary governments to work, a wide decentralization is necessary, as also that the ministers' powers should be political and not administrative. But is such decentralization possible? It would present great inconveniences now, when the country has still to be educated, and the struggle against the encroachments of clericalism is always on the verge of breaking out. There is the great danger. Republican parliamentary government, owing to the tyranny of the deputies over the ministers, runs the risk of ending in favouritism, general impotency, and disorder.

Whilst awaiting what the future has in store and hoping that our fears may not be realized, we may regard with satisfaction what the year 1878 has brought us. All that the Universal Exhibition called into being has not disappeared. Not to mention the Palace, which will continue to crown the hill of the Trocadero, several new museums are to grow out of the vast temporary museum in the Champ de Mars: an educational museum, to include everything connected with schools and teaching that the Exhibition contained; an ethnographical and anthropological museum, to provide these new studies with the scientific elements of comparative observation. There is a talk of organizing an enormous industrial museum in the galleries of the Champ de Mars, where the machines would be seen at work. The Central Union of Arts has opened a museum of industrial art, in the Pavillon de Flore, on the model of the Kensington Museum. Finally, M. Viollet le Duc has started a plan for a popular theatre, with very low entrance fees, where the actors and actresses of the subsidized theatres would play the best pieces and operas in their *répertoire*. The Minister of Finance grumbles a little in subdued tones at the Republic's tendency to do grand things rapidly and on an extensive scale; what he wants to do is to liquidate the debt, pay the Bank, and convert the stock, but neither the optimists of the Budget Commission nor M. de Freycinet see things in that light, and have no hesitation in engaging the anticipated surplus of future budgets in advance.

The intellectual and artistic activity, suspended as it was by the turmoil of the Exhibition and the distractions of the summer season, is greater than ever now that the gates of the Champ de Mars are shut. I am not speaking merely of the necessary periodical activity displayed in the production of handsome and charming illustrated books. And yet one of the pleasures of the season is to turn over these beautiful specimens of the printer's art, to look at the engravings entrusted to excellent artists, often accompanied by letterpress of an intrinsic value. Every publishing firm has its speciality and its own particular public. For beautiful publications of the more solid kind the firm of Hachette stands first. They publish this year a new volume of Elisée Reclus' great geographical work, "*La Terre et les Hommes*," devoted to Belgium, Holland, and the British Isles; the first volume of M. Durny's "*Histoire des Romains*;" the first volume of "*La Suisse*," by M. Gourdault, most splendidly and carefully illustrated; magnificent illustrations of "*Ariosto*" by Gustave Doré; and, lastly, the pearl of gift-books this season, "*Aucassin et Nicolette*," translated and adorned with etchings by the great draughtsman Bida. This novel, or, as M. Bida calls it, this *Chanteable*, half prose, half verse, is one of the gems of the French literature of the thirteenth century. Never has love been expressed in so touching, so original, and so pure a manner. M. Bida, a man of most cultivated mind as well as an artist of high aims, whose illustrations of the Bible surpass anything ever yet attempted in that line, has shown, in a twofold way, his profound understanding of the ancient text by a translation half verse, half prose, retaining, with certain liberties, the *nuif* grace of the original, and by drawings, which seem living images in their plastic reality, of Aucassin the young Count of Beaucaire, and his love Nicolette, the Saracen slave. M. Quantin, long contented, before becoming a publisher, with being the best printer in Paris, has placed himself from the

first on a level with the best by his fascinating collections of the "Petits Conteurs Français" (Boufflers, Voisenon), little classical masterpieces ("La Princesse de Clèves," "Adolphe," "Valérie"), and his miniature editions of ancient novels, "Cupid and Psyché," "Daphnis and Chloé," which are marvels of grace and good taste. To these he has this year added a collection of unpublished letters of the deepest interest: "Correspondance de E. Delacroix," edited by Th. Burty,—a sort of biography of the painter as furnished by his letters, through which we form an intimate acquaintance with the simple, loyal, and somewhat melancholy nature of this great artist. Seldom has a man of genius carried sincerity, freedom from personal pre-occupations and petty vanities, the wide and eclectic appreciation of everything that is beautiful, the absence of all exaggeration and emphasis, so far. The two letters on the English school of painting and Bonington are amongst the most interesting. What he said of the English painters twenty years ago, of their conscientiousness, their impulsive originality, their psychological penetration, is true to this day. At M. Germer Baillière's we find scientific works; at M. Plon's books of travel. M. Hetzel is the young people's favourite. He enchants them with the inexhaustible magic lantern of Jules Verne, whose "Capitaine de Quinze Ans" is as exciting as his "Capitaine Hatteras," and his "Enfants du Capitaine Grant." He transports them into Russia with his "Maroussia," illustrated by the last drawings of the excellent Alsatian artist Théophile Schuler. Froelich continues his series of children's books, the charm and truth of which are such that they delight the mothers even more than the children. Those who want pretty editions of the classics of the seventeenth century go to Jouaust; those who want modern poetry find it at Lemerre and Fischbacher's, dressed in such elegant garb as to predispose them to admiration. M. Mame and M. Palmé address themselves especially to the Ultramontane connection; and the firm of Firmin Didot itself seems desirous of giving a Catholic colour to its larger illustrated works, such as "Les Femmes dans la Société Chrétienne" by M. Dantier, which far from rival those of Hachette.

These gift-books, however, represent only a small part of the literary activity that shows itself every year as winter comes on. The books that are read, and are worth reading, are not always the handsomest, or finest impressions. Often even publishers are a trifle careless as regards those which are sure to make their way by themselves. This is not the time of year that novelists choose for producing their most cherished works. They prefer spring or summer, when the attractions of the season are over, and their female readers have quiet and leisure. The return of the fine weather, the reawakening of nature, arouse a desire for poetical emotions, and lend them a peculiar charm. Winter is the time for serious reading, in the long fireside evenings, when the wind is raging outside. Hence it comes that most of the books published at the beginning of the winter are of the serious and solid kind. One novelist-poet only has ventured to bring out a book of the spring-time class just when everybody are making themselves snug within doors. Under the title "Sous Bois" (Charpentier), A. Theuriet has collected some short pieces expressing more intensely than any of his former productions his profound sympathy with a country life. If you wish to console yourself for the inclemencies of the season, and re-awaken delicious memories of days far from the stir and din of towns in the free healthy atmosphere of the real country, read over again "En Forêt" and "La Chanson du Jardinier." You will find yourself making lovely excursions along the banks of the Meuse, through the dense forests of the Argonne, illumined at evening by the bright light of the glass-works, with joyous and sturdy companions. At the same time, in his essay on popular songs, M. Theuriet teaches you the treasures of unconscious poetry and artless and profound sentiment contained in these rustic verses, hitherto so little known, which the peasants themselves are beginning to forget.

Pure literature, literary criticism, is, it has been already remarked, very much neglected in these days in France. The daily press, it is true, still has among

its writers two critics of the highest order, M. Schérer of the *Temps*, and M. Colani of the *République Française*; but whatever savour their articles may possess, even when collected in volumes, like M. Schérer's "*Études sur la Littérature Contemporaine*" (5 vols., Lévy), these disconnected sketches, designed for an inattentive and mixed public, limited by the very size of the paper, cannot rank with works of a less fleeting nature, thought out and written at leisure, in which the general ideas present themselves, not in the shape of brilliant assertions, but borne out by facts and reasoning. It seems as if those who have the talent necessary to undertake such works were led by the daily press and the reviews to confine themselves to incomplete and rapid essays. The exception, if any, to this rule is some professor in the provinces, whom Paris has not spoiled, who, in his isolation, has time to read, think, and write, with sufficient sequence to compose a work. Thus unquestionably one of our most distinguished men of letters is M. Stapfer, professor of foreign literature at Grenoble. And yet, though possessing all the qualities calculated to please,—wit, taste, a lively and delicate style, very varied literary attainments, acute moral and psychological appreciation,—his books, "*Laurence Sterne*" and the "*Causeries Parisiennes*," have not met with the success they deserve. The world finds it difficult to believe that you can be a writer of any value if they have not seen your name in the papers or the reviews, and the serious class of readers has neglected literature for erudition. M. Stapfer's new book, "*Shakespeare et l'Antiquité*," is sure to be more successful than its predecessors, because it treats of a great poet admired by the whole world, about whom, in France at least, people do not know much, and whom M. Stapfer has here treated from an original point of view, and also because without making a parade of erudition he has given it a larger place than before. But it is not to this the book owes its value. In the retirement of a provincial town, in the isolation of solitary study, M. Stapfer could not know everything; with no one to revise his work, he has overlooked some errors. Now and then, too, he has let his pen run on too complacently, as if giving himself up to the delights of a talk. But the real value of his book seems to me to lie in his moral and psychological appreciation of Shakespeare's plays. By confining himself to the study of a portion only of the great dramatist's work, and that not the most important, he has been able to analyse it with extreme minutiae, and render an accurate account to himself of the mode in which Shakespeare worked and transformed the materials he derived from tradition. It is in the works of the second order that the true character of men of genius can often be best appreciated. They are more accessible from the secondary side than from that of their masterpieces, which silence criticism by the enthusiasm they excite, and which, moreover, the admiration of posterity has, so to speak, consecrated and transfigured. In devoting himself exclusively to those of Shakespeare's plays whose subjects are borrowed from classical antiquity, M. Stapfer has been able to determine his real place in the Renaissance, whose exaggerations and prejudices he succeeded in rejecting and avoiding; to show what his historical and literary attainments were, the simple good faith with which he accepted the traditions of Plutarch; and at the same time the powerful psychological designs, the strong instinct of the living realities and the dramatical logic with which he animated these imperfect documents, and produced works which, spite of all anachronisms, all incoherencies, and all oddities, are yet profoundly Roman, profoundly English, and profoundly human. Perhaps the best chapter of the volume is that on *Troilus* and *Cressida*. M. Stapfer shows perfectly how the conception the middle ages had of the Trojan War, violently taking part with the Trojans against the Greeks, has found its most vivid, poetically fantastic, and striking utterance in Shakespeare's piece. We look impatiently for M. Stapfer's second volume, in which he is to treat of the relation and the differences of the Shakespearian and the ancient drama. The English, so deeply versed now in Shakespearian erudition, will, we think, forgive the French critic a few

errors of detail, in consideration of the lofty intelligence and the calm fairness with which he comments on the poet's work.

If literature be somewhat neglected at present in France, it is not so with history. Never has it been more studied, and the discoveries yet to be made, even relative to the epochs apparently the best known, are surprising. One would almost be inclined to think that the whole of history ought to be recast, that those who have hitherto attempted large historical syntheses have been too hasty, and that every fact ought first to be subjected to the most minute critical investigation. The archives have many surprises in store for us still, a proof of which is to be seen in the commentary drawn from them by M. Luce for the edition of Froissart which he is publishing under the auspices of the Société de l'Histoire de France. The seven volumes already issued do not comprise more than Book I., but the text is accompanied by explanatory and emendatory notes so copious and complete that the whole of the history of the fourteenth century seems, as it were, renovated thereby. Thus he has done justice on the legend according to which Charles V. was supposed to have declared war on Edward III. by sending one of his scullions to him; the truth being that Edward III. declined a present of wine Charles V. had sent him at the moment when hostilities were beginning again, and out of this fact the legend grew. It is no less important to study local history in its details, for the general history of a country results from all the local forces combined, and though by following merely the great political facts and the actions of the central power the effects may be ascertained, the causes remain undiscovered. It is through local and provincial history that social history, the most interesting of all, is learnt. Works of this kind have greatly multiplied of late years, thanks more especially to the numerous learned societies existing in the departments. But none of them can compare with the one M. Célestin Port, archivist at Angers, has just completed: "*Dictionnaire Historique de Maine et Loire*." He has devoted long years to it, ransacking all the archives, all the libraries of the department and of the neighbouring departments, visiting all the communes, and not leaving a single historical, literary, or archaeological question unexplored. More than one article of this dictionary is in itself a book, and, strange to say, this immense erudition, all this dust of the archives, has in nowise overwhelmed M. Port. His dictionary is written with spirit, in the most lively and original language, and is delightful reading. When we have encyclopædias of this kind for each one of the departments it will be easy to write a general history of France. Again it is by minute study of detail that M. Douen, in his book on "*Le Psautier Huguenot*" (Fischbacher), throws vivid light on the origin and development of Protestantism in France. The Psalms were one of the chief forces of the Reformation; they animated the Calvinist soldiers to the fight; they sustained the martyrs at the stake; they were the very soul of public as of family worship. To find out how the French Psalter was composed, to what tunes these simple and heroic verses were set, and what tunes were written expressly for them, closely to study Marot and Goudimel, two of the creators, one of modern poetry, the other of modern music, is to study the Reformation from one of its most intimate and beautiful sides. M. Douen has done his work with extreme conscientiousness, and Marot is exalted and ennobled by the light he throws upon him. Besides the court-poet and the valet of Francis I., with whom we were already acquainted, we find a serious and religious-minded man who conscientiously and bravely took his part in the work of the Reformation.

The attention of historians has, however, of late, been turned less to the middle ages and the sixteenth century than to the eighteenth, of all epochs the most interesting to us as being the source of all the questions now agitating France and Europe; the one, too, about which, perhaps, we know least, as far, at any rate, as the reign of Louis XV. is concerned, owing to our attention having hitherto been chiefly confined to the brilliant and frivolous outside of things, the life of the salons, and of literary circles. Voltaire, Diderot, Grimm, Mme.

du Deffand, Mme. d'Epinay have absorbed our gaze; the lives and work of the ministers, of Fleury, Machault, Choiseul, Maupeou is still in shadow. Henceforward, through M. Masson's two volumes of "*Mémoires and Lettres du Cardinal de Bernis*" (Plon), one minister, at least, will become well known. François Joachim de Pierre enjoyed, until now, rather a poor reputation. He was looked upon as an abbé of the boudoir and the bedchamber, of light morals and wit, a coiner of insipid rhymes, promoted without reason by the favour of Mme. de Pompadour to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and chiefly responsible for the alliance of France with Maria Theresa, an alliance out of which the disastrous Seven Years' War arose. It has even been said that it was to revenge himself for an epigram of Frederick II.'s, on his literary productions, that Bernis broke off the Prussian alliance. The memoirs and letters of Bernis reveal him in quite another light. The lively frivolous man we expected does not appear; he has wit no doubt; but above all good sense, observation, and prudence. As regards his relations with Mme. de Pompadour, we are not quite prepared to believe him when he pretends to have only consented with difficulty to being presented to the favourite, and that he yielded in order to exercise a wise and healthy influence over her; but on the question of the Austrian alliance he is entirely exculpated. Not a doubt remains but that it was Frederick who took the initiative in the rupture with France, by being the first to make overtures of alliance to England; and yet Bernis withstood Austria's offers; he was even simple-minded enough to believe, after the alliance with Maria Theresa was concluded, that Frederick could not adhere to it; finally, in 1758 he lost his place because he wanted to take advantage of the first successes to make peace. Hitherto, even in France, people believed the version given by Frederick II. in his Memoirs. But that great man, who knew so well how to practise the principles of Machiavelli, whilst refuting them in his writings, after beating France and Austria in the battlefield, succeeded besides in attaching all the blame possible to them in the eyes of posterity by what he wrote. The hatred and contempt inspired by the Government of Louis XV. gave credit, in France, to all Frederick II.'s accusations; but the time has come for criticism to resume her rights. It does not follow that, like M. Masson, we must make a great minister and a profound politician out of Bernis. He was ill-prepared for the difficult functions he had to fulfil: if he blamed the Austrian alliance, it was he who concluded it; the part he played as counsellor to Mme. de Pompadour did not lead to the reform of any abuse; and after having been deceived by Choiseul he remained his friend. He was a man of sagacious mind, but of no great capacity, and of weak character.

The Seven Years' War, which brought Russia and Austria into collision with Prussia, was to be the starting point of an alliance between the three States, an alliance that after the lapse of a century still exists, notwithstanding all the changes the map of Europe has undergone. This alliance was the work of Frederick II., and M. Sorel has just given an account of its origin in an admirable book, "*La Question d'Orient au XVIII. s. : Les Origines de la Triple Alliance*" (Plon). Frederick saw that Russia and Austria were on the point of being drawn into a fatal contest for the succession of the Ottoman Empire, and that on the other hand the rivalry between Prussia and Austria in Germany would remain in the acute stage and impede Prussia's development, unless it were made the instrument of Russian greatness, which was likewise a danger to her. He saw that the partition of Poland would be the solution of all these difficulties. As, with his impious cynicism, he expressed it, "It will unite the three religions, Greek, Catholic, and Calvinist; for we shall partake of one eucharistic body, which is Poland, and if it be not for the benefit of our souls, it will surely be greatly to the benefit of our States." It was in fact the complicity of the three States that bound them indissolubly together. Russia checked her advances in the east, having, of necessity, to occupy herself with Poland, and left Prussia to unite her possessions in the north-east with those in the west, by making herself mistress of the lower course of

the Vistula; Austria left off watching Russia in the east, and gave up her claims on Silesia. It is from the partition of Poland and the alliance of the three courts of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, that international and modern politics date. The consequences are visible now, and, as M. Sorel eloquently demonstrates, are beginning to turn against the authors of that glaring iniquity. The Polish question seems exhausted, but the Eastern question is making rapid strides towards a solution. Once solved, the Austrian question will begin to unfold itself, and then Prussia and Russia will remain face to face. M. Sorel has not treated this deeply interesting question solely as a diplomat, but as a psychological historian as well, and has produced finished portraits of the three chief actors in the drama: Catherine II., who behaved with an unscrupulousness truly imperial, and an immodesty truly epic, conquering and annexing on a grand scale, as if by right of nature, in the name of holy Russia; Frederick, harsh and persevering, mingling the cynicism of Mephistophelian irony with his passion for the greatness of his country; Maria Theresa, weak and greedy, devout and ambitious, full of scruples to which she paid no heed—"always weeping and always taking."

"God is too high and France is too far off," said the Poles more than once in their misfortunes. France in fact always sympathized with them, but, whether from weakness, powerlessness, or incapacity, that sympathy remained a barren one, and rather harmful than useful. Striking examples of this are to be found in M. de Broglie's new book, "*Le Secret du Roi*" (2 vols., Lévy). It was well known for some time past through M. Boutaire's publication, "*La Correspondance Secrète de Louis XV.*," that that indolent and vicious king had kept up, side by side with the official, a secret diplomacy, the threads of which he held in his own hand, and by means of which he now and then pursued different aims from those of his ministry. But the essential documents, the letters of the Comte de Broglie, the chief agent and the soul of this secret diplomacy, were wanting. The present Duc de Broglie, the grand-nephew of the Comte de Broglie, thanks to the voluminous archives of his family, as also to the Archives of Foreign Affairs and of the Ministry of War, has been able to give a complete history of that curious diplomatic episode, which he has recounted with brilliant and forcible vivacity. He places the part Louis XV. played in its true light. M. Boutaire was very near making him pass for a great politician thwarted by his ministers, and trying to take his revenge unknown to them; M. de Broglie shows him to have been merely a *blase* looker-on, seeking distraction of a refined kind, incapable of following out an idea, and meanly sacrificing his confidants as soon as the secret was discovered. We experience a certain deception in reading these two volumes, from seeing the many negotiations that miscarried, the magnificent plans that did not weigh a straw in the destinies of Europe. It is painful to see this Penelope's web alternately made and unmade. The book is of immense importance as regards knowledge of Louis XV. and his Government, but throws no light on what really guided the politics of Europe. Yet this Comte de Broglie was a man of rare understanding, impelled by obedience to the King, ambition, and love of intrigue to accept a thankless and undignified part. Poland was the centre of his projects, from the moment when he laboured to get the Prince de Conti elected king up to that in which he endeavoured to enlist the adventurer Dumouriez to his ideas. He cherished dreams, it is said, of changing the anarchical constitution and making it the pivot of a French policy. These chimeras, blent with profound insight and just intuitions, ended in the most absolute nothingness and the cruellest mortification.

If M. de Broglie's book draws a sad picture of monarchical France in the eighteenth century, that given by M. de Lomenie's "*Mirabeau*" (Dentre) is not more seductive, but is perhaps more instructive. The Mirabeau family is not only interesting on account of the great revolutionary tribune, but because all its members were powerful and original individualities: the

grandfather, Jean Antoine, and the grandmother, who died insane; the bailiff uncle, a man of great intelligence and admirable rectitude, who would have made an excellent Minister of the Marine; the other uncle, who became Councilor to the Margrave of Bayreuth, after being repudiated by his family owing to his having married beneath him; lastly, the Marquis, father of the great Mirabeau, the philosopher, philanthropist, economist, and author of "L'Ami des Hommes," one of the most extraordinary types of the reforming nobility of the eighteenth century, a true symbol of the disorder then prevailing—at outrageous war with his wife, by whom he had had eleven children; at war with his son, against whom he took out *lettres de cachet*, whilst thundering against the abuses of authority—a strange example of the influx of democratic ideas into a feudal brain. We must read M. de Lomenie's book to understand the state of intellectual and administrative anarchy into which France had sunk. It likewise gives many interesting details concerning the navy, the Order of Malta, and the feudal rights in the eighteenth century.

Let those who wish to console themselves for these too highly-coloured pictures read the "Lettres de la Princesse de Condé au Marquis de la Gervaisais" (Didier), published by M. P. Viollet, genuine letters of the same period, forming the purest and most touching novel imaginable. This last heiress of the great name of Condé had fallen in love with a young gentleman of elevated and original mind and precocious maturity. She yielded to the charm of this inclination till the consciousness of the obstacle the prejudices of her rank would interpose between her and the one she loved constrained her to give him up. She renounced the world, and retired to the cloister. This, again, is a sad example of the barbarism of the social condition of the eighteenth century; but here at least are souls of almost ideal nobility to admire. These letters are love melodies, of incomparable innocence and artlessness, and at the same time of passionate depth.

The philosophical publications this year were far from being as important as the historical ones. Translations continue to be made of the English philosophers, who at present—Herbert Spencer more especially—exercise an unquestionable ascendancy over French thought. In proof of which we have only to read M. Ribot's excellent *Revue Philosophique* (Germer Baillère). The works of Germany, in the meantime, are not treated with indifference, especially those, very numerous in these days, in which philosophy is based on the sciences, on physiology and physics. Thus, whilst M. Liard has studied "Les Logiciens Anglais Contemporains" (G. Baillère), M. Ribot has completed a work on the "Psychologues Allemands Contemporains" (G. Baillère), and M. Boutroux has translated "L'Histoire de la Philosophie Ancienne," by Zeller, and has headed the first volume by a remarkable preface. Lastly, the several varieties of pessimism continue to excite curiosity, rather literary, it is true, than philosophical. The fact is, it is difficult to take it seriously and as an explanation of the world, even with men like Schopenhauer and Hartmann. Pessimism is a feeling, a temperament; it may produce a religion, like Buddhism, but will never be a rational doctrine. In France, moreover, amidst a gay, active, sensible, and volatile people, pessimism can never strike root even as a passing fashion. To us it seems like a disease. M. Caro has studied it from this point of view in "Le Pessimisme Contemporain" (Hachette), a charming book, wherein he more particularly, and with reason, devotes himself to bringing out the moral and psychological causes of pessimism in Leopardi, Schopenhauer, and Hartmann; and shows, with some cleverness, that the poet Leopardi was the truest philosopher of the three, because he neither sought the origin nor the remedy of the ill from which he suffered. The modern philosophical systems, which all more or less disturb the notion of free-will, oblige us to revise our ideas on the morals of its rational foundations. This preoccupation has inspired M. Gruyan with a remarkable work on "La Morale d'Epicure dans ses Rapports avec les Systèmes Modernes," in which, for the first time in France, the Epicurean system has been fairly judged.

During the whole exhibition season the theatres, sure of full houses, did not go to the expense of bringing out any new pieces. They were content with their old *répertoire*. Only now are they beginning to shake off their inertia and to produce some novelties. The opera set the example with Gounod's "Polyeucte," promised and looked for long ago. This work, to which the composer attached great importance, has been much talked of for some time. Strange stories were current of the adventures of the score,—of its having been left in London in the hands of a lady of some notoriety, who would not return it, and of M. Gounod having in consequence entirely to rewrite it. After the semi-fiasco of "Cinq Mars" a brilliant revenge was looked for; but in vain. Mlle. Krauss's admirable dramatic talent, Lasalle's fine voice, the wonderful scenery, the dazzling *mise en scène* of the fête of Jupiter, and some pieces of a lofty inspiration make "Polyeucte" a spectacle worth seeing; but for one who bears the name of Gounod, and has written "Faust," "Romeo," "Mireille," "Sapho," a *succès d'estime* is not enough. The subject, moreover, was not suited to the musician's peculiar genius. He fancies that because he has a mystical side to his nature he is fitted to write religious music, and in the case of lyrical religious music, if he had to express personal emotions, he would perhaps be right. But he is incapable of the great dramatic objectivity which a subject at once religious and antique demands. It would require the genius of a Gluck, and no one is less like Gluck than M. Gounod. We are indebted to him for some of the most beautiful lyrical effusions, the most delicious cooings and warblings in modern music, but his essentially personal and subjective style lacks variety, and almost everything he has produced since he wrote "Faust" recalls without equalling it. He moreover committed the mistake of treating as an opera, and one suited to the traditional formulas of the Grand Opéra of Paris, a subject better fitted for a kind of oratorio. The result is a species of contradiction that annoys and shocks the spectator.

Notwithstanding the serious reserves we make with reference to Gounod's latest work, we cannot follow those who, at his expense, praised the Marquis d'Ivry's "Amants de Vérone." The difference between the inspiration of a Gounod, original as it invariably is, and the make-up talent of a skilful and learned amateur, is all in all. The success of the "Amants de Vérone" at the Salle Ventadour, proclaimed by the singer Capoul, who is himself the lessee, was due, in great measure, to Capoul's own talent, which excites veritable enthusiasm in a portion of the public, more especially the female public, and to the charms of Mlle. Heilbronn. It was due also to the Marquis d'Ivry's many personal relations, to the Salle Ventadour having become a fashionable rendez-vous, and finally to the attraction exercised by the divine subject of Romeo and Juliet itself, so often experimented upon by musicians since the day when Shakespeare made it the gospel of young and passionate love. But no music will ever be worthy of Shakespeare's verses; them and them only will lovers read and repeat again and again.

An interesting attempt made at the Odéon by M. Vitu to adapt an Italian piece of M. Giacometti's, "La Mort Civile," to the French stage, is deserving of notice. Both in France and Italy Salvini owed one of his great successes to this piece. A Sicilian painter has carried off a young girl and married her; in a fray he has killed his wife's brother, who wanted to take her back to her parents, and has been condemned to the galleys. At the end of a year he escapes and finds his wife living as governess in the house of a charitable doctor, who has adopted the painter's daughter and gives her out to be his child. The girl herself believes the doctor is her father. The painter, mad with jealousy and love, wants at first to take back both wife and daughter, but vanquished by the greatness of soul of his wife, who has herself renounced a mother's rights for the sake of her daughter's happiness, he condemns and kills himself. The piece is *naïf* and naively treated. Some Parisian critics were astonished at its success, and recalled the failure of an analogous piece by M. Edmond, "L'Africain." But that piece wanted sincerity and conviction;

you were conscious of a substratum of Parisian bragging in it. "La Mort Civile," on the contrary, is unskillfully constructed, but the sentiments are true and human. The scene in which the painter makes his wife confess that she loves the doctor, though she has never let him see it, is admirable in its pathos; and when she bids her daughter kneel down at the feet of her dying father, and call him father because he had had a daughter who resembled her and whom he passionately loved, not an eye remained dry. The great success of "La Mort Civile" proves that ability is not so necessary on the stage as is supposed; that the essential thing is to be human and true. A common coloured engraving that is true in sentiment is often more touching than the production of the most delicate brush if it be affected and false.

The artistic world has been somewhat excited lately by M. Massenet's nomination to the musical section of the Académie des Beaux Arts. M. Massenet's competitor was M. Saint-Saëns, and in the eyes of musicians the latter ought to have been preferred. He is M. Massenet's superior both as regards the number of his works, and the power and loftiness of his inspiration. But M. Massenet is more popular; his "Roi de Lahore" has been played at the Opera; he is an amiable man, and his *romances* have had the run of all the *salons*. And whilst M. Saint-Saëns had all the musicians of the Academy on his side, M. Massenet had all the remainder, the painters, sculptors, engravers, and architects. No doubt he too deserved admission to the Institute, but the author of "Samson and Dalila," the "Roi de Lahore," "Phaëton," "La Jeunesse d'Hercule," "La Danse Macabre," should have entered before him.

G. MONOD.

II.

IN GERMANY.

SUMMARY.—The Attempts on the Life of the Emperor—Rejection of Bill against Socialism—The Commercial Crisis—Finance and Taxation—Protection and Free Trade—Imperial Legislation—The Separate States—Ecclesiastical Affairs—Religious Instruction in Primary Schools. Literature: History and Biography—Philosophy—Culture and Social Life—Belles Lettres.

BOXX, December 18th, 1878.

GERMANY is completing the most agitated year which she has passed through since her reconstruction in 1866. In our attempt to give a sketch of it, we shall not keep to the chronological order of events, but group them so that the reader may gain a better impression of them as a whole.

Beginning with politics, the most prominent as well as the most tragic events are the execrable attempts on the life of the Emperor. Who could have thought it possible that a monarch at the age of eighty-one, who has endeared himself to all who come in contact with him by his affability and genuine goodness, who, in spite of his advanced age, labours day after day for the good of his people, who has given Germany a prestige such as she has not enjoyed since the days of the Hohenstaufens, and under whom she has been made a united empire, secure at home and powerful abroad—who, I say, could have believed that so revered a personage would be struck by the hand of an assassin? On 10th May, Hödel fired at the Emperor, and on 17th August he suffered for his crime by the axe of the executioner. Before the indignation had subsided, or the rejoicings at the sovereign's escape were over, on 2nd June, a second shot struck him, again in broad daylight, and in the busiest street of his capital. Dozens of wounds unfortunately bore witness to its success. On 10th September death withdrew the assassin from the hands of earthly justice. The nation has but one consolation, that the Almighty has

preserved the Emperor, and in spite of his advanced age, has permitted him to recover his strength. Never has the attachment of the German rulers and people been more signally shown. But even on this occasion it was evident how low the press of those parties has sunk who have relinquished their patriotism. The Ultramontane papers were very cold, and some of them reported the loyal demonstrations in a way far from respectful. The Socialist press had not a word of abhorrence. And, to complete the calamity, hundreds of convictions for high treason took place, in which, unhappily, servility and excess of zeal played too much part.

In September the Emperor was so far recovered as to be able to be present at a review at Cassel, and at the unveiling of the statue of Frederick William III. at Cologne, erected by the Rhinelanders in memory of the union of the Rhenish provinces with Prussia.

These attempts had important political consequences. Hödel's opinions induced Bismark to lay a Bill before the Reichstag, then still sitting, to suppress the dangerous designs of the Socialists. It was rejected by all parties, except the two Conservative sections and a few of the National Liberal members. Just as the Reichstag was closed, the second attempt occurred. On 4th June, the Emperor empowered the Crown Prince to represent him in the Government. As the Reichstag would not pass the exceptional law deemed necessary, the Crown Prince dissolved it by the decree of the Federal Council of 11th June, and the new elections were appointed for 30th July. We described in detail, in last No. of the REVIEW, the position of parties resulting from the new elections, as well as the events of the beginning of the year, and will confine ourselves to describing the connection of political occurrences.

It was a political misfortune for the National Liberal party that the dissolution was directly caused by the rejection of a Bill which the attempts on the life of the Emperor had made the Government consider necessary; the misfortune was the greater because even they allowed that something must be done to check the Socialists, and because the rejection of the Bill was imputed to this party on account of its predominance. Thus the Government was enabled to give vent to its long-cherished ill-will against it, as it appeared to the people, on account of their rejection of a highly patriotic measure. For Bismark had already fallen out with the National Liberals in February. When the year began there was a prospect that several of the Liberal leaders would enter the Ministry and be appointed to the chief offices in the empire. This miscarried, as we have before seen, through the rejection of the financial measures laid before the Reichstag. This leads us to what was the main feature of parliamentary life in 1878, and what will doubtless continue to be so during the coming year,—namely, the question of national economy.

Ever since 1874 Germany has been passing through a commercial crisis, which in severity, extent, and duration is the greatest we have seen in this century, and it is all the more disastrous because from 1871 to 1874 there was an imprudent extension of trade, and an apparently unfailing abundance of money. But it is not this alone which causes depression: the demands on individuals, as well as on communities, in consequence of new wants and an increase of luxury to a far greater extent than is justified by any solid basis of prosperity, and the sudden demands for school expenditure to make up for previous negligence, have become so great that they can scarcely be increased. The expenditure of the financial year 1878-9 is, it is true, less than that of 1872 by about seventy-seven million marks; but that does not affect the question, because at that period large sums were required for the re-establishment of the army after the war; since then the five milliards received from France have been distributed, and allotted to the Invalid fund, the War Treasury, and some other things, but the receipts do not meet the expenditure. Thus it seemed probable that the matricular contributions levied on the separate States in proportion to population would be increased. With a view to abolish them and to make the Empire independent of the States in financial matters, to

relieve the States, and thereby to place them in a position to reform their financial laws, and particularly to assign to the communes some taxes hitherto drawn from the State, Bismark devised a plan of attaining these ends by indirect taxation, and gained over the Federal Council to his views. It was at once proposed to increase the tobacco duty considerably, to make the stamp duty on playing-cards an Imperial tax, and to impose a tax on commercial transactions. At the first reading in February it was evident that Bismark aimed at a tobacco monopoly, and that Camphausen, the Finance Minister, was in favour of it. This put an end to the negotiations with the National Liberals, and led to the unedifying scenes in the Prussian Chamber, where Bismark handled the Minister of Trade, Achenbach, in a way which did not show his ministerial qualifications in a very advantageous light. It led to the dismissal of Camphausen and Achenbach, who were succeeded by Hofrecht, Mayor of Berlin, and Maybach, Under-Secretary of the Prussian Department of Trade, formerly President of the Imperial Railway Board. Both were doubtless gained over for Bismark's financial schemes. The Prussian Minister of the Interior, Count Eulenberg (who had long had leave of absence), was also dismissed, and replaced by a cousin, Count Eulenberg, President of Hanover. Prince Bismark now made rapid strides towards the end which he has practically attained for years,—namely, to have the guidance of the affairs of Prussia and the Empire in his own hands, though without constantly troubling about them personally, or bearing all the responsibility. He attained his purposes all the sooner because the National Liberals could not oppose him for reasons of their own, as they did not want to be open to the suspicion of sulking because of the portfolios which had escaped their hands. On 17th March, 1878, the Reichstag sanctioned the Bill respecting the Chancellor's deputies. It provides that, on the motion of the Chancellor, a deputy may be nominated by the Emperor for the entire range of his offices and duties; further, the chiefs of departments can be empowered to represent him for particular branches or the whole sphere of their jurisdiction, but the Chancellor can at any time resume his official functions. It appears that it only depends on Bismark's will and pleasure to enjoy his well-earned leisure and repose to the full, while at the same time a plenitude of power is accorded to him in the administration of affairs which could not be surpassed, for he has the means in his hands of guiding them as he will. The President of the Admiralty, the Postmaster-General, the President of the Imperial Court of Judicature, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, the Under-Secretary of State for Alsace-Lorraine, and finally, the President of the Imperial Chancellorship for certain affairs, are all entrusted with the deputyship in their several departments. It was proposed to the Prussian Chamber to transfer the salary which Prince Bismark has enjoyed as Prussian Ministerial President to the newly-created office of Vice-President of the Ministry without a portfolio. This was passed, and Count Stolberg Wernigerode, formerly Ambassador at Vienna, was appointed President and General Deputy of the Chancellor. He belongs to one of the most ancient and most aristocratic families of Germany, is of equal birth with the reigning house, and at the same time one of the most wealthy and most beloved of our nobility.

In the financial department, things now took a course only partly in accordance with the intentions of the Government. Having found it impossible to carry the Tobacco Bill, a Bill was introduced for an inquiry into the cultivation, manufacture, and trade in tobacco. The object of this undoubtedly was eventually to introduce a monopoly. Having been so amended as to make it seem harmless to the Liberals, it was passed. The inquiry is now going on, and the results will be laid before the next Reichstag. Besides this the Federal Council has instituted other inquiries about the state of the iron, steel, and textile manufactures. It may certainly be inferred from this that economical questions will be uppermost in the next session of the Reichstag. An opinion widely prevails that the commercial policy entered upon by the Empire and Prussia is injurious to the country, that in many branches German manufac-

tures are not sufficiently advanced to dispense with protection to such an extent as to allow time for home products to become capable of competing with foreign. It is asserted that while our neighbours, Russia, Austria, and France, protect their manufactures by high import duties, which are still increasing, and France also by partial remission of the duty on pig-iron (the *acquits à caution*), Germany, by the abolition of duties, particularly on pig-iron, and since 1st January, 1877, on iron and steel goods (with the exception of certain fine sorts), is liable to be flooded from abroad. The commercial treaty with Austria is now at an end; the attempt to renew it last year having failed, the former one was temporarily renewed till 31st December, 1878. If no new treaty is concluded with Austria, or if in a new treaty no fixed duty is imposed on one kind of article or another, it will be of great importance as regards France. By Article II. of the Treaty of Peace of 10th May, 1871, Germany and France "prendront pour base de leurs relations commerciales le régime du traitement réciproque sur le pied de la nation la plus favorisée." It is also declared that neither party is to grant "faveurs" by commercial treaties with England, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Austria, or Russia. Under these circumstances, the protectionist manufacturers are taking great pains to prevent a commercial treaty from being entered into before a revision of the customs tariff has taken place. Two great parties have been formed. The one adheres strictly to the previous policy, is on principle for absolute free trade, and, when possible, against all Government restrictions on individual liberty in the matter of trade and commerce. The chief representatives of this party in the Reichstag are Drs. Bamberger and Braun. The National Liberal party as such has no commercial programme; at least it was distinctly stated so in their last election manifesto. But in reality it is not so. The *National-Liberal-Correspondenz*, a paper sustained by the party, advocates free trade; so does the *National Zeitung*, considered to be one of the chief organs of the party; and the greatest German, and at the same time National Liberal paper, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, is for free trade, though it would permit of exceptions to a moderate extent. Hitherto the majority of the members of the Reichstag have been decidedly for free trade, but a great change has taken place. Of course the seaport towns which depend upon shipping interests are against all protective duties, and so are, to a large extent, the agricultural districts. The greater part of the manufacturing districts, and the agricultural neighbourhoods which have suffered from the depression of trade, desire protection, particularly the Rhenish provinces, Westphalia, Silesia, Nassau, and Hanover (in part), Prussia, Crown Saxony, Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and the greater part of Baden and Hesse. For several years there has been among the members of the Reichstag a "Free Economical Union," which labours to effect a change in the present commercial policy. At the last election, material interests had great weight. In many electoral districts promises were demanded of the candidate, or, knowing the prevailing feeling, he gave them unasked. At the close of the session on 19th October, this Union put forth a "declaration" that the shortness of the session, and its convocation for a special purpose, had not permitted the discussion of the economical question, but that it felt bound to state that it looked for changes, and would demand them next session. This was signed by 204 members; some did not sign because they thought the terms too general, and because from the mention of agriculture it might be feared that even the taxes on corn and cattle would be renewed. One thing is certain, that the number of members who desire a change in the customs policy is very large; there are only 397 members, and only on one occasion, the passing of the Socialist Bill on 19th October, have as many as 370 been present, so that it may be fairly concluded that 180 would form a majority. The weight which this force gives to the Union is materially increased by another circumstance. Baron Varnbüler, who, with Dr. Löwe, has for years taken the most active interest in this question, and advocates a return to protection and autonomy, that is,

for tariffs sanctioned by law, instead of conventions, addressed a letter to Prince Bismark on 19th October, in which he asks "whether it is intended to lay before the Reichstag next session a project for a revised customs tariff, and whether the Government will, before that is done, enter into any new commercial treaty with a convention tariff?" Bismark replied on 25th October, that as the Government had not come to any decision, he could of course only give his personal opinion, and continued:—"So far as I am able, it is certainly my intention to bring about a comprehensive revision of our customs tariff, and to submit the necessary proposals at once to be examined by the allied Governments. The preliminaries are already in progress. I cannot recommend the conclusion of new treaties with convention tariffs, until the question of the revision of our tariff has been solved." Herr von Varnbüler immediately published both letters in the *Post*, the organ of the German Imperial party, with which Bismark is most closely allied. This publication, the fact that Herr von Varnbüler (who was formerly Foreign Minister in Würtemberg, and his son now ambassador from Würtemberg at Berlin) is intimate with Bismark, the well-known attitude of Varnbüler to this question, and his position in the "Free Economical Union"—all this makes it obvious that Bismark had seen his letter, and communicated his reply; in other words, that question and answer are one, and that their object is to inform the public of the views of the Government. Bismark's position in Prussia and in the Empire is a guarantee that a new path of protective policy will be entered upon. The danger to free trade was at once perceived. Bamberger and Braun immediately founded a league, intended to spread throughout Germany, and to uphold free trade. There is no question that the debate on the subject will be a very animated one; indeed, it seems not impossible that interested considerations may even lead to modifications of political parties. Another sign of the ferment caused by this economical question is to be found in the two meetings which have taken place, and which were occupied mainly with economical questions. One was the Congress of Economists at Posen, which embraced all who were inclined to attend either as specialists or dilettanti, and who could procure tickets. Dr. Braun was president, and trenchant resolutions were adopted against monopolies. The other was the German Commercial Association (*Deutsche Handelstag*), which met at Berlin in October, and consisted exclusively of people practically interested in economical questions. It passed a resolution to advise the Government to establish a commercial and industrial association, after the fashion of the French "Conseil Industriel Supérieur;" but the leaning towards change of the previous system manifested itself so strongly, that a breach was threatened, and was only with difficulty averted. In order to explain the subject further, it must also be mentioned that in August a conference of German Finance Ministers was held to discuss the subject of the reform of taxation. The results have not transpired. The Empire has had to content itself with the stamp duty on playing-cards, which by the Bill of 3rd July applies to all Germany, and which amounts to 30 pfennigs for games of thirty cards, and 50 for a larger number.

During the year 1878 there have been altogether loans to the amount of 76,605,265 marks, by the issue of Treasury bonds, to cover extraordinary expenses for the post and telegraph service, the navy, the army, and the reform of the coinage. For the construction of railways in Lorraine, which, as well as those in Alsace and Luxemburg, belong to the Empire, a similar loan of 15,120,000 marks has been issued.

The Imperial legislature has, during the year 1878, enacted several laws in connection with the laws applying to all Germany, relating to jurisprudence and civil and criminal law, which come into force on 1st October, 1879. Among these are the regulations relating to attorneys, and a law which modifies the statutory law for trades, by conferring the right of making more fixed rules relating to artisans, journeymen, and assistants. But the most important is the Socialist Bill, published on 21st October. It empowers the

Government, up to 31st March, 1881, to suppress and abolish all works, periodical or otherwise, all societies, meetings, or institutions, which promote the efforts of the Socialists to overthrow society; in certain cases to banish the agitators, to confine them to residence within certain limits, and to restrain the exercise of trades which serve their purposes. Within a few weeks nearly all the Socialist prints, societies, &c., have disappeared, and a peace has been restored such as has not been enjoyed in Germany for years.

By the Imperial Act of Clemency of 9th February, a new step was taken towards reconciliation with Alsace-Lorraine. An amnesty was proclaimed for all who had withdrawn by flight from military service. In order further to consolidate the position of these territories, it was proposed to make the Imperial Crown Prince, for the time being, their sovereign. The plan was joyfully accepted by the Autonomists, who wish to make the best of existing circumstances, but for the present various obstacles seem to have arisen.

The relations of the Empire with foreign Governments are friendly. The difference with Nicaragua in consequence of the ill-treatment of the German Consul has been settled, as the Republic at the end of May complied with the German demands. Germany did not contribute to the French Exhibition because the state of home manufactures did not make it advisable, but the subsequent representation of Germany in the Art department has effaced the unfavourable impression which the refusal to exhibit had made in France.

In the Eastern Question, Germany has from first to last maintained the position of a neutral State. At the Congress at Berlin, Prince Bismark had occasion to play the part of an impartial mediator in a wide sense of the term. The Congress itself was, there can be no doubt, an act of homage paid by the nations to the new Empire and its great Chancellor.

We now glance at the separate German States, so far as their history is not included in our previous description. The year 1878, however, offers little to interest foreigners, with the exception of the subject now to be alluded to. The legislation of all the German States has been directed to carrying out the new German judicature laws. In most of the States, especially in Prussia, on 1st October, 1879, an entirely new system of jurisprudence comes into force. This involves many changes in the seats of justice, the appointment of judges, the expenses, &c. In Bavaria an important step towards constitutional progress has been made, by the establishment of a court of administrative justice, which hears appeals against the executive. In Hesse an arrangement has been made whereby the disorganized civil list has been put upon a better footing, and the amount of it increased.

Ecclesiastical affairs occupied in 1878, as for years past, a prominent place. In Prussia the constitution of the Protestant Church has been further organized. During previous years, in the nine older provinces of East and West Prussia, Pomerania, Brandenburg, Saxony, Silesia, Westphalia, the Rhineland, and Posen, its constitution has been settled by laws issued by the King, as head of the Church, by the General Synod, and by the Government, so far as its co-operation was required. These laws, in their main features, are those which have prevailed in Westphalia and the Rhenish provinces since 1835, and are of a presbyterian and synodal character. The parishes have churchwardens and representatives; over these are the district synods, the provincial synods, and over all the General Synod. The supreme authority is the High Consistory directly under the King; the executive power lies with the Minister of Ecclesiastical Affairs. In Hanover the Protestant Church has its own constitution; the control lies with the Consistory and the above-mentioned minister. In 1878, the constitution of the Church for Schleswig-Holstein was settled, as well as for the district included in the Consistory of Wiesbaden. The ecclesiastical ordinances of 4th November, 1876, for Schleswig-Holstein, of 7th November, 1877, for Lauenburg, and of 4th July, 1877, for Nassau, came into force by the Bill of 6th April, 1878, and the State rights were more closely defined. The constitution of Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburg is as follows. Every

parish has a vestry, consisting of the minister and from four to ten presbyters, which administers its affairs; then there is a church college, consisting of the members of the vestry and from twelve to thirty churchwardens, always three times as many as there are presbyters. Presbyters and churchwardens are elected for six years, and every second year one third goes out. The consent of this college is required for a number of matters. The parishes have, to a certain extent, a legally-defined voice in the election of ministers. All members above twenty-four years of age are actively, and all above thirty passively, eligible if they stand by the Church, and are of good repute. Over the parishes are the Provostal Synods, consisting of the provosts, the clergy, and double the number of laymen, elected for three years; they exercise oversight and certain other rights, and meet once a year. Over this is the General Synod, consisting of the superintendent-general, eight members nominated by the King, one member of the theological faculty of the University of Kiel, and the representatives of the twenty-six electoral districts. Of these, the districts having a population under 30,000 send two, under 50,000 three, and the rest four. Legislation, taxation, and other matters rest with the General Synod. It meets every six years.

In the Consistory of Wiesbaden (Nassau and the Duchy of Homburg) the parish has a vestry consisting of the minister and from four to sixteen churchwardens, and from sixteen to twenty representatives of the parish, elected for six years, half going out every two or three years; the conditions of active and passive eligibility are much the same as before; the circuit (*kreis*) synod consists of all the clergy, and double the number of laymen elected for three years; it meets once a year; the district (*bezirk*) synod is composed of the superintendent-general, four members, nominated by the King, and the representatives of the thirteen electoral districts (those having a population under 20,000 send two, under 30,000 three, above that four). It meets every three years. The minister is elected by the parishes and the synods in turn.

The relations of the State with the Romish Church have not essentially changed, but there has been to a certain extent a lull in the *Culturkampf* so called. In Prussia, however, on 13th February, a decree was issued by which the commissaries, nominated by the Government for the control of the episcopal revenues in the sees where bishops have been deposed, or where, after the death of a bishop, no capitular-vicar has been appointed, were empowered to enforce obedience to their ordinances by means of penalties. Singularly enough this was overlooked before. Now and then also a clergyman has been condemned for disobedience to the laws. On the whole, however, people seem to be tired of the contest, for it is certain that the Government looks at the matter calmly; but the Romish clergy must quickly make peace, if they do not wish to see all discipline at an end, and the bishops no longer able to restrain the degenerate press, and to keep the curés who have become their own masters in check. No sooner had Pius IX. been succeeded by Leo XIII., who seemed to entertain more moderate views, than all sorts of reports were rife about finding a *modus vivendi*. Count Eulenbergh, then President-designate of Hanover, gave expression to the hope and fervent desire for it in the toast to the Emperor at the official banquet on 22nd March. The press found it a fertile theme, though neither the Pope's letter to the Emperor on his accession nor the reply of the latter had been made known. Then in the beginning of July, before the elections, the Emperor's letter to the Pope of 24th March, and that of the Crown Prince of 10th June, were published. The latter says:—"No Prussian monarch can comply with the desire expressed in your letter of 17th April, to alter the constitution and laws of Prussia in accordance with the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church, because the independence of the monarchy, now intrusted to me as heir of my father, and as a duty to my country, would suffer damage if its free legislation were under the control of any external power." After this declaration every one thought a *modus vivendi* was possible, and even that it had been discovered, but *only* possible if the

Romish bishops would simply undertake to notify to the Government the names of the clergy about to be instituted, as prescribed by the Bill of 11th May, 1873, because in that case the whole *Culturkampf* would lose its practical importance. This could be speedily effected by instructions from the Pope. For weeks past the official press has been discussing in what way the Pope and the Government will come to terms. We must await the result of the negotiations, but in view of the past we cannot but fear that any agreement of the nature of a Concordat will be to the disadvantage of the State. Anyhow it is evident that the transactions of Prince Bismark with the Papal Nuncio Masella at Munich, in August, and which, according to an *on dit*, the Chancéllor could not decline, were more than mere conventional civilities.

Besides this general state of the *Culturkampf*, to go into particulars, its effect must be noted on the religious instruction in primary schools. The Government declares that the teachers it nominates, or whose nomination it confirms, do not require any special episcopal authorization (the *missio canonica*), which was required before the Bill of 11th March, 1872, on account of agreements with the bishops. It considers its inspectors competent to examine and supervise without such authorization; it denies the clergy the right of imparting religious instruction against the laws, or of superintending, and has refused it to many of the clergy. The Romish hierarchy is of a different opinion. Hence conflicts have arisen, and numerous signed petitions have been sent to the Chamber demanding the recognition of ecclesiastical rights, but they have not been granted. In connection with this, two other points have made a great commotion, particularly in the Rhenish provinces. The Prussian Constitution of 31st January, 1850, art. 24, says, "In the regulation of the public primary schools, differences of creed will, if possible, be respected." Up to 1873 the schools were absolutely either Protestant or Catholic; since then, in many places, at the suggestion of the parishes, Protestant and Catholic children are educated together. This is opposed on different grounds; on the one hand by the Ultramontanes, and on the other by the Protestants, where they are in the minority,—the one party because it fears that rigid adherence to the Catholic faith will be relaxed, the other because it says that it makes the schools practically Catholic, and the Protestant faith is kept in subjection. Another point relates to the school reading-books. The Government has forbidden most of those formerly used in the Catholic schools, because they fostered sectarian hatred, and patriotism was entirely suppressed in them. Several new ones have been prepared, and in some districts they have been introduced into all the primary schools. But the Ultramontanes do not like them, because they do not contain what serves their special aims; neither do they please the Protestants, because, in order not to offend the Catholics, there is scarcely anything about Luther or other eminent Protestants. It is impossible yet to say how these things will be adjusted.

In other German countries the conflict is less vehement. In the Grand Duchy of Hesse, the Seminary at Mainz established by the late Bishop von Ketteler in order to despoil the Catholic theological faculty at Giessen, and which he intended to make the headquarters of Ultramontanism, is without pupils, and therefore practically closed, because it would not submit to the law. In Baden the Ultramontanes are powerless, because the Government enforces the laws. In Bavaria things seem to be taking a better turn. The Minister of Worship, Lutz, who, in spite of Ultramontane attacks, always continues to remain in office, enjoys the King's favour to such an extent that on New Year's Day he received the Grand Cross of the Bavarian Order. Since 1871 the bishops have all died but one, the well-known most devoted adherent of the Jesuits, Lenestrey, at Ratisbon; and they have contrived in 1878 to appoint men to the vacant posts who, although not genuine Ultramontanes, are Romish enough to be confirmed by the Pope. Everything in Bavaria is characterized by lukewarmness. This has led to the beginning of the disintegration of the Ultramontane party; it has hitherto been under the guidance of the Prussian Ultramontanes, particularly

of Herr Windhorst. For some this is not enough; others, especially the clergy, fear lest they should be seized by the neck. The Simultaneous Schools are also a standing grievance. It must also be mentioned that the pensioning of Dr. Herrmann, President of the Prussian High Consistory, who represented the Liberal Government, and went hand in hand with Dr. Falk, appears like a triumph of the influence of the orthodox Court clergy. Although his successor, Dr. Hermes, does not belong to this party, still the rumours that it is intended to strengthen the orthodox element in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction by means of Court preachers, and the pending negotiations with Rome, offer no security that Dr. Falk will continue to be Minister of Worship. It is scarcely conceivable, unless Rome practically submits to the laws; and even in that case, it is to be feared that it will be said in many quarters, You cannot set a fox to keep the geese.

The Old Catholics, at their fifth synod, held from 12th to 14th June, took the important step of deciding that the clergy are no longer debarred from marrying, or from officiating as priests when married. This abolition of celibacy has induced three priests, Professors Friedrich of Munich, and Langen and Menzel of Bonn, not to go over to the Ultramontanes, but no longer to take part as leaders, and to give up the cure of souls. In the case of the two former this is much to be regretted; the latter did not officiate, with the exception of reading Mass. Professor Reusch, also, has given up the cure of souls. Besides these, only a few persons have receded, and the fears that the Governments would draw other cords all the tighter have been dissipated. Two married priests have since been newly instituted in Prussia.

Having now passed political, economical, and ecclesiastical affairs in review, we will turn our attention to the intellectual world, to science and literature, excluding technical science as more suited to technical papers. We shall refer only to such works as are of permanent interest, and which ought to be known abroad, as they form a part of our national life. We shall also pass over all those works which relate to the ecclesiastical affairs of the present day, reserving them for separate treatment.

In history, besides a large number of works on special questions and local history, the year 1878 has produced sundry works of great interest. Biographies of eminent contemporaries shall be first mentioned. "Kaiser Wilhelm," by Ferd. Schmidt (Leipzig), has appeared in a people's edition, and also in an elegant edition with two hundred illustrations, and is likely to extend his popularity in all circles. In "Fürst Bismark," by Ludwig Hahn (2 vols., Berlin), Bismark's life is so minutely described, from authentic and documentary materials, that posterity will find little to desire. F. von Höppen's "Fürst Bismark" (Leipzig) is illustrated with one hundred and seventy-five woodcuts, which adapts it for the people. W. Büchner's "Fürst Bismark" goes still further in this direction. A most indiscreet book, but eagerly devoured by the press, is Moritz Busch's "Graf Bismark und seine Leute während des Krieges mit Frankreich, nach Tageblättern" (2 vols., Leipzig). The author, who was constantly with Bismark during the French war, noted down every conversation and everything he said, and has recklessly published it. Piquant as it is, it is not altogether to be trusted, as it is scarcely likely that the author could accurately reproduce such a mass of talk. Bismark dismissed him as soon as he discovered that he was taking notes: he is not implicated in the publication. In the two works, "Graf Moltke," by W. Büchner, and "Generalfeldmarschall Graf Moltke," by Professor Wilhelm Müller, the great strategist is popularly portrayed, and yet so as to meet the tastes of the more learned class. The great alphabetical work, "Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie," set on foot by the Historical Commission of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, founded by the late King Maximilian of Bavaria, has reached the ninth volume, including the letter G. Although not absolutely complete, a thing which is scarcely possible, it is more perfect of its kind than any work that any other country can boast of. "Die Deutschen seit der Reformation, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der

Culturgeschichte," by Friedrich von Welch, archivist at Carlsruhe, is a work portraying the most eminent men of the time, and maintains a medium between a strictly learned and a popular character. The interest is much enhanced by portraits after the best originals. "Friedrich Wilhelm III., König, und Luise, Königin, von-Preussen," by Werner Hahn (Berlin), shows the great interest taken by the public in a woman who was a model wife and mother in the saddest period of Prussian history. There is a good reason for mentioning the next two works:—"Erinnerungen an Amalie von Lasaulx" (Gotha), (anonymous, but the authoress is Fräulein von Hüne of Bonn), and "Amalie von Lasaulx eine Bekennerin," by F. H. Reinkens, Old Catholic Bishop (Bonn). The lady, whose life, especially in the second work by the Old Catholic bishop, is described in beautiful language, was a relative of Joseph Görres, and was superintendent of the Hospital of the Sisters of Mercy at Bonn. After a long life devoted to piety and benevolence, during which she was distinguished by the Emperor and Empress, she was deposed because she did not accept Infallibility, subjected to moral torture, and deprived of her nun's garb after her death—a specimen of Ultramontane charity. The "Geschichte des Hellenismus," by F. Gust. Droysen, the three volumes of which are now complete, is a work which takes the highest rank. The new edition of Max Duncker's "Geschichte des Alterthums" (Leipzig), Overbeck's "Atlas der Griechischen Kunst Mythologie," Ebers' "Aegypten in Bild und Wort" (Stuttgart), are works tending to throw light on antiquity.

German history has been enriched by the following works:—The new edition of W. Giesebrecht's "Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit," Wattenbach's "Deutsche Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter," 2 vols., fourth edition; "Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum," which has given us the "Annales Hildesheimenses," and "Pauli's Historia Longobardorum;" the "Monumenta Germanie Historica," to which Salvianus, edited by Halm, and Eugippius, edited by Sauppe, have both contributed; the continuation of the "Chroniken der deutschen Städte, vom 14ten bis 16ten Jahrhundert," the third volume of which gives us the chronicles of Cologne; the seventh volume of the "Deutschen Reichstagsacten," edited by the Munich Commission, and numberless editions of documents, &c., relating to particular countries, and monographs of all kinds.

Turning to modern history, I give the first place to Heinrich von Sybel's "Geschichte der Revolutionszeit" (Stuttgart). The revised part in vol. iv. extends from 1795 to the Peace of Campo Formio (17th October, 1797), while the first part of vol. v., embracing the Congress of Rastatt, appeared in 1874. It is a work that takes the first rank, and, especially in the revised edition, has been based upon archives which were previously inaccessible. Though this work is only a new edition, there is a new one on the same subject which appeared in October:—"Der Rastatter Congress und die zweite Coalition," by Dr. Hermann Hüffer of Bonn (Marcus, Bonn). Herr Hüffer had previously published "Austria and Prussia in Relation to the French Revolution, to the conclusion of the Peace of Campo Formio" (Bonn, 1868). This is the first volume of a work, entitled, "Diplomatische Verhandlungen aus der zeit der französischen Revolution," and the above-named work is the second. In the work edited in 1868, from the Acts of the Berlin and Vienna Archives, the latter of which had been previously nearly inaccessible, and the correspondence of the French Foreign Office, he first described the Austrian and French negotiations in detail, and placed the relations between Austria and Prussia in a new light. The divergence between his views and those of the late L. Häusser of Heidelberg and of H. von Sybel, induced the latter to write a work to which Hüffer's "Die Politik der deutschen Mächte im Revolutionskriege bis zum Abschluss des Friedens von Campo Formio" (1869), was a reply. On the whole his views are confirmed by modern research, and H. von Sybel has given up or modified some of his previous opinions. Since then Hüffer has examined the papers of the French Foreign Office relating to the Congress of Rastatt in the State Paper Office in London (in the preface he

acknowledges the kindness of Sir Thomas Hardy and Mr. Alfred Kingston), and has now given us a history of the Revolution during that period, with special reference to diplomatic transactions. He gives a description, based upon the archives of the three countries which took the chief part in the Congress, of the life and doings at Rastatt, the method in which the negotiations were carried on, and the personages present, and makes the motives which actuated them clear. He shows that by the extortion, by the French ambassador, of the capitulation of Mainz and the cession of the left shore of the Rhine, the German Empire was left defunct. These transactions had no immediate result, but had a decisive influence on the conclusion of peace afterwards, which has given Hüffer occasion to go into the forms and manners of diplomatic intercourse in the eighteenth century. He then proceeds to describe the advancing revolutionary movement of 1798, the stratagem of the 22nd January, the untenableness of the Cisalpine Republic, the negotiations between Austria and Prussia, the abolition of the Papal territory, the revolutionizing of Switzerland. Herr Hüffer does not justify General Brune, but shows that he was not so faithless as has been represented in recent times. The description of the events of the 13th of April in Vienna, which led to the departure of the French ambassador, is quite new. His behaviour at Vienna, particularly the setting up of the tricolor, is described from the letters of General Bernadotte, and it is shown that an event which had important political consequences was almost accidental. The transactions at Selz, between the Austrian minister Cobenzl and the Directeur François of Neuchâtel, who had withdrawn, are entirely cleared up by reference to the archives at Vienna and Paris. Herr Mendelsohn, who first treated of the subject in detail in Von Sybel's *Zeitschrift*, was only acquainted with partial extracts from them. These fruitless negotiations were the turning point. Austria aimed at a coalition with England and Russia. Reserving the bloodshed following on the Congress of Rastatt for the ensuing volume, he unravels the political stratagems in the Cisalpine Republic, and the events in Rome, Genoa, and Piedmont, from authentic sources, and particularly the internal condition of France and Bonaparte's position from the "Mémoires de la Revellière Lepaux," of which but one copy is extant in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. This work of Hüffer, based entirely on sources hitherto unused, on one of the most important periods of modern history, seems to be one of the very highest value. Nor must I omit to mention that the style is excellent, so that Hüffer must be regarded as one of our very best modern authors.

Leopold von Ranke, the veteran master of our German historians, has carried on the Collected Edition of his Works to the forty-second volume, and new editions have appeared of some of them. For the history of Prussia the third edition of the late F. Voigt's "Geschichte des Brandenburgisch-preussischen Staat" (Berlin), edited by his son, is one of the most valuable works. For his "History of the Constitution of the United States of America: Vol. I. The Administration of Jackson to the Annexation of Texas" (Berlin), Professor H. von Holst prosecuted his studies in America for years, and it presents such a history of the American constitution, administration, the state of parties, in short of the foundations upon which the form of government rests, as neither America itself nor any other country has produced.

Professor Phil. Woker, of Berne, has made a valuable addition to political Church history in his work called "The Ecclesiastical Finances of the Popes" (Nordlingen). He shows how the whole system of the government of the Church at Rome was directed to increasing the revenues. The copy of the old Roman tax-roll for dispensations and absolutions gives the work a special value. The "History of Ecclesiastical Law in Germany" (Strasburg), by Edgar Leoning, Professor of Law at Dorpat, formerly at Strasburg, is a work which will be welcomed by all historians and lovers of history, as it gives details which have never before been worked up. The first volume treats of the laws from Constantine to Clodovic, the second of the times of the Merovingians.

Fridolin Hoffmann's "Geschichte der Inquisition" (2 vols., Bonn) gives the history of this most hideous outgrowth of Papal intolerance from the beginning, and its action in the various countries of Europe, America, and India. The work, though based on the best sources, is thoroughly popular, and adapted to make clear to every one the nature of an institution which would certainly be restored were it possible. The Ultramontanes have recently been very active in the historical sphere of labour, and systematically make it subserve the Ultramontane spirit. Holzwarth, in his "Universalgeschichte" (Mainz), expounds universal history with this object; while Joannes Faussen, formerly an excellent historian, but who has degenerated through Ultramontanism, in his "History of the German People since the end of the Middle Ages" (Freiburg), shows his readers how everything good has emanated from the Roman Catholics, while the bad is to be traced to apostasy from the Papacy. And in order that something of a comic nature should not be wanting, a book called "The Lives of Excellent Catholics of the Three Last Centuries" has appeared at Mainz, which, so far, contains the life of St. Alphonso of Liguori, the founder of the Redemptorists, made into a *doctor ecclesiae* by Pius IX., who was a marvel of bigotry, miracle-mongering, and lax morals; next of the noble Jesuit, Friedrich von Spee, who was one of the first opponents of the trials for witchcraft, and therefore had to be rejected by the Ultramontanes; and finally of the Empress Maria Theresa, who, by the laws which she enacted, and which are called "Josephinism" after her son Joseph II., so completely banished Ultramontanism from the schools and the State, that they were not entirely abrogated even by the Concordat with Rome in 1855. In conclusion, R. Rocholl's "Die Philosophie der Geschichte" (Göttingen) may be mentioned. It may be compared with the, unfortunately, unfinished work, "Philosophy of History in Europe," by Robert Flint. It is the first efficient German treatment of the subject, and is exceedingly good.

In philosophy generally, regarded as the special sphere of the Germans, the year 1878 has produced a large number of works in every department of the subject. Among these is logic, on which, besides treatises, we have four large works, whose authors think it necessary to find a new basis of logic, in order to adapt it to the progress of learning in general, and philosophy in particular. They are of opinion that the present form of logic, especially of common logic, so called, is unsatisfactory both theoretically and practically. The one which keeps most closely to previous methods is the "Logic" of Christof. Sigwart, Professor at Tübingen, in two large volumes. Vol. i. appeared in 1873. To him logic is not the natural, but an artificial system of thought, the science of the principles which the thinker must adopt in order to attain his object—the formation of true, that is, necessary and universally valid, judgments. He divides it into three parts: analytical, which treats of the use of the function called thinking or "judgment;" legislative, which treats of "conception and conclusions;" and technical, which is identical with the doctrine of method (*Methodenlehre*). He criticizes the ordinary syllogistic method, and seeks to refer the process to simple hypothetical conclusions. Deduction and induction are exhaustively treated. The work is characterized by acuteness and perspicuity.

Professor Wilhelm Schuppe of Greifswald, in his "Erkenntniss theoretische Logik," rejects the former methods altogether. He thinks that logic should effect the final recognition of the elements of the knowledge of the actual; he explains the elements of the content of consciousness to be the sole object of thought, according to their origin and importance. All thought is to him judgment, even conception; hence the acts of the judgment are the chief things. It is a book which it is impossible to characterize in a few words, but it is an important one, and instructive even to opponents.

Professor Conrad Hermann, in his "Hegel and the Logical Question of Contemporary Philosophy," accuses the philosophy of the present of being destitute of creative thought, flat, confused, and not independent. He tries to make "the scientific principle of thought" more precise. The syllogistic

method suffices in his opinion for mathematics and natural science, but not for those sciences whose objects originate in the subjectivity of the mind itself, such as theology, ethics, jurisprudence, philology, and, above all, philosophy. These require the dialectic principle, because these sciences are dialectic. According to him, progress in philosophy is only possible by following the method of Hegel, who first established the dialectic principle as the sole method of attaining true knowledge. Yet even Hegel had not quite the right method. What our author exactly means it is hard to say; he is too diffuse and not precise enough, and gives too few examples to illustrate his meaning. Although both these works show the critical acumen of their authors chiefly by depreciation of previous systems, they are surpassed by Dr. F. Dühring, in his "Logik und Wissenschaftslehre." He rejects the logic of previous systems, and wants a true system which is to advocate only his own views. Somewhat similar is Dr. F. von Balrenbach's "Prolegomena zu einer anthropologische Philosophie," in which he unfolds the not altogether original idea that philosophy as an expression of the human mind must be anthropological, i.e. should be based upon scientific knowledge of the laws of the mind and will of man; he seeks to develop the ground-principles of philosophy on this basis.

We have had an exhaustive work on ethics; namely, "The Phenomena of the Moral Consciousness: Prolegomena to all Future Ethics," by Edward Hartmann, author of the oft-discussed "Philosophy of the Unknown," on which so much praise and blame have been bestowed. The new work, of which the title is appropriate, is an analysis of the moral consciousness as such, an explanation of the separate parts or points of view as given us by experience, and of the various moral principles from these experimental points of view, and which are usually placed first as the religions of the philosophical systems. Criticizing these moral principles, the author proceeds by the inductive method to indicate the highest absolute principle of morals, which he designates (p. 835) as "the moral principle of the absolute teleology of our own no longer unknown being," or as "the moral principle of the identity of the individual with the absolute as the subject of the absolute teleology." Every one will study the work with interest, and acknowledge its importance even if he rejects its point of view.

Æsthetics are treated by S. A. Byk, in "The Philosophy of the Beautiful." In deference to the psychological methods of Kant and the metaphysics of Hegel and others he tries to explain the process of the formation of the individual æsthetic forms by the fusion of their elements, in order thereby to obtain recognition of their worth and significance. In "Physiological and Æsthetic Essays," by Dr. Susanna Rubenstein, a lady who has studied at the University of Prague, we read with interest of the different characteristics of Jewish and Christian Germanic fantasy.

The largest number of works are devoted to the history of philosophy in the widest sense of the term. Some treat of the doctrines of some special philosophy, ancient or modern, others of the history itself. Ancient philosophy is discussed by Gustav Teichmüller, Professor at Dorpat, in "New Studies on the History of Ideas" (*Begriffe*), part ii. He shows that Heraclitus' views of the world were based upon the revelations of ancient theologies, and were especially connected with religious mysteries, chiefly the Hellenic. Dr. Friedrich Lütze, on the *Ἀπειρον* of Anaximander, shows that Apeiron with him is a material principle. Professor Neuhäuser of Bonn, in his "Aristotle's Doctrine of the Sensual Faculty of Perception and its Organs," throws new light on one of the most difficult and obscure points of the doctrine of Aristotle. He interprets it on strictly philological principles, which are not understood by most philosophers, and discusses the question in connection with Aristotle's metaphysical views of the world. The book is of great importance, not only for the understanding of Aristotle, but of psychology in general. Dr. George von Gizycki treats of the "Ethics of David Hume Historically Considered;" Benno Erdmann of Kant's "Kritik der Reinen Vernunft," first and second editions; Dr. F. Castesius of "Herbart's Metaphysic." Finally must be mentioned the new editions of Erdmann's "Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie;"

Dühring's "Kritische Geschichte der Philosophie;" and Part II. of Vol. VI. of Kuno Fischer's "Geschichte der Philosophie," which treats of the system of Schelling. We must limit ourselves to these notices, observing, however, that we do so without prejudice to other works not mentioned.

Culture and social life are treated of in a large number of works, the latter devoted chiefly to the struggle with the Socialists, of which we have already spoken. We, therefore, confine ourselves to the mention of a few only. Johannes Scherr's "Germany: Two Millenniums of German Life," illustrated with portraits of many of the first German artists, is a very interesting book.

The non-political journals give a review of events, and discuss the various questions of the day. The *Deutsche Revue*, monthly, edited by Richard Fleischer (Otto Zanke, Berlin), embraces the whole of German contemporary life; it gives reviews, essays, and articles on all subjects, and is the most comprehensive of the German periodicals. *Im Neuen Reich* (Leipzig), a weekly paper, treats of politics, science, and art, but the political element predominates. The *Deutsche Rundschau* is chiefly devoted to belles lettres. The *Unsere Zeit* (German "Contemporary Review"), edited by Rud. Gottschall (Leipzig), is mainly biographical, and appears as a supplement to Brockhaus's *Conversationslexikon*.

In the second class we place collections of essays in every sphere of intellectual life. Among these are "Zeit-und Streitfragen" ("Controversial Questions of the Day"), by Fr. von Holtendorff, of which Part 95 has appeared in 1878; and "Sammlung Gemeinverständlicher Vorträge" (Popular Lectures), edited by Rud. Virchow and Fr. von Holtendorff, of which No. 286 has appeared: both essentially tend to promote culture. There are other collections having the same object.

In addition to these printed aids, it has become the custom in many parts of Germany to have, on one evening in the week in winter, lectures of a popular scientific character, delivered by men eminent in various departments of learning. In many places (the plan was first adopted in the Rhenish provinces) societies have been formed whose members defray the expenses. Some of these societies hold annual meetings, at which notes are compared, the lecturers to be engaged are decided on, &c. Thus, "The Association of Lecture Societies for Central Germany" comprises societies in seventeen towns; those who take the most interest in it belong chiefly to the commercial class. There is also a large number of lectures given on all sorts of benevolent objects. Then there is a "Union for the Advancement of Popular Culture," extending over a large part of Germany, the object of which is to spread culture among ever-widening circles. All these schemes, first originating with the Liberals, are also adopted by the Ultramontanes for their own purposes. There is one great difference, however: having but a very small number of really learned men at their disposal, they chiefly confine themselves to falsifying history in essays and pamphlets, and to attacking science, the Government, and other creeds than their own, in order that hatred and enmity may become permanent. Bearing all we have said in view, it must be allowed that in no country is so much done as in Germany to carry forward the degree of culture produced by compulsory education. If success has not yet been attained; it may be remarked that one reason for this is that Germany is not a wealthy country. The number of people who spend £5 a year on books, &c., bears no kind of proportion to the population. And this is not all, there are millionaires who do not spend as much, who do not possess any libraries,—not even the German classics,—and content themselves with circulating libraries. Many people would stare if you suggested that they might spend as much on books as they do on gloves, or on one of the many dinners and suppers they give. This apathy is in great measure to be set down to the scanty education which most of the young men belonging to well-to-do families receive. Many of them only attend a high school just long enough to entitle them to the certificates which enable them to volunteer for one year, instead of having three years of military service, and they then take to money-making or amusing themselves. This apathy is also in part answerable for the dimensions which

Socialism has assumed on the one hand, and that whole districts of Germany are delivered over to Ultramontaniam on the other. This state of things gives rise to astounding ignorance, lack of judgment in politics, and indifference to everything but pleasure and getting rich.

But we must return to the literature of 1878. If any one wishes for clear information on social-political factions, we recommend him to read "Unsere Social Politischen Parteien," by Hans von Scheel (Leipzig). Dr. Ludwig Bamberger portrays the Socialists with great spirit in his "Deutschland und der Socialismus," and it is pervaded by cutting sarcasm. A work by Professor Ad. Hold of Bonn, "Socialismus: Social Democratie und Social Politik," must also be mentioned as the most important attempt to justify the so-called Katheder (professorial) Socialists. A number of men must also be noticed here, professors of political economy, lawyers, &c., who have formed a society, hold public meetings, and pass resolutions for the improvement and development of national and economical life; they also advocate views in their writings which appear dangerous to their opponents, especially to adherents of the pure Manchester school, and they have incurred the reproach of advancing Socialism by their theories. The subject, however, is too technical to be further pursued here.

In the department of belles lettres there has been a large number of publications, partly elucidations of poets, ancient or modern, and partly original works: among the former the writings of Heinrich Düntzer, the first writer on Goethe, devoted to the elucidation of Goethe's "Wahlverwandschaften," "Iphigenia in Tauris," Schiller's "Kabals und Liebe," and "Wilhelm Tell." Unflad, of Munich, has published "Die Goethe Literatur in Deutschland," and "Die Schiller Literatur in Deutschland," i.e., a catalogue of the works published on their writings, the various editions, &c. Many works have also been devoted to Shakspeare, Dante, &c. A large number of editions of separate works and the collected works of our German classic authors have also appeared this year, some of them handsome and worthy of their authors, but many whose marvellous cheapness scarcely compensates for the wretched paper and print.

Among the multitude of novels, I mention Eber's historical romances: "Homo Sum" (which has been translated into English, and forms one of the Tauchnitz series), "Die Aegyptische Königstochter," and "Uarda," which have met with great success. From Spielhagen, one of our favourite novelists, we have had "Das Skelet im Hause," and from another favourite, Gustav zu Putlitz, "Croquet" (2 vols., Berlin). In poetry strictly speaking, we have been favoured with a poem by Victor von Scheffel, who is much admired, especially by the younger generation. His former works, "Ekkehard" (the model of the more recent historical romances), "Gaudefamus," "Frau Aventuir," and the "Trompeter von Sickingen," are known everywhere. The latest is called "Bergpsalmen." Oscar von Redwitz has given us the greatest surprise; his "Amaranth" has passed through nearly forty editions, and, while it has been severely handled by some, has been praised to the skies by others. The poem is a glorification of the most rigid Roman Catholicism—acceptance of dogmas, and the sacrifice of the understanding and heart to the absolute authority of the Church. This tendency, the beautiful language, and a rare sentimentality have made the poem a great favourite with the ladies. Now, after various other works,—poems, plays, and romances,—in which he has been gradually changing his tone, until he celebrated the praises of the New German Empire in enthusiastic sonnets, he has taken in his "Odilo" a line directly the opposite to that of "Amaranth." Odilo is at first a novice in a convent, given to paroxysms of gloom, and is estranged from his mother because she is a Protestant. But he suddenly comes to his senses, bids farewell to the convent and faith in the dogmas of the Roman Church, and adopts the gospel of all-embracing love. He devotes himself to works of charity to the end of his days, his last act being to save the life of his worst enemy, a disgraced and drunken priest. The poem will certainly not find favour among the author's former admirers. It is, however, a striking instance of the fact that the noblest Germans are receding from rigid Romanism.

FRIEDRICH VON SCHULTE.

CONTEMPORARY LITERARY CHRONICLES.

I.—HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE EAST.

(Under the Direction of Professor E. H. PALMER, M.A.)

WHAT was the aim of the author of *India and Her Neighbours* (by W. P. Andrew: London, W. H. Allen & Co.)? Under present circumstances, the title seems to promise a treatise on the border countries to the north-west, where warlike operations are now proceeding; yet they take up less than thirty pages. The preface leads a reader to expect an exhaustive statement of the difficulties and prospects of a railway connecting the Mediterranean with the Persian Gulf, yet the chief information is contained in a reprint, in the appendix, of a speech and a letter addressed to Lord Palmerston in 1857, and the very brief report of a Parliamentary Committee in 1872; the whole would poorly furnish a diner-out with materials for a seeming understanding of the subject. Much of the book is taken up with a slight sketch of the country, the climate, the religions, and the history of India, every page bristling with statements to be disputed, or accepted with material modification; and the treatment of Indian names and Indian titles is, to say the least, irritating. A translation of a title is open to special objection when it obscures political facts; and so we take special exception to the substitution of king and queen for *raja* and *rani*; even of the princes who receive salutes, many are so far from independence as not to have the power of life and death; and outside Rajpootana, the State which has most pretension to antiquity is that of Mysore, a province of Beejaynugur till that empire crumbled on the field of Tellicotta in 1565, and since then independent under the family of the governor. Of errors in spelling Indian names, even when accented letters make pretence of special accuracy, any notice would be unprofitable; but it is worth mention that Shah Jehan is before his accession Prince Jehan; we should add that the historical portion is enlivened by a fair amount of "scandal about Queen Elizabeth." The notices of feudatory States, though brief in general, show knowledge of the latest reports from India, though we should not like to be the bard who to his face called the Raja of Dhara Mahratta. The chapter on finance is disappointing; only half a page can be spared for land revenue, the mainstay of Indian Governments, rightly described as a "most difficult subject to grapple with." Having found so little to commend in the book, we are glad to say that the index is good, and that the two maps are neat, though that of India dates as far back as 1854, and that facing the title-page was—if we rightly trace the frontier lines—published before the Franco-German war.

The Famine Campaign in Southern India (by W. Digby: 2 vols.; London, Longmans) is a work which deserves the respectful treatment it will receive from all who find occasion to read it. If there were reason to expect a call for a second edition, we might point out a few errors due to imperfect revision, and should urge the author to add an index, without which, indeed, no one can make profitable use of the book, and a map of all the famine country, showing its natural features and important irrigation works; but we fear the demand will be small: the subject is not attractive, and the political student and the official will wait for the report of the Commission now engaged in inquiry.

The first volume contains a history of the famine in the three provinces under British management, the second dissertations on certain matters of importance

which could not be fully treated in the text. The author returns thanks for, and claims to have made full use of, much unpublished matter, but to any one who knows the enormous mass of papers treating of the famine, which, week by week, for months together, poured out of the Government presses in India, the task of assimilating the official reports, and reducing them to readable bulk, will seem heavy enough. There is ground for higher praise in the painstaking fairness of the author; if traces of his profession be found, they do not lie in carping criticism; nor has he been influenced by the jealousy of "Calcutta," which so disturbs the two minor presidencies, and lays hold of new residents before they have well ceased to smile at it.

At the same time we feel the want of a prefatory chapter describing the scene of the sad drama, and noticing the peculiarities of season for a year or two before. There was great distress about the head waters of the Godavery, and likewise in the extreme south, in Madura and Tinnevely, but the full force of the calamity was felt in the whole basin of the Kistna, and of the minor rivers as far south as the Canvery. The larger part of this great tract is dependent mainly on the south-west monsoon, or summer rains; the coast districts of Nellore and Chingleput derive more benefit from the rains of the north-east monsoons which fall in the late autumn. From this it will be seen that no single misfortune of season would bring in its train a famine over the whole of the area affected in 1877; indeed, when the famine was at its worst in Madras, it was found possible in the Bombay districts to collect much of the revenue which in the misfortunes of the previous year had been suspended.

"Famine may be said to have begun in Mysore in October 1875," and even so early the Madras Government was so anxious about the state of the tracts joining on to the Mysore plateau that some relief works were undertaken, and revenue extensively forgone. The summer rains then of 1875 had failed in those parts, as the autumn rains did also; and here it may be observed that with scarcity had come disease so serious that, at the last moment, the plans of the Prince of Wales' tour were altered, and he did not visit Mysore. The summer rains of 1876 began well, and stopped. And then the autumn rains failed too.

The Bombay authorities had no north-east monsoon to look to, and, on the failure of the summer rains of 1876, awoke sooner to the perils to be faced: they early began to demand help from the supreme Government, and enormous sums were poured from Calcutta into the Bombay treasury, but the two governments were not at one as to the measures to be adopted, and some warmth of feeling manifested itself in their communications, which the passing visit of the Viceroy should have removed. The one good hoped for from the Delhi gathering at the New Year of 1877 was that free discussion of the situation and of the necessary measures by all those responsible for the administration of India would lead to harmonious action in the face of the terrible enemy.

One great lesson to be learnt from the late disaster, indeed, is the need for free communication and full confidence between the different governments. The Supreme Government is no longer, as before the Mutiny, "Calcutta," it is no longer officered from the Presidency of Fort William; one of the two civil members of the executive council is always taken from one of the minor presidencies,—a proportion larger perhaps than arithmetical considerations would give,—and the device of keeping the legislative council constantly in session places at headquarters one of the leading members of the civil service of the other. Yet it complained that the reports submitted in the course of the autumn of 1875 did not give sufficient information as to the real state of the country, and the local governments complained that they were unreasonably hampered in their proceedings. Now the Supreme Government is responsible for the finances of the Empire, and has reason to watch jealously lest work, repeatedly disallowed as unprofitable, should be put in hand as famine works, and lest, as a consequence, a series of half-finished embankments should be used as an argument in future years for heavier outlay on bridges and machinery to complete a costly hobby of the local government. It has to make sure too that expenditure shall proceed on principles approved by the sad experience of all India, and so that the real cost of relief shall be to each province its fair contribution to the general suffering, and specially an insurance rate to cover its own future risk.

It may be said truly that this lesson should have needed no teachers, and the next perhaps as little. It is that in an area so great that the constant close supervision of trustworthy officers is impossible, humanity as much as economy demands that relief shall be given locally only to those who cannot possibly get

away; that all large outlay shall be confined to large works, and that a pre-condition of relief in other cases shall be entry into a relief camp. Now the sad possibility of recurring famine demands that plans should be ready for large works which, if not to be recommended on their own merits, shall at least be harmless, and so numerous that bands of sufferers shall not be driven for many marches through distressed country. Of course the first idea in such cases will be to favour irrigation works, but several cautions are necessary even here. In Southern India chains of irrigation tanks are common, but tanks towards the lower end of the chain are about as pleasant neighbours as powder-magazines. If any unexpected chance break one of the upper links, all below will surely break too, and lay waste the country below the last; such a misfortune befell Vellore in 1872. The works should be laid out so carefully as not to hinder the natural drainage of the country; the canals of the Ganges and Jumna have not been un-mixed blessings; the country they may save from famine they may lay waste by fever. If possible, they should depend on a rainfall different from that which is the ordinary source of supply for the country round; the rainfall of Tanjore and of the Godavery district is that of the north-east monsoon, but the canals of the Canvery and Godavery were full because the south-west monsoon had not failed in the hills of Coorg and Nagpore, whence the two rivers derived their chief supply. Once more, to return to finance, any such works must pay their way year by year; the Madras Irrigation Company and the Orissa Canal Company have not been able to live.

Another lesson is the need of shortening the chains through which authority shall act. The Madras Presidency is justly proud of the effectiveness of its office work; the famine only did not give time for it to work; you cannot produce tram-car tickets with the same elaboration as proof engravings. The civil service of the country conducts all ordinary administration; when it has once certified to the existence of famine it should stand aside for the Public Works Department, as in time of rebellion it must stand by for the military.

On one important point we can hardly say the late famine teaches a clear lesson. Sir Richard Temple maintained that a pound of rice, and a money allowance which might suffice to purchase another pound, was enough to keep a man in heart for a fair, not a heavy, day's work; others will have it that such an allowance will slowly starve him to death, and stopping short of death will in no long time reduce him to a state from which no liberality will recover him. Our author says that the question cannot be considered settled, yet the balance of experience seems decidedly against so limited an allowance.

Was the delegation of Sir Richard Temple justifiable? Each local government despatched officers of high rank into the districts, through whose eyes it might read the collectors' reports, and who might be armed with some of its power; surely the Supreme Government could not be debarred from the same resource. The device may not have been wise, the instructions might not have been sufficient, but the action surely was defensible.

What does the latest experience say of interference with private trade? It only repeats the old: private dealers will do ten times as much as the State can, and at less cost.

What of subscriptions for the famine-stricken? They may be very useful if spent *alongside* of State grants, and beyond their line. But we must protest against the author's severance, in such a matter, of the man and his office. The Duke of Buckingham in Madras, or the collector in the Mofussil, is of weight and importance just because of his office. And besides he has sold his vigour and energy to the State, and if he is to spend any on private good deeds, his masters should know that he has so much less for them.

What was the cost of the famine in money spent by the State, in revenue lost, in property lost by the peasant, in human life? We may roughly date the beginning and the end of the great calamity, giving it a course in Madras two months longer than it ran in Bombay, and no doubt the Commission will give in tabular statements the amounts spent by the State in different ways, and the amount of revenue lost. Our author has not materials to guide us, for we cannot accept the figures of Sir Richard Temple's rose-coloured estimate, especially as we see he takes credit for the whole of the excess profits he sees in the railway returns, whereof one-half does not come into the State coffers. Of the loss of life in town the Commission is not to inquire, and we can frame no good estimate; the Madras calculations depend on too many assumptions, and the Bombay figures, which show in the worst districts a mortality near five-fold the usual, assume, while

denying, that the returns of former years were complete; if the returns in the famine year be based on the numbers buried, the author describes how one corpse might do duty for many deaths. But we confess the most cheering statement we have seen is contained in Sir Richard Temple's minute; of the revenue suspended in 1876 much was collected in 1877, and all will have come in by this time. The deaths, then, whether of men or cattle, had not been numerous enough to destroy the productive power of the country. But it is well to draw attention to a curious note by an official in the Bombay Mint, which shows that the year of famine withdrew ornaments and hoarded silver, the common savings bank of the Indian peasant, to the value of four millions sterling. It may be as well to add that there is no mint, nor Government agency for purchasing silver, at Madras, and so all withdrawn through our Mint must have passed through that at Bombay.

Late advices from India give official information as to the cost of the famine, which we must not overlook. The cost of the famine in Mysore is set down as about 150 lacs of rupees; it has exhausted the cash balance and savings of the State, 65 lacs, and saddled it with a debt of 75 lacs. For Madras, the land revenue collected in 1876-7 was 172 lacs short of the ordinary; in 1877-8, 89 lacs. To this loss of 261 lacs under revenue must be added the enormous cost of ill-controlled relief, which is probably much larger than the Bombay expenditure, in a smaller and, on the whole, less afflicted area. Why this was our author tells us on the authority of a minute of Sir Richard Temple, now Governor of Bombay, written about the end of last year; the expenditure on relief had been 114 lacs, the certain loss of revenue 2½ lacs. A lac of rupees, it will be remembered, used to be taken as equivalent to £10,000; the rupee has now lost a fifth of its old value; but the actual loss caused to the State by the famine in the three provinces cannot be set so low as six millions sterling.

In *Syrian Sunshine*, by T. G. Appleton (Boston: Roberts Brothers), the author apologizes for another book on the Holy Land by a statement the truth of which is fast becoming recognized, though authors seldom dare to assert it. A book has, he says very justly, no longer the seriousness it once possessed. "A note of welcome and of swift forgetfulness," he says, "makes an apology short." In very truth it seems that the enormous class of mankind to whom the making of books is their sole occupation may be divided pretty evenly into those who have written about the Holy Land and those who have not. There is nothing new about Mr. Appleton's book, and no excuse for its appearance, except that it pleased him to write it, and that it affords a certain pleasure, derived entirely from its bright and sunshiny style, to those who read it. There is certainly some freshness in the blunders, which are many. Where, for instance, does he learn that the Greek Patriarch pretends in so many words that he really works the miracle of the holy fire by prayer? It is not the case that Warren discovered "old Jewish" arches in the shafts: no arch has been discovered that can be distinctly pronounced pre-Herodian. It is not the case that the world has accepted the "Moabite" pottery, but exactly the reverse, the world being now very completely convinced of the swindle. And it is amusing to find any one believing the statement that there exists in a manuscript chronicle of the first century at Nablús the remarkable passage: "Yesterday at Jerusalem was executed the impostor, Jesus." If a Protestant clergyman continues, as Mr. Appleton assures us he does, to repeat this fable to travellers, the fact should be reported to his superior officers, if he have any, and they should request him to consider Ananias and his history. It remains to say that the author is a spiritualist; he believes in the reality of "these modern miracles, which will be seen to be a part of the march of humanity." And he admires, with ourselves, the singular fact that the infant cry of this new revelation was "a repetition of the very sound which the telegraph had made familiar." In other words, it is wonderful indeed that spiritualism, with the telegraph, the postman, and the tax-collector, should all alike come to mankind—with a rap.

America contributes to the literature of Eastern travel, *From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn*, by Henry M. Field, D.D. (New York: Charles Scribner). The fact that this work has reached a fifth edition is itself a proof that it possesses in a large measure the elements of popularity. To make a really popular book of travels it would appear, hastily generalizing from the pages before us, that the first requisite is an ever-flowing fountain of pious quotations, hymns

being generally preferable to Scriptural texts. A great deal of information of the guide-book kind is of course absolutely necessary; and it must be remembered that the general standard of historical knowledge is extremely low, so that if a name be mentioned, it should be carefully explained with what word that name is associated. The writer, in short, must be above the heads of his readers, but not so far but they can reach out and touch him. He must please them by showing that his mind runs in the same grooves as their own. He must say what they expect him to say. Any one who will apply these remarks to Dr. Field's chapter on the Passion Play will at once admit that the author is a perfect master in the art of writing popular travels.

The People of Turkey: Twenty Years' Residence among Bulgarians, Greeks, Albanians, Turks, and Armenians, by a Consul's Daughter and Wife; edited by Stanley Lane Poole (London: John Murray), is an "opportune" book. "Opportune" books are generally unsatisfactory productions, put together hastily to satisfy, anyhow, a demand of the day. They resemble those suburban and semi-detached villas in a rising neighbourhood, which are run up with cheap bricks and sand instead of mortar by speculative builders. An encyclopædia, a gazetteer, and a file of newspapers, are generally the materials out of which books on Cyprus, Afghanistan, or any other place interesting for the moment, are manufactured for the book-stalls. The book before us is totally different. It has been hurried, it is true, as appears from the preface, but it has been hurried through the press, not through the manuscript. The book is a careful, well-written account, first, of the various races which make up Turkey; second, of the tenure of land, Turkish houses, the Seraglio, and the condition of police; third, of the manners and customs of the various races; and lastly, of the education, superstitions, and religion of the Turks. It is a book which in its comprehensiveness reminds one of Ubicini's work, and yet is, in many respects, superior. Those who want to know what European Turkey really means, cannot do better than read this lady's work. They will certainly be astonished in the very first half-dozen pages, to find how very much more crass their own ignorance has been than they had any reason to believe. To be sure, we ought not to be so ignorant, with writers of *communiqués* in every port and news-agents in every town. Nothing brings out more strongly the flimsiness of "our own correspondent's" theories, and the uncertainty with which we must receive his facts, than solid trustworthy works of this kind. We have only to add that the style of the author is as clear and as pleasant as the material with which she has to deal is interesting and novel.

The late Mr. Finn was consul at Jerusalem, and his widow has just published a book entitled, *Stirring Times, or Records from Jerusalem Consular Chronicles of 1853 to 1856*, by the late James Finn, H.B.M. Consul for Jerusalem from 1845 to 1863; with a Preface by Viscountess Strangford (C. Kegan Paul & Co., 2 vols.). It is a painful task to speak in dispraise of a memorial work, such as this, lovingly put together by widowed hands. Yet, save for the purpose of awaking a tardy national repentance, it seems as if, after the lapse of twenty years, it were hardly worth while to collect the notes of consular difficulties in Jerusalem. Lady Strangford—in a preface where she labours hard to make out a case for the book—strikes this note of what-might-have-been. The book, she says, shows the enormous power which consuls have for improving or disimproving the people in whose country they are placed. It is a power which, she rightly points out, has never been duly appreciated at all in England, even by those whose position entails upon them the duty of understanding the importance of honourable and active consular service. During the last twenty years what steps have we taken to ensure activity and ability in those countries where British influence should most have been felt, and where the presence of an active and courageous Englishman would have paralyzed countless intrigues and crushed countless villainies? Is it not true that it has been the policy of every successive Government to let things seem quiet? Have not those consuls who dared to speak the truth been snubbed—those who endeavoured to preserve the prestige of the English name, and to stand up for law and justice, been recalled? If Mrs. Finn's book could bring home to the minds of our rulers the necessity for reforming and consolidating the consular service, for encouraging a consul to maintain and extend the influence of the English name, she will have conferred a boon upon the country and upon the world which nothing can repay. As it is, we fear that the moral of

her book lies encumbered in so dense a mass of stale gossip, forgotten fears, superseded statistics, and travels which have neither the gloss of novelty nor the cobwebs of antiquity, that it will scarcely be perceived save by him who reads the preface.

One feels, indeed, that an excellent opportunity has been lost. In the whirl of contemporary events it is almost ludicrous to be asked to read how the Question of the Sanctuaries was first mooted: how Jerusalem was left with a garrison: how the consul journeyed into Galilee: how the little English colony lived in fear but without molestation—and so on. And considering the immense mass of recent information which has been collected in Palestine and Jerusalem, it is almost as absurd to base conclusions on these twenty-year-old statistics as it would be to guide our ideas by the reports of Mandeville or Maundrell. On the other hand, had the knife of the editor been ruthlessly applied: had chapter after chapter, page after page, paragraph after paragraph, of useless matter been excised, we might have had a much smaller book, but we should certainly have had it much better.

II.—CHURCH HISTORY, &c.

(Under the Direction of Professor CHEETHAM.)

IN these days when the success of the attempt to make the great classical writers of Greece and Rome known to English readers has shown how widespread a desire exists to know something of the great men of other days, the managers of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have done well in putting forth a series of *The Fathers for English Readers*. Probably the term "the Fathers" suggests to most readers only a series of dry and dusty volumes studied only by a few theologians; yet, though the Fathers of the Christian Church did not belong to an age of good literature, those who know how to seek may find in their works abundance of matter of thoroughly human and not merely theological interest. The first beginnings of Christian literature in the few letters which remain to us of the Apostolic age; the defence of Christianity against the scoffs and slanders, the arguments and prejudices, of the heathen world; the lives of the great men who in troublous times gave their lives to the defence of the truth and the edification of the flock; these things, duly treated, cannot fail to supply interesting matter to all but the dullest readers. The series begins auspiciously with *The Apostolic Fathers*, by Mr. H. S. Holland, who has succeeded in giving a clear, vivid, and extremely interesting picture of the works which, in order of time, follow immediately on the New Testament,—those of Clement, Ignatius, Polycarp, Barnabas, and Hermas. Mr. F. Watson follows with an account of the Apologists of the second and third centuries,—*The Defenders of the Faith*, as he rightly entitles them,—which, if somewhat less lively than Mr. Holland's work, is probably the best account of the attack and defence of Christianity in the days when it was attracting the serious attention of the heathen world, which has yet been given by any English writer. This is followed by lives of the two greatest fathers of the Latin Church, St. Jerome and St. Augustine, by Mr. Edward L. Cutts and Prebendary Clark respectively. Both are careful, accurate, and readable, but Mr. Cutts has certainly succeeded better than Mr. Clark in giving interest to the subject; we gain from the one a much more vivid impression of the man Jerome than we do of the man Augustine from the other. It would have been a great advantage if there could have been included in the life of the latter such a picture of North Africa as Mr. Cutts has given of Rome; and, as the work is intended to be popular, perhaps less space might have been devoted to the exposition of Augustine's dogmatic and controversial treatises.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has also projected a series of works on *The Conversion of the West*, of which the first volume, *The Continental Teutons*, is before us. When we say that the author is Dean Merivale, it will be at once understood that it is a work of permanent value, founded on solid study, and written in a clear and vigorous style. The chapters on the moral influence of

the secular empire, on the influence of the ecclesiastical system, on the conversion of the Northern nations, and on the points of contact between Teutonic religion and the teaching of Christianity are particularly interesting and instructive.

Another excellent work published by the same society is Major Palmer's *Sinai, from the Fourth Egyptian Dynasty to the Present Day*, forming a volume of the series of *Ancient History from the Monuments*. It is not indeed written "from the monuments," in the same sense that the histories of Babylon and Assyria are, but it is an account of one of the most interesting spots in the world,—its climate, vegetation, and zoology, its inhabitants and their monuments,—by a man thoroughly qualified to write upon it. The book embodies the results of the most recent investigations, and is very interesting throughout.

Uniform with Mr. Murray's other excellent manuals, are two volumes, *The Student's Ecclesiastical History*, by Philip Smith, B.A.; and *The Student's English Church History*, by Canon Perry, which will be found very useful. The former carries the history of the Church down to the end of the tenth century, and is intended to be the first of a series of three, to be completed by the History of the Mediæval Church, and the History of the Reformation. It displays research and impartiality; and while its divisions of subjects and index constitute it a handy dictionary of reference, its narrative is picturesque and readable. Its architectural and antiquarian illustrations, which are a considerable help to the text, the Preface states to be to a great extent taken from the Dictionary of Christian Antiquities put forth by the same publisher. Mr. Perry's "History of the English Church from the accession of Henry VIII. to the silencing of Convocation in the eighteenth Century" travels over more oft-trodden ground, and is tantalizing from the abruptness with which it stops suddenly short at a point somewhat arbitrarily determined. Considering the scant deference paid to Convocation in some of the most momentous measures of the Reformation, it is rather hazardous to identify its "silencing" with the suspension of its sittings which followed the Bangorian Controversy. And in view of what the Church of England has been and done since 1717, we read with some wonder that "her ministers might now give utterance to the most heretical and even blasphemous teaching without fear of censure." To spare the trouble of recourse to many and scattered authorities, the manual of English Church History will be found as serviceable as its companion volumes.

In his *Story of Christianity from the Apostles to the Present Day* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.) Mr. Andrew Reed seeks to avoid the "ecclesiastical lumber" which sometimes chokes the pages of Church histories, and "aims at interesting the reader by dwelling on the stirring incidents, the heroic conflicts, the biographies of the great men, and the fortitude and victories of the great martyrs, missionaries, and teachers of the Church." This is, no doubt, the right plan for a popular history; those of us who were at school while Goldsmith's histories were still in use at least carried away a vivid impression of certain leading events in Greek and Roman history, even if we learned much which we had to unlearn when the new light of Niebuhr and his followers reached us. But it requires a Goldsmith to carry it out, and Mr. Reed is not a Goldsmith. In fact, his pages too often present exactly the same appearance as those of a German handbook, where a line on an average is given to a name, except that the Germans almost invariably give dates, while Mr. Reed does not. Far from that, he sometimes curiously disregards chronological sequence; it is not a little odd to read (p. 519), "Dean Alford, of Canterbury, was celebrated as a critic of Scripture and a preacher of broad sympathies. The Rev. C. Simeon preserved a Gospel spirit among the students and clergy of Cambridge University"—seeing that Mr. Simeon died when Mr. Alford was still a very young man; and these two sentences—which are but specimens of many such—do not seem likely to impress upon a reader's mind the true position of Mr. Simeon and Dean Alford, or to inspire any vivid interest in them. It is also a little surprising to find Feuerbach ranked with the physicists Vogt, Moleschott, and Büchner (written Buchner by Mr. Reed). When Mr. Reed states without qualification that "Rationalism is discredited" in Germany, he should explain that this by no means implies an increase of faith, but simply the decline of a particular school. What are we to understand when we read that in the Hampden case "the Dean and Chapter of Hereford resented the *congé d'élire* by which the Crown had set aside their elective rights?" Does Mr. Reed suppose that a *congé d'élire* was a new instrument of tyranny, invented for the oppression

of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford? or that a chapter has any "elective rights" other than that of choosing as bishop the person nominated by the Crown? We notice that Lamarck appears as Lamark, Mr. Mackonochie as Machonochie, and Frederick Denison Maurice as "Rev. J. Maurice." In a work of this kind we do not of course look for original research; but it is a little too bad to quote the respectable Hagenbach as an authority for *English* history. Though his work is by no means free from errors, Mr. Reed has at any rate produced a convenient summary of the leading events in the history of the Church, distinguished from most other compendiums by the greater space devoted to the various Nonconformist bodies and to modern missions.

In his *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford: Clarendon Press), Mr. C. E. Hammond has given us a very convenient edition of the principal ancient Liturgies, understanding by "ancient" all liturgies which can trace their descent from some known early form, even if they have manifestly received—as those of Rome and Constantinople have received—comparatively modern accretions. At a time like the present, when ancient ritual remains are eagerly, if not always intelligently studied, Mr. Hammond's collection furnishes—what has hitherto been a *desideratum* in English literature—a collection of the principal documents, printed from the best sources at present accessible, and so arranged as to admit of ready comparison. An excellent Introduction of eighty pages gives a succinct but sufficient account of the families, characteristics, and structure of liturgies generally, as well as in particular of the several liturgies which are reprinted. The tabular view of the structure of liturgies is the result of much pains and labour, and is (we think) the most complete *conspectus* of the kind which has yet been published. Where Mr. Hammond deals with disputed points—as in such a matter he cannot but do—he shows both competent knowledge and good judgment.

A widely different work from Mr. Hammond's is Mr. Orby Shipley's *Ritual of the Altar, the Order of the Holy Communion according to the use of the Church of England* (London: Longmans). The Reformers of the Church of England desired, among other things, to introduce greater simplicity into the rubrics of the Prayer Book: Mr. Shipley is one of those who are anxious to bring back into the services the old minuteness and complexity. To "supplement the English office of Holy Communion from the source whence it was derived" is, in Mr. Shipley's judgment, "in some cases absolutely necessary to liturgical completeness, if not essential to sacramental validity." We are glad at any rate of the admission—if it is an admission—that Mr. Shipley's supplementary directions are not "essential to sacramental validity." The book is, in fact, a series of directions for the mediæval celebration of the Mass, in which the existing English Communion Office—with Mr. Shipley's instead of the legal rubrics—is somewhat incongruously embodied. Ample illustrations are given of the various positions and postures to be observed, even to the proper management of the fingers and thumbs. These are due to the pencil of the Rev. Ernest Geldart. The printing and general style of the book is highly creditable to the publishers.

An admirable contrast to Mr. Shipley's curious production is afforded by Dr. A. J. Stephens' *Argument in the Folkestone Ritual Case* (London: C. Kegan Paul & Co.), which is a learned and able defence of the principle which Mr. Shipley rejects, but the Courts maintain, "that the Prayer Book is to be regarded as the complete and sufficient guide of worship, and that no person has a right to add thereto or to omit therefrom." This is surely the only reasonable principle, for if additions are once permitted of things which an individual, or any number of individuals, may think "Catholic," where are we to stop?

Work about the Five Dials (London: Macmillan & Co.) is the title of a very interesting account of work among the London poor by a lady, for whom Mr. Carlyle vouches that she "is a most authentic person." Few, we think, would have doubted the genuineness of the experiences here narrated, even without so irrefragable a testimony. The writer has served an apprenticeship to the very difficult art of relieving the poor effectually, and the experiences which she records are full of instruction for others. Among other things she has learned, that the poor care very little whether a clergyman is High or Low Church, if he be but helpful and sympathetic in their troubles. It is humiliating to think of the con-

trast, to which she directs attention, between England and the Continent in regard to popular amusements; the "cosy, harmless pleasures of the working classes" there, the dulness and drunkenness here. How true it is, that while London has more beautiful parks than any other capital in Europe, they do not benefit the great mass of the working classes! "There is nothing to draw them there, no music, no refreshments. . . . As for Kensington Gardens, it is as little known to the working man who lives beyond Regent Street, as Japan is to the ordinary traveller." "The want of out-door amusement is one of the chief causes of drunkenness." "Our Sundays are spoken of by foreigners as the very depth of dulness; and if it is dull to the educated, what must it not be to the illiterate?" How long is this state of things to continue?

III.—GEOGRAPHY, GEOLOGY, &c.

(Under the Direction of Professor T. G. BONNEY.)

AT the present time, when the subject of water-supply is occupying so much attention, and sometimes exciting so much alarm, Professor Ansted's book, *Water and Water Supply, chiefly in reference to the British Islands: Surface Water* (London, W. H. Allen & Co.), will be welcome to all who are anxious for information. We have heard two objections made to the use of water as a beverage; one that it does not quench your thirst, the other that it may poison you. The first of these is a matter probably of opinion or of constitution; the latter is unfortunately too often a melancholy fact. Professor Ansted gives much information about the nature of sewage contamination, and the best method of counteracting it; in the course of which he mentions the curious fact that infected water, unfit for drinking, has been found superior to pure for industrial purposes. Thus at Paris the sewage-tainted water of the Seine was found better for the manufacture of gelatine than the potable waters of the Vauve; and stranger still, the dirty water of a stream near St. Denis was found to wash wool better than the pure water of an artesian well. For drinking purposes indeed water absolutely pure, that is, free from all extraneous substances whatsoever, does not seem to be the best; but the less organic matter, nitrates, and ammonia present the better. Certain salts also should be conspicuous by their absence; and of all salts together, except perhaps carbonate of lime, there should be less than 70 grains per imperial gallon. We think Professor Ansted makes a little too light of the presence of the last-named salt, seeing that it is decidedly deleterious to certain constitutions.

After three general chapters on water, rainfall, and river-basins, the author passes on to give a most elaborate account of the various river-systems and drainage areas of the United Kingdom, beginning with the Thames, and ending with the north-east of Ireland. These chapters are replete with minute and interesting information, and illustrated by sketch maps. The concluding chapter discusses the laws which influence the courses of rivers, the effects of lakes, banks, and currents, and touches very briefly upon the physical history of the river systems of England.

The book, from the nature of the subject, is one rather for reference than for ordinary reading; but parts of it will be found interesting to the general student, who will find it clearly written, and the facts succinctly told. Though complete in itself, this book is in reality only one volume of a work, that "On the Surface Waters," the author intending to complete it with another "On Underground Waters."

Lithological studies have hitherto been in so little favour with the members of the Geological Survey of England that Mr. Rutley's memoir on Brent Tor—*The Eruptive Rocks of Brent Tor and its Neighbourhood: Memoirs of the Geological Survey of England and Wales* (London, Longmans & Co.)—is the first publication of a petrological character which they have issued, though some notes on

the rocks were attached to Mr. Clifton Ward's memoir on the Lake district. We are glad the task has fallen into such competent hands. Brent Tor was described some thirty years ago by that excellent geologist, the late Sir H. de la Beche, as a ruined fragment of an old volcano, and this observation Mr. Rutley has fully confirmed by his studies both in the field and with the microscope. In all probability, however, it represents only a portion of the original crater, the outline of which cannot now be distinctly ascertained. Its preservation has most likely been due to the superior hardness of its rocks to those of the adjacent district, and perhaps to the help of a fault. As is not rare in such cases, the volcanic ejecta at Brent Tor are of a very diverse character, both basalt and rhyolite occurring. A very typical example of the latter is described and figured by Mr. Rutley. There are also gabbros in the neighbourhood, and sundry altered rocks, such as slates, schists, and schalsteins; and the great granite mass of Dartmoor lies only a short distance to the east. Mr. Rutley is of opinion that the Brent Tor volcano was in activity in Carboniferous times.

The memoir is accompanied by a sketch map and several woodcuts, together with four chromo-lithographic plates of rock sections from the author's own drawing. There is also a valuable prefatory chapter on the application of the microscope to lithology, and a description of the appearance of some of the commoner rock-forming minerals. Her Majesty's Government are seemingly aware that the study of microscopic lithology is costly, and in their paternal care for the people are anxious to deter those with slender means from the study; so they have put upon this memoir, which is only a fair-sized pamphlet, the price of 15s. 6d. Boricky's book on Bohemian basalts is full three times the size, and costs 8s. 6d., and that on the phonolites, which is about the same size, costs half-a-crown!

Notwithstanding the labours of Sir Philip Egerton and others, there is still open a wide field for investigation among the fossil fishes of Britain alone. This monograph, *The Chimæroid Fishes of the British Cretaceous Rocks: Memoirs of the Geological Survey of England and Wales* (London, Longmans & Co.), from the pen of Mr. E. T. Newton, already well known as an ichthyologist, will be a valuable contribution to the history of an important group of fishes. The author has examined a great number of specimens from the rich collection in the British and the Jermyn Street Museums, as well as other collections. As the result four genera are described and their leading characteristics tabulated. The text is accompanied by illustrations, and is likely to be of great assistance to the student. The price of this work, though one would suppose the cost not to have been very different, is much less than that of the last-mentioned.

A Catalogue of Australian Fossils (including Tasmania and the Island of Timor). Stratigraphically and Zoologically arranged. By Robert Etheridge, jun., F.G.S. (Cambridge University Press, Paternoster Row).—The compilation of a catalogue is generally a task wearisome and arduous, often thankless, and never remunerative. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Etheridge, whose industry and learning have already made him known to the scientific world as "of studious father, studious son," has taken it in hand to catalogue the fossils of Australia, and has executed the task, for which he had peculiar qualifications, in a very thorough manner. We need only glance at a page or two to see the great care and minute research which have been bestowed upon this compilation. A closer examination brings to light some interesting and suggestive results. We notice, for example, that not a few genera and a good many species in this ancient Australian fauna are identical with those which have already been discovered in Britain. Among the Silurian corals—we take an example at random—the genera are almost all British, and so are a large number of the species. Among the trilobites we read for the most part the names of British genera; the same is true of the Brachiopoda; some of the most familiar British species as *Orthis elegantula*, *Pentamerus Knightii*, and *P. oblongus*, *Strophomena depressa*, and the ubiquitous *Atrypa reticularis*, not to mention others, being found on this far-off part of the globe. The same holds of the succeeding geological formations—indeed, it is not till the Tertiary period is reached that a marked generic difference between the European and Australasian continents becomes evident. Then a good many genera are found whose names have an unfamiliar aspect to the student of British Palæontology.

It is only by the publication of books such as these that generalizations in the spread and expansion of life-forms in ancient times can be safely made; and the

present work cannot fail to become and long remain a frequent book of reference for all who are engaged in the study of Palaeontology.

For many years few things were more desired by the student of British Geology than a concise account of Ireland. Now, no sooner has one book appeared—that by Professor Hull, noticed by us lately—than another comes, as it were, treading on its heels. To the bystander, indeed, it appears a little strange to see chief and subordinate in the Survey riding a sort of neck-and-neck race with what may not unfairly be called rival volumes. The present book, *Manual of the Geology of Ireland*, by G. H. Kinahan, M.R.I.A., &c., of H.M. Geological Survey (C. Kegan Paul & Co.), after a general introduction, describes the sedimentary rocks of Ireland. In this the most original feature is his inclusion of the Old Red Sandstone in the Carboniferous rocks. It has long been known that in Ireland, as in Shropshire, the latter are conformable to the former, which are separated by a break from the Upper Silurian; but this is indeed a novelty in classification. The late chief of the Irish Survey, Professor Jukes, contended vigorously for the inclusion of the Devonian rocks with the Carboniferous. This, however, is a policy of annexation which, we think, would have even startled him. So far as we remember, it can only be paralleled by the late Sir Roderick Murchison's incursions on the older rocks of Wales in his own endeavour to form "a scientific frontier" for his Silurian system.

Mr. Kinahan then passes on to the metamorphic and eruptive rocks. He is already well known as a bold and original lithologist—so bold and so original, indeed, that perhaps humbler students may find it difficult to follow him, especially in regard to the connexion of eruptive rocks and metamorphic action. Of late we have indeed heard so much about "metamorphic granite," that we are almost prepared to believe in it, but we confess ourselves startled when we read it boldly asserted that all eruptive rocks are indirectly due to metamorphic action. It is also an unwonted sensation to read of quartz rock as one of the eruptive rocks, and we confess to a feeling of disappointment when, after being referred to chap. xii. sec. 16, for full information as to this novel and interesting rock, we rise from the perusal of that (it may be our own fault) but little wiser than before. But we fear that to one nurtured in the prose of the Teutonic petrologists, the poetry, if we may so call it, of their speculative Celtic fellow-workers will be bewildering. We find in these pages obsidian defined as a glassy variety of felsstone, eklogite as a magnesian rock allied to serpentine, eurite as a basic felsstone, porphyrite as an ingenite rock, containing distinct and well-developed felspar crystals, greisen as synonymous with quartz rock, and so on.

In the latter part of the book, Mr. Kinahan notices the physical features and the mineral deposits of the country. As regards the former, he believes less in the action of glaciers, and more in that of earth fractures and of the sea, than is usual in members of the Survey. In reference to the last point, we must say that a picture of terraced cliffs in a limestone district ("Barren Hills," fig. 16) appears to us much more like an instance of sub-aërial denudation. It exactly reminds us of a hill just south of the Brèche de Roland, in the Pyrenees, where considerations of marine action may fairly be excluded.

Professor Ramsay's well-known work on the physical geology and geography of Great Britain (*The Physical Geology and Geography of Great Britain: A Manual of British Geology*. Fifth edition. London: E. Stanford), had its beginning as "Six Lectures to Working Men." The fifteen years which have elapsed since its first appearance have told on it as on the human species; and the infant book of 200 pages has now developed into a goodly volume of 640 pages, with numerous illustrations. The attractive style and suggestive thoughts of Professor Ramsay have been the cause of this prosperous growth through five editions, and we trust that its author may live to see others and yet larger, under happier auspices than have attended the issue of this, and be enabled to work for many years with his old vigour.

In the present edition the first four chapters are devoted to a brief account of the formation and general classification of rocks, and the effect upon them of the various forces to which they are subjected. The next thirteen, which contain the principal addition to the book, give a lucid description of the leading characteristics of the stratified deposits, and endeavour to indicate the physical conditions under which the various deposits were formed. To this succeeds a description of the physiography of Great Britain, and a discussion of the probable origin

of its principal natural features. As might be expected, the glacial epoch and everything connected with the world of ice, receive a large share of attention, the Professor arguing with his accustomed vigour for his favourite theory of the excavations by ice of not only the lake basins of Great Britain, but also those of the Alps and North America. While he points out that he has never asserted that all lake basins are the work of glaciers, he seems to think an American fellow-labourer rather weak in faith for not claiming Lake Superior. He parades also with justifiable triumph a list of illustrious names whom his theory has led captive, but omits to mention that there are still some persons tolerably familiar with glacial phenomena who, so far from being convinced, have brought arguments against certain applications of it, which are met by a discreet silence. We are glad, however, to find that though the Professor is prepared to overwhelm Anglesea with a great ice-sheet, from Caledonia and Cumbria, despising apparently the glacial forces of Wales (where some of his earliest laurels were gathered), he is not prepared to accept with unquestioning faith the almost universal glaciers of some of his subordinates, or to find the presence of marine shells in a boulder clay no bar to his belief in "ground moraines." Apropos of this we see that he gives in his adhesion to the theory of Mr. Skertchley as to the existence of interglacial man. Time may show that "not proven" would have been a wiser verdict.

There are other points where the Professor will fail to carry with him the assent of not a few of his brother geologists, but it is only fair to say, that in most places he himself puts up a notice-board of "dangerous," and warns the student that his views are not universally accepted. With these qualifications, the book will be found at once instructive and suggestive; it is full of spirited writing and of those graphic touches in which the author so peculiarly excels, often expressing, by a happy simile or a picturesque phrase, more than many others could do in half a page of descriptive writing; and the theories enunciated are well worth careful consideration, even though they sometimes fail to convince.

The "new edition" of Cotta's treatise on lithology (*Rocks Classified and Described: a Treatise on Lithology*, by Bernhard von Cotta. An English edition by P. H. Lawrence, F.G.S., &c. New edition. London: Longmans), though bearing on its title-page the date 1878, appears to be little more than a reprint of the edition of 1868. At any rate, we cannot admit that it is at all brought up to the present level of knowledge. Such rocks, for example, as trachyte, phonolite, the peridotites, and serpentines, which are now fairly well understood, still remain in their old confusion. Allusion indeed is made to the application of the microscope to lithological purposes, in a brief and rather sketchy notice, but its results appear to have been little used in the body of the work. On the whole, we fear that the English student will not gain much by the republication of the veteran geologist's book, and for information in lithology must continue to rely mainly on the younger German lithologists.

Few writers have got the happy knack of combining scientific facts with pleasant writing so well as Mr. Proctor. Like a skilled cook, he seems able to make a juicy dish out of any meat, however dry it may be naturally. The present volume, *Pleasant Ways in Science* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1879), is a collection of essays which have been contributed to various periodicals, this REVIEW among others. They treat of various astronomical topics; of kindred physical subjects, such as ozone, dew, and "drifting light-waves;" of marvels in telegraphy and of the phonograph; beside subjects geographical, geological, and zoological. The least successful, as it strikes us, is the one on Mr. Mallet's theory of volcanoes, as the writer does not appear to have got quite a firm grasp of the geological bearings of the subject, or to have apprehended the inherent defects and serious difficulties in the evidence upon which it rests. Still even here the article is very readable. There is a sensible article on food and its abuse. The concluding remark of this is seasonable at a time when some religious teachers are over-inclined to inculcate asceticism on enthusiastic neophytes. "As a rule, however, change of diet is a safer measure than periodical fasting, or abstinence from either heat-producing or flesh-forming food. It must be noticed, in conclusion, that young persons ought not, without medical advice, to fast or abstain for any length of time from the more important forms of food, as serious mischief to the digestive organs frequently follows from either course." The article on Strange Sea Serpents is perhaps the one that will prove most interesting to all readers. Mr. Proctor discusses the various accounts of the kraken and the sea-serpent; and after showing that there

is undeniable evidence of the existence of a cuttle, not indeed equal to legend, but still far more huge than would have been credited a few years since, concludes that there is something at the bottom of the sea-serpent stories. His own view is that the creature which has been seen is some descendant of the great aneliosaur of the secondary age—a long-necked creature, something like a plesiosaur. To the obvious objection to the possibility of such a survival, the absence of the remains of any such animals in deposits of the Tertiary age, he replies by pointing out that at the present time there are species of whales, not very rare in the ocean, which are either known only from solitary specimens, or have never yet been captured.

We have here another well-meant but futile effort to reconcile geology with the strict literal interpretation of the earlier chapters in the Book of Genesis: *The Creation, or Moses and Science in Harmony*, by the Rev. Alex. Stewart, M.D., LL.D. (America). (London: Elliot Stock.) The author, after duly destroying all other harmonies previously proposed, proceeds to construct his own theory. What this is it requires some patience to discover, for he is a rambling and prolix writer, and is so constantly halting to improve the occasion, that it is not easy to follow him. The exceeding triteness also of these interspersed remarks does not make them the more welcome. So far, however, as we apprehend his theory, it is this. The earlier chapters in Genesis are as strictly historical as any other part of the book, allowing for a little necessary figurativeness of description. The inferences of geologists may be equally true, but they relate to a period anterior to the creation described in Genesis. This idea of course is not novel, but the author's mode of escaping the difficulty urged against it by geologists—that the advent of existing life-forms was gradual during the later geological epochs—is new so far as we are aware. It is that the destruction which made the earth "void" was not universal; so that certain creatures contrived to save themselves on more elevated spots from the destroying waters. His views may have been satisfying to the congregation of "John Street E. U. Church, Aberdeen," but we doubt whether they will obtain a much wider acceptance.

The geology of Western Yorkshire rather resembles its scenery—at times somewhat monotonous, yet with no lack of considerable tracts of rare interest. Some of the older geologists did good work among its moorlands and valleys, and the district has been touched upon in one or two of the Survey Memoirs, but we do not know of any book which treats of the geology and physical geography of the district as a whole. This want Messrs. Davies and Lees have undertaken to supply (*West Yorkshire: an account of its Geology, Physical Geography, Climatology, and Botany*. Part I., Geology, by James W. Davies, F.G.S., &c.; Part II., Physical Geography and Botanical Topography, by James W. Davies and F. Arnold Lees, F.L.S., &c. London: Reeve & Co.), and have executed their task in a very satisfactory manner. The volume commences by a fairly sufficiently detailed sketch of the various geological formations. The author of this part—we are glad to see—does not countenance the fanciful idea which connects the conglomerates at the base of the Carboniferous series with ice-action; indeed he passes it over in silence. The second part seems likely to be as useful to the botanist as the first to the geologist. As a further recommendation, the book is furnished with an excellent bibliography.

The Geology of Sussex; or The Geology and Fossils of the Tertiary and Cretaceous Formations of Sussex. By the late Frederick Dixon, Esq., F.G.S. New edition; revised and augmented by T. Rupert Jones, F.R.S., &c. Brighton: W. S. Smith. —The "Geology of Sussex" has long been a standard work among the workers of that science, but as the rapid advance of knowledge antiquates even the best books, a new edition was needed. This was confided to Professor Rupert Jones, whose exceptionally extensive knowledge of geology peculiarly fitted him for the task. Aided by some of the best authorities of the day, on various special subjects, he has produced what amounts to a new book on Sussex, in which, however, the old material is religiously preserved and carefully distinguished from the additions. In short, the work, besides giving much interesting antiquarian information, is now a most valuable book of reference for any subject connected with the geology of the formations found in the county of Sussex. A single example will suffice; we turn to the introduction to the account of the remarkable experiment in boring through the secondary rocks of the Weald, in search of

the palæozoic strata, and find prefixed a brief but admirable *précis* of all that is known about the position of the latter in south-eastern England and north-western France.

The Geological Record for 1878 made its appearance in the latter part of the summer, being the third volume of that useful publication. It gives as far as possible the titles and brief abstracts of the works and papers on Geology, Mineralogy, and Palæontology, which appear either separately or in the transactions of societies in our own or other countries. Any one who knows what a weary and wasteful task is the hunting up and down the pages of periodicals for possible information on some scientific subject will feel duly grateful to those who have helped in this work, and above all to its indefatigable chief editor, the mainstay of the undertaking, Mr. W. Whitaker.

The Geological Magazine completes with the year its fifteenth volume, and fully maintains its well-earned reputation. Two more parts, added to those which we noticed lately, complete the thirty-fourth volume of the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society. Some of the papers in these are of unusual interest, chief among them those of Messrs. Feilder, De Rance, and Etheridge on the geological results of the late British Expedition to the Arctic Regions; Professor Judd's third paper on the secondary rocks of Scotland; and Professor Prestwich's account of the deep boring at Messrs. Meux's brewery. There is also a full description by Professor Ramsay and Dr. J. Geikie of the geology of Gibraltar. Dr. Hicks proposes a new reading of the classic sections around Loch Maree; and the correctness of the Survey's interpretation of certain rocks on the Ayrshire coast is more than questioned. There are as usual some valuable contributions to Palæontology.

IV.—ESSAYS, NOVELS, POETRY, &c.

(Under the Direction of MATTHEW BROWNE.)

AT a rather indeterminate epoch, of which one might, speaking roughly, say that it came to a climax, tilting over to the descent, at or before the time of the Crimean war, there was what some of us might describe as a new movement in literature, especially that of the poetic kind. Others might put the case of a distinguishable new thrill, rather than use the word movement,—though it is undeniable that movement came of the thrill. If we were to adopt the worst manner of the late Mr. Gilfillan (of whose shade we must ask forgiveness, for he had fine qualities and wanted chiefly measure), we might endeavour to characterize or at least to signalize this epoch of movement, or thrill leading to movement, by saying that Mr. (Festus) Bailey was its sturdiest growth; Sydney Dobell its consummate "plant and flower of light;" while Alexander Smith and a host of others were the aftermath and the more or less ephemeral florets. Mr. Gilfillan would resent that way of speaking of Mr. Smith, and, indeed, he would not have written this jumble at all. But if he had, he would have gone on to say, perhaps, that there was a corresponding thrill in the literature of prose fiction, and that in that the Brontë girls were gipsy heath-flower and mountain-pine with passionate winds singing through the boughs; Mrs. Gaskell meadow-grass and homestead-elm shadowing buttercups and daisies; while Thackeray was a magnificent alder which now and then loomed through the mist like some towering fungus, which, &c., &c., &c. As there is, we believe, no flower or tree which makes game of other flowers or trees, "Firmilian," would have to come in as buffoon, merry-Andrew, cap-and-bells, &c., &c. There would have to be something invented for George MacDonald and the author of "Reverberations." As for George Dawson, he stands already characterized by Mr. Gilfillan as something little better than a "transcendental bagman;" but he was the representative of the "lecturesque" or popular aspect of the movement, and very well he represented it.* There was,

* There is a curiously honourable, careful, and just estimate of him in the Memoirs of Mr. Dobell now before us.

besides, a sort of earnest *gaminerie* attached to the movement,—a *gamin* "side" to it would have been the cant of the day, which was great, very great, in "sides," and especially in "many-sidedness;" and this was represented by Douglas Jerrold and a few others. Occupying more or less indeterminate places in the procession, or the gathering, or the roster, or catalogue, or whatever word is best, one may mention Dr. Westland Marston, Mr. John Saunders, Mr. R. H. Horne, the Howitts. Journalism felt the thrill, and so did politics. Not only had the Corn Laws been repealed,—in ten years there was not to be a workhouse in the United Kingdom; and what with Italy and Mazzini, Hungary and Kossuth, France and Lamartine, Emerson and "the people" (especially the "Chivalry of Labour," which was very particularly and also very confidently invited by Mr. Gerald Massey to "worship Beauty with the knightly faith of old"),—there was a glad, diffused, half-creepy sensation that *the time* was at hand.

But the time did not come. The Napoleonic *coup d'état* did, however; and the increasing ascendancy of Thackerayism in literature and faith, with Palmerstonism in politics and the journals. There was a distinct and almost sudden pitch-over, which (it is not too much to say) broke many a heart, and from many a heart besides called out in a sadly equivocal sense, though hardly a burlesque one, the "Curst be the whole concern!" of the lover in the *Bon Gaultier* "Locksley Hall." It is not too slight an incident to refer to, that Frances Browne wrote, evidently with some self-consciousness, the mournful epitaph of this movement or thrill in the poem entitled, "Is it Come?"—which appearing in a periodical, the late Marquis of Lansdowne did himself the honour of offering the blind poetess a draft for £100 almost on the spot.

Since that time it cannot be said that we have been without new light among the poets. Mr. Browning, well known then, has nevertheless come so much more to the front, and increased his public so much, that he may almost be considered as a singer in a new world. Then we have had Mr. Robert Buchanan, Mr. William Morris, Mr. Swinburne, Mr. William Allingham, Mr. Coventry Patmore, Sir Aubrey de Vere, and others: some of them with, so to speak, their roots in the old state of things, some not. Mr. Buchanan, Mr. Swinburne, and Mr. William Morris belong positively to the present, and each has a very distinct position. Mr. Buchanan stands in marked relation to the new humanitarian movement; Mr. Swinburne and Mr. Morris stand affiliated to a very different school; but the connection between them is by no means one that does not admit of being severed, and the success of Mr. Morris is one of the most striking literary phenomena of the times. Apart from all these stands Mr. Matthew Arnold, whom it would be idle to attempt to criticize here. The growth of his fame and influence and that of Mr. Tennyson have run on side by side, and for our present purpose do not count. It is simply just as well to make out some such passing catalogue, in order to escape the charge of overlooking anything.

After the "epitaph" by Frances Browne there was, one might say, a kind of dropping or retreating fire from stragglers of the camp which "Firmilian" made such sport of—sport that even those who belonged to the camp ought to have enjoyed with all their hearts—and we omit many names of persons and poems. But Sydney Dobell was, to pass back to our former set of metaphors, the consummate "plant and flower of light" of "the whole concern." And what a flower! It is not easy to be too grateful for the picture of its living beauty—sketch as the picture is—supplied in the two big volumes before us:—*The Life and Letters of Sydney Dobell*, edited by E. J., with steel portrait and photographic illustrations (Smith, Elder, & Co.). The memoir is very gracefully and intelligently written, but the lights and shades are too widely scattered, and the consequent general impression is one of some thinness of texture. Our own notion of a better way would be something like this:—To tell the bare life of the poet by itself in compact, consecutive order, with a little more fulness and body; putting dates in the margin of every page; then to make a separate department of the numerous letters, &c., connecting these by a mere *thread* of narrative; and again putting dates in the margins. It is a sad oversight of biographers to give the reader the trouble of turning back several pages in order to be sure of the year in which he is reading. It seems to us that the letters, &c., now published should also be incorporated, as far as possible, with the contents, or some of the contents of the previous volume, entitled *Thoughts on Art, Philosophy, and Religion*, and that the whole should form one thick book; another consisting of Mr. Dobell's poems, "The Roman," "Balder," &c. Two volumes of this kind would constitute a landmark in the history of literature, wholly apart from their value in

other respects. Late in his too-short life Mr. Dobell wrote to his parents that he was quite satisfied that no critic, in looking over the literary history of his times, could miss his own poetry, and that he was content to leave the case there. He wrote this without a touch of arrogance, and he was right. It is a wonder, a miracle, that in so broken a life he did so much and so well; and as the perfect, typical flower of what we have—not unconscious of wanting a better word—called both a movement and a thrill, he could not have done better. In other language, the faults or shortcomings are natural, essential, and characteristic incidents of "the hour and the man," of the impulse and the product. To push this any further would of course be out of the question here.

Mr. Sidney Dobell was born in 1824, and lived to see fifty years of age; but the greater part of his whole life he was ill, and in ways which more seriously limited or harassed and muddled away productive power than, for example, the malady of Heine or Leopardi. Few people think of looking at any but the more obvious features of a man's sufferings in these cases, but the fact is, body and coherency of a certain desirable order were, under the circumstances, impossible to poetry like Mr. Dobell's. He was scarcely of this world at all (though he made a pretty indifferently good bad wine-merchant); his exquisitely truthful and delicately religious nature never allowed him to import force and "binding" stuff of a kind open to others; the wine *had* to be his own native grape, unbranded; and there were to be no tricks of trade, no "finings and stum," whatever they are: no anything but the pure wine from the fountain. For really this was wine from a fountain,—but we must not grow too fanciful. Only, such as it was it had to be; the poetry of a man who had seen, who was always seeing, the Holy Grail,—had never touched, even with the longest stretched *antennæ* of his whole nature, "the world, the flesh, and the devil," caught their odour at a distance, or ever so remotely understood the *real* way in which the fibre of life is made up.

Sidney Dobell came of a strongly-marked stock; intensely religious, with a dash of the Quaker in it, which in him became Hicksite, or more than Hicksite. His creed seems to have been at last a sort of Christianized Transcendentalism—susceptible, if he had seen a little farther—and perhaps he did—of reduction to still lower terms. On this and cognate topics the reader will find much more matter than we can even hint at in these volumes; but we cannot omit calling attention to the very wise letter to David Gray, then on his death-bed. The chief point to be noted now is, that Mr. Dobell was by nature fully as much theologian and metaphysician as poet—which is, of course, denying him the first or even the second rank as a singer. As he grew older, we are told that his mind tended more and more to abstract discussion, which was in the order of nature; abstract in one sense Mr. Dobell never could have been—*i.e.*, there was nothing of the schoolman about him; he was intensely social, and also very ready to accept the influence of current ideas. See, *passim*, the very curious notes on Ethics, as a branch (possibly) of Embryology. In spite of the tendency to refine too much, which Professor Nichol rightly indicates as a strongly-marked peculiarity of Mr. Dobell's mind, the poet does not seem to have been always prompt to forecast the ultimate issue of a given line of speculation—he appears rather to have been bent on trying to reconcile essentially discordant things.

That, indeed, was the inclination of the school to which he belonged. We may see it in Dr. George MacDonald, in Mr. Bailey, in George Dawson; and it seemed to the present writer to be the "note" of every student of that peculiar "academy" whom he ever happened to meet. You never knew where your friend would be next, or what concessions he would make; and yet he would be to all appearance the same, and would certainly go on using the same language. It was like walking on shifting sands, and to some of us very wearisome. The more secular of them had, apparently, a vague idea that this was the secret of Goethe; but others, like Mr. Dobell, were nearer F. Jacobi than any other thinker we can name. Yet there was a sort of trick of many-sidedness with them all, which gave them a certain air of esoteric pride—and promptly repelled those who liked a plain answer to a plain question, "Do you believe A or B?" Now it is a fair answer to say, "I believe A," or "I believe B," or "I believe a *tertium quid*," or "I'm not quite sure *what* I believe;" but it is not fair to utter most affecting moral and spiritual truths, which clearly *must* stand on certain definite grounds of logical proposition or on the air; and then to add, "We believe A, B, C, and all the letters of the alphabet, and all the letters of *every* alphabet, and our secret is in the clouds somewhere." No man was more delicately acute than Mr. Dobell as a thinker, and as a poet he was one of the most individual that ever sang.

He was also the truest, most frank, most chivalrous soul that ever breathed—a divine creature, an entire and perfect chrysolite; but most of the works of the Christian Transcendental school left, and do still leave, upon the simple esoteric mind an impression of lubricity, quite distinct from reserve, or even hesitation.

It is very curious to see how, in reading Mr. Dobell's very numerous letters, you receive, even if the topic be nothing but hotels, the impression of over-refining. The mind of the writer goes on, step after step, in a mazy way, till you are almost bewildered. It is the same with much of the poetry—

"Tres imbris torti radios, tres nubis aquosæ
Addiderant; rutili tres ignis et alitis austri;
Fulgores nunc terrificos sonitumque, metumque
Miscebant operi, flammisque sequacibus iras."

That is not it, but it might almost be. Of course there is much that is simpler, but a good deal is like strands of the milky way twisted into moving spirals. Hence, in great part, the controversies about Mr. Dobell's poetry. Fortunately some of his lyrics (for example, the splendid "Chasseur" song) are of different quality, and can stand and go alone in the memory. The greatest difference, the main "split," in opinion would, we presume, be made to turn upon some such phrases as objectivity, subjectivity, human interest, and the like. The very large majority of religious and quasi-religious persons *who really know poetry of any kind* (which religious persons very seldom do) not only prefer gnomic and subjective verse, they can't or won't relish any other. They are ashamed, probably, not to profess admiration of Shakspeare; but they don't truly care for him or for Homer, or for any story pure and simple. They want poetic *dicta* or sentiment well put; they understand and relish gnomic verse about the contrast between the calm beauty of nature and the restless play of human passion; but the point must be brought out for them in a statement more or less formal, or they entirely miss it. For example, they make nothing of *the very same thing* as it is presented by a Walter Scott; they can't categorically deny the beauty of the description of Loch Katrine and the other gentle passages which relieve the story of the "Lady of the Lake," but they don't instinctively feel that this also is an "objective" poet's way of bringing the calm of nature and the turmoil of life into juxtaposition. If they admire Wolfe's "Burial of Sir John Moore" at all it is in the line—

"But we left him alone with his glory."

And to Macaulay's "Ivry" and "Armada" ballads they probably deny the name of poetry altogether. As to human interest, they like the sack—that is the sentiment—in outrageously large proportion to the bread. The way to get at their ideas of incident and feeling is to set an artist to illustrate the stories they admire. A girl eating a boggy bun at a railway station; two old women going into church; or, for very special excitement, a furious old gentleman shaking an umbrella at an omnibus conductor. Of course this is human interest, for human beings eat buns, and go to church, and hail omnibuses; but it is one of the most striking facts in what may be called the physiology of the disputes between the camp in which stood Mr. Aytoun (who was no poet) and that in which stood Mr. Dobell, that the poets of the latter camp, even in the person of so exquisite a type as he was, show that they feel in themselves a serious deficiency on the "human" side. "Balder" shows it, and exemplifies the conscious struggle against the depressing sense of the want; while "Firmilian" ridicules the struggle. A sense of the want runs through the poetry of Mr. Tennyson, though there it is much disguised; and of course the "Idylls of the King" are much more sane work than "Balder." But another generation will be less tender than this has been over the real lack of strong human fibre which is one of the primary notes of Mr. Tennyson's poetry. Mr. Browning's position is unique. We cannot dwell upon it now; but, of course, strong human fibre is not lacking in *him*.

These cardinal matters, which divide the lovers of poetry into opposing schools or camps, are, of course, finally connected with differing schools of philosophy and ethics. The only school which partly shelves the difficulties (for exist they must) is the pantheistic. But quite apart from all this, the variations in the reception of Mr. Dobell's poetry were instructive and suggestive, and he has many interesting remarks upon the differences of appreciation which he noted among judges of

Art. Some of these have shaken down since then, and with real poetry of any school there is scarcely any great difference of opinion among fairly good critics nowadays—except when personal feeling is manifest: or something which is nearly of that nature—a mere fad—such as that poetry must grasp the present; or that poetry can *not* grasp the present: that poetry ought to appeal mainly to the people; or that it ought not. People who are ready to lay lance in rest over theses like these are not worth arguing with. They are always fanatics; usually mere amateurs.

It is a very common thing to dismiss these matters by saying that there will always be differences of opinion in æsthetic matters, and that one man's judgment is about as good as another's. This, at all events, was not Mr. Dobell's opinion; nor is it sane; his contempt of the *vox populi* in such matters is both just, and argued out by him in an edifying manner. An eye for poetry is as rare as an eye for colour—the "great heart of the people" is sooner pleased with bad work than good—and absolute Daltonism is only too frequent. Of course the difficulty of getting upon common ground is greater with the inarticulate arts than with the articulate, as we see illustrated in the savage quarrels of "judges" in painting and music. But a great deal depends upon the want of a good big steady fly-wheel in a man's nature, i.e., upon want of conscience. Next, perhaps, among causes of difference, stands want of memory—memory of the kind that hardly ever forgets, and can see all that the mind knows (that is relevant) in a bird's-eye view at a moment's notice. A man with a steady conscience, a fair sense of humour, and a bird's-eye-view memory can never become a fanatic in art: or probably in anything.

But to return definitely to poetry. The greatest of all the mistakes is to suppose that, because there is a poetic eye, which is a personal gift and a rare one, all may be left to nature in pronouncing judgment. This is what nearly everybody thinks; and yet there may be and often is the capacity to recognize genuine poetry of a high class at one glance, and all but total incapacity to detect very good imitation. It may be laid down that the faculty of infallibly telling *true* work from *false* is half moral, and depends upon intensity of moral experience. Therefore it must always be an extremely rare thing. But speaking more generally of the art of appreciating poetry, how much depends upon practice and experience—upon a sensibility of finger which is not only checked and guided by rule, but which has been, so to speak, guarded by gloves, and almost nursed in fineness of touch for years! How much depends upon mere knowledge and memory is obvious. Thus, a man who had never read Milton or Spenser might lay it down that Collins or Gray was the greatest of English poets in the past, and yet not be absurd—he would be simply ignorant. The question of originality, in *every* sense, is almost wholly one of memory. There is no poet in whom you may not find nuggets of other men's work; but there are some whose work is inlaid mosaic pure and simple—and they make reputations. Then there is a class of "poems" which may be indicated in some such way as this: they may at once take the fancy of even very good amateur judges, because they deal with themes in which the sentiment, or the story, or the teaching is of the sort which soon kindles for certain readers. All that is then required is something of the dress of poetry, and an absence of glaring literary faults. But a practised eye sees through the fraud at once. It picks out the appropriated nuggets; sees that the remainder is commonplace; and knows how to allow for the mere kindling power of certain sentiments which are not essentially poetic, though they readily "mix up" in more or less poetic forms of tolerably good literature. "Poetry" of this order is the terror of critics, and constitutes the bulk of what is published both in magazines and in separate volumes. The treatment it receives from editors and hard-worked reviewers is very varied; but of course no busy reviewer, and rarely a busy editor, can be a trustworthy judge of such work, as distinguished from better; he is sure to be too indulgent. When he has to use his finger-ends year after year in discriminating fifth-class verse from sixth, and generally in muddling among mediocre work of all the lower kinds, with an eye not to fine standards but to instant adaptability, his finger-ends inevitably thicken. Six months of editorial labour ought to convince any sensitive man of this.

The grand check and safeguard in these matters lies, not in trusting to intuition (though intuitive sense there must be), but in learning rapidly to apply simple rules. And of these there are many—some of them so well known that it is scarcely polite to remind any one of them. For example, that very simple and useful rule, applicable to most rhymed verse, which refers to the coupling of the rhymes. It is surprising in how large a number of cases the all-but mechanical

use of this direction will prove a valuable safeguard. Copy out, in single file down the page, the last words of the lines: those which rhyme. The more difficult you find it to imagine what brings the rhymes together, the more likely is it that there is good work put between them on the rhymers' part. Of course there are exceptions,—and to find these out will be to find some of the final reasons of the rule. But what of blank verse? Here we must fall back if we need quasi-mechanical help upon the questions of rhythm and phrasing. All truly poetic writing, rhymed or not, has rhythm of an affecting kind—this is strikingly visible in "poetic prose," as it is called. Write out the blank verse as if it were prose—that is, if your eye and brain stand in need of such a device. Of course, if you then find that the phrasing looks poor, and that the pulse or beat is that of mere punctuated prose; or that any appearance to the contrary is the result of mere inversion of syntactical forms, you may strongly suspect that the writing is not poetry, and that if you ever thought so, it was because you were too easily affected by a given vein of sentiment, or by something not necessarily poetic. Perhaps those who are far beyond the need of such help will bear with an absolutely extempore illustration, which we will make an effort to keep very stupid:—

"Ay, while the tumult now was at its height,
And all the multitude swayed to and fro,
As moved by one emotion, Albert stood
Quivering, defiant, like a stag at bay,
Facing his stern accusers, and a sob
Shook Ellen's bosom, while the savage crowd
With yelling voices, and with flaring brands,
Stood closely packed together, and the stars,
The midnight stars, looked down upon the scene
Calmly, the eyes of Heaven, and not a sign
Of sympathy appeared in earth or sky."

We need not remark that this is trash: that it might be made five times better and still be trash; and ten times better, and yet not be poetry of *any* rank or *any* order. Other well-known helps or rules are such as these:—that poetry is always characterized by metaphor, expressed or implied; that the form in which metaphor most decisively stamps the writing for poetic is that of epithet, above all, double-epithet; and so on. These are mere commonplaces; the only rule that has no exception is that all poetry has affecting and appropriate rhythm or beat. And, of course, to pronounce judgment upon this is largely matter of culture and experience, checked by frequent analysis of the best work. Because poetry can be produced with but little apparent regard to rules, it does not follow that it can be judged of by everybody without frequent reference to them. Nor is anybody quite safe unless he takes time enough to read the same thing in many different moods.

Of course commonplaces like those are not intended to apply to the high typical cases, or to practised judges who have learnt the danger of trusting to "intuition" in cases neither high nor typical. With the exception of Mr. Swinburne's volume, we have had no high typical cases on our table,—though one or two of the volumes of verse (including one or two not now mentioned) are laid aside for a little special treatment, under heads and for reasons which will justify themselves. In *Poems and Ballads* (Second Series), by Algernon Charles Swinburne (Chatto & Windus), we find little that is new, and nothing that carries any farther the most carefully formed estimates of Mr. Swinburne; but *he* is, of course, a born singer, with a splendid though limited gift. This is the only volume of verse in our list which the real lover of poetry is "bound" to have, and certain to get by rote, more or less. We do not here touch any of the Swinburne disputes, but we are bound to caution those who have a literary prejudice against him, not to suppose that so much force of phrasing and perfection of rhythm must be empty of thought and feeling. It is to this poet's disadvantage that with certain readers his manner only serves to conceal or at least involve his meaning.

Next to Mr. Swinburne's volume, but of course a long way off, we cannot help placing Mr. Joaquin Miller's. Of course *he* is not a "gnomic" writer, and his faults and shortcomings are obvious. One may indeed refuse to call him a poet, but after all an honest critic will acknowledge that he has force and quality of his

own. He knows a good story, and can tell one with spirit and picturesque effect. It is conceivable that with more self-suspicion and concentration Mr. Miller might produce work to which it would be grudging to deny the title of poetry. But there is something theatrical about him, and a sort of cosmopolitan-rowdy sentimentality, which only the utmost simplicity would "carry off." The titles of his two volumes are these:—*Songs of the Sierras and Sunlands*, (2 vols. in one), by Joaquin Miller, author of "Songs of Far-away Lands," &c. (Revised Edition). *Songs of Far-away Lands*, by Joaquin Miller, author of "Songs of the Sierras," &c. (Longmans, Green, Reader, & Dyer).

It is with hesitation, and on the general ground of force, that we have placed Mr. Joaquin Miller's books before another,—*Bjorn and Bera*, a Norse Legend, by B. Montgomerie Ranking, author of "Fair Rosamond," &c. (Remington & Co.),—and we must add that we have never seen "Fair Rosamond." But the story of "Bjorn and Bera" is well told, and there are descriptive passages of much beauty. The workmanship is really good, and the literary skill is evidently that of a practised hand; but the song, as a whole, does not "kindle" sufficiently.

We had to pause a minute or two over *On the Seaboard, and other Poems*, by Susan K. Phillips (Macmillan & Co.), and here indeed we find no lack of true feeling either for nature or human life; but we look in vain for anything distinctive about the work: it goes down before the simplest of the above-mentioned tests (the rhyme-coupling one); and a third glance, however rapid, decides that the poems, though perfectly legitimate and honourable work, are not individual.

Of course we do not know the age of the author, but there is a somewhat hopeful variety of accent, topic, and treatment in *Punsies and Asphodel*, by Louisa Bigg (Chapman & Hall), and as the singer is evidently a cultivated and thoughtful person, she may be left to find her own path. That is about all that can honestly be founded upon such very slight indications as are given in this little volume. On the one hand, the *naïveté* of the phrasing is often pleasant and of cheerful promise; on the other, we do not like to find rhymes so stingily given, or to meet, within eleven lines, "odorous pines," "liquid moonlight," "benignant mother," "far-resounding strokes." The omens in this case are not strongly favourable; but time may unriddle them in a better sense.

It must never be forgotten—of course it never is forgotten by cultivated readers—that between the verdicts "This is poetry," and "This is more or less like poetry," the gulf is practically infinite. There is a wide stretch between Spenser and John Clare or Mr. Allingham; but all three are poets, past appeal. Only reviewers know what bewildering questions come before them in the matter of verse—and how often there is something truly pathetic in the failures. But nothing is more mournful than to note the limitations imposed by suffering conscience and affection upon powers like those of Sydney Dobell. It is impossible to read without an acute pang of regret the startlingly powerful "Armageddon" fragments, written when the hand of death was upon him, and one instinctively exclaims, quoting from a very different source,

"Thou soul of God's best earthly mould!
Thou happy soul! And can it be
That these
Are all that must remain of thee?"

We are told that when, as he was nearing the close, Mr. Dobell found that he failed, after an effort, to get by heart a short epigram in French, he looked sad for a few seconds, but instantly recovered himself—and, we may add on our own account, "looking up, saw heaven opened." If he was glad, let us be at least content.

NEW GUINEA AND ITS INHABITANTS.

IMMEDIATELY north of Australia, and separated from it at Torres Straits by less than a hundred miles of sea, is the largest island on the globe—New Guinea, a country of surpassing interest, whether as regards its natural productions or its human inhabitants, but which remains to this day less known than any accessible portion of the earth's surface. Within the last few years considerable attention has been attracted towards it, by surveys which have completed our knowledge of its outline and dimensions, by the settlement of English missionaries on its southern coasts, by the explorations of several European naturalists, and by the visits of Australian miners attracted by the alleged discovery of gold in the sands of its rivers. From these various sources there has resulted a somewhat sudden increase in our still scanty knowledge of this hitherto unknown land; and we therefore propose to give a general sketch of the island and of the peculiar forms of life that inhabit it, and to discuss briefly some of the interesting problems connected with its indigenous races.

It has hitherto been the custom of geographers to give the palm to Borneo, as the largest island in the world, but this is decidedly an error. A careful estimate, founded on the most recent maps, shows that New Guinea is considerably the larger, and must for the future be accorded the first place. In shape this island differs greatly from Borneo, being irregular and much extended in a N.N.W. and S.S.E. direction, so that its greatest length is little short of 1,500 miles, a distance as great as the whole width of Australia from Adelaide to Port Darwin, or of Europe from London to Constantinople. Its greatest width is 410 miles; and, omitting the great peninsulas which form its two extremities, the central mass is about 700 miles long, with an average width of 320 miles, a country about the size of the Austrian

Empire, and, with the exception of the course of one large river, an absolute blank upon our maps.

This almost total ignorance is the more remarkable, when we consider how long the country has been known, and how frequently its shores have been visited. It was discovered in 1511, even earlier than Australia, and from that time Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English vessels have continually passed along its coasts. Most of our early navigators—Forrest, Dampier, and Cook—visited New Guinea, and have given us some account of its inhabitants; while, more recently, many exploring and surveying ships—the *Coquille* and *Astrolabe*, under French; the *Rattlesnake*, *Fly*, and *Basilisk*, under English; the *Triton* and *Etna*, under Dutch commanders, have added to our store of information. Among private naturalists and explorers, the present writer was the first to reside some months in New Guinea in 1858; since which time Dr. Miklucho Maclay, a Russian; Dr. Beccari and Signor D'Albertis, Italians; Dr. A. B. Meyer, a German; Mr. Octavius C. Stone, and several English missionaries, have all made important explorations and added much to our knowledge of the natural productions of the island and of the tribes residing on or near its coasts.

From these various sources we have obtained a tolerable knowledge of the outside margin of the country, but never extending more than twenty miles inland, except in the case of the Fly river, which Signor D'Albertis ascended for nearly 500 miles, reaching a point somewhat beyond the centre of the island. The north-western and south-western peninsulas of New Guinea are the best known portions, and both seem to be mountainous throughout. In the north, Mount Arfak a little beyond Dorey Harbour, is from 8,000 to 10,000 feet high, while in the south-east the Owen Stanley range has several peaks which reach elevations of from 10,000 to 13,000 feet. The Charles Louis mountains, commencing near the south coast, east of Triton Bay, appear to run far in a south-easterly direction, and their summits are believed to be snow-clad, and are probably at least 18,000 feet high. If they continue eastward in the same general direction, they would pass about 100 miles to the north of D'Albertis' furthest point on the Fly river, and perhaps form a great curve till they merge in the Owen Stanley range in the south-east. This, however, is mere conjecture, for throughout the whole course of the Fly river the land was low, and only on one occasion were high mountains seen to the north-west. Combining this with the fact that for a length of nearly 700 miles the south coast of New Guinea is low and swampy with no high land anywhere visible, we are led to conclude that there is probably a continuous range of lofty mountains towards the north, while the south consists of wide alluvial tracts and of slightly elevated inland plains. This part of the island would thus somewhat resemble Sumatra turned round, but with higher mountains, which are probably not volcanic, and with a considerably greater width of land.

Although the Fly river penetrates so far into the interior, its size and depth in its upper portion are by no means what we should expect in a stream fed by a lofty mountain range close to the equator. It is therefore almost certain that larger rivers exist further west; while another large river certainly flows northward, having its mouth in a delta at the eastern extremity of Geelvink Bay. Until these rivers are explored, and at least the lower slopes of the hills ascended, we cannot be said to have much real knowledge of the interior of New Guinea.

Situated close to the equator, and extending only eleven degrees south of it, the climate of New Guinea is hot and uniform, and the rains abundant; leading here, as elsewhere in similar situations, to the growth of a luxuriant forest vegetation, which clothes hill and valley with an ever-verdant mantle. Only on the coasts nearest to Australia, and probably influenced by the dry winds from that continent, are there any open or thinly wooded spaces, and here alone do we find some approach to the Australian type of vegetation in the occurrence of numerous eucalypti and acacias. Everywhere else, however, even in the extreme south-east peninsula and adjacent islands, the vegetation is essentially Malayan; but Dr. Beccari, who collected plants extensively in the north-western peninsula and its islands, was disappointed, both as regards its variety and novelty. On the Arfak mountains, however, he found a very interesting sub-alpine or temperate flora, consisting of araucarias, rhododendrons, vacciniums, umbelliferae, and the Antarctic genus *Drimys*. The forests of New Guinea are everywhere grand and luxuriant, rivalling those of Borneo and of Brazil in the beauty of their forms of vegetable life; and we cannot consider the collections yet made as affording more than very imperfect samples of the treasures they contain.

The animal life of this great island is better known, and is perhaps more interesting. Its terrestrial mammalia are, however, singularly few, and with the exception of a peculiar kind of wild pig, all belong to the marsupial tribe or the still lower monotremes of Australia. The tigers, apes, and buffaloes, described in the fictitious travels of Captain Lawson, are here as much out of their real place as they would be in the Highlands of Scotland; while the tracks of large animals, supposed to be rhinoceros or wild cattle, actually discovered by recent travellers, are now ascertained to be those of the cassowary, which, so far as we yet know, is the largest land-animal of New Guinea. Large birds were also seen and heard, whose spread of wing was estimated at sixteen or twenty feet, and which beat the air with a sound compared to the puff of a locomotive; but these are found to be only a well-known hornbill of very moderate dimensions. In place of these myths, however, we have some very interesting realities, the most remarkable, perhaps, being the tree-climbing kangaroos of rather large size, which, although but slightly different in external form from

the jumping ground-kangaroos of Australia, hop about among the larger branches of trees, on the leaves of which they feed. They have a bushy tail, with somewhat shorter hind legs and more curved claws than their allies; and they afford a curious example of the adaptation of an animal to new conditions of life very different from those for which its general form and structure seem to fit it. Such a modification may, perhaps, be traced to a somewhat recent separation of Australia and New Guinea, when the kangaroos which remained in the latter country, not finding a sufficiency of herbage for their support in the dense forests, began to feed upon leaves, and ultimately became adapted, with as little change as possible, to a truly arboreal life. The entire absence of beasts of prey would favour this adaptation, as the coincident acquisition of swiftness of motion or powers of concealment are thus rendered unnecessary; and the tree-kangaroo accordingly remains a slow-moving creature, just able to get its own living, but in all probability quite unable to cope either with enemies or competitors.

The birds, like the mammalia, are mostly of Australian types, but nevertheless present many peculiarities. Most celebrated of all are the Birds of Paradise, forming a distinct family, containing more than twenty-five different species, all confined to this island and the immediately surrounding lands. These singular birds are really allied to our crows and magpies, but are remarkable for their special and varied developments of plumage. In most cases tufts of feathers spring from the sides of the body or breast, forming fans, or shields, or trains of extreme beauty. Others have glossy mantles or arched plumes over the back, strange crests on the head, or long and wire-like tail feathers. These varied appendages exhibit corresponding varieties of colour. The long trains of waving plumes are golden yellow or rich crimson, the breast-shields, mantles, and crests, are often of the most intense metallic blue or green, while the general body plumage is either a rich chocolate brown or deep velvety black. All these birds are exceedingly active and vivacious, the males meeting together in rivalry to display their gorgeous plumage, while in every case the female birds are unornamented and are usually plain or positively dingy in their colouring. From an unknown antiquity the natives of New Guinea have been accustomed to preserve the skins of these beautiful birds, and barter them with the Malay traders, by whom they are universally known as "burong mati," or dead birds, because they had never seen them alive. As the natives used always to cut off the feet in order to preserve them more easily, the Malay and Chinese traders concluded that they had none; and all sorts of stories were told about their living continually on the wing, and being in fact birds of heaven, whence originated the names of "birds of paradise" and "birds of the sun" given them by the early Portuguese and Dutch writers. Down to 1760 the skins of these birds never reached Europe

with feet attached to them, and the great Linnæus recorded the fact by naming the largest kind *Paradisea apoda*, or footless bird of paradise, a name by which it is still known among men of science. The natives also generally cut off the wings, so as to give greater prominence to the ornamental feathers; and this gives the birds an altogether different appearance from what they really possess in a living state, or when properly preserved.

By far the greater number of these birds, and those of the richest colours and most remarkable plumage, live on the mainland of New Guinea, and they are especially abundant in the mountains of the north-western peninsula, where the Italian and German naturalists already referred to obtained fine specimens of all the known kinds. In the south-east one new species has been discovered, but only two or three sorts are found there; and as they are also in little variety in the lowland districts of the north-west, it becomes pretty certain that they are more especially mountain birds. We may therefore confidently expect that, when the great ranges of the interior are visited and explored by naturalists, other and perhaps still more wonderful species will be discovered. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of one very peculiar species discovered by myself in the Moluccas, all the birds of paradise are found within the hundred fathom line around New Guinea, and therefore on lands which have probably been connected with it at a comparatively recent period.

Why such wonderful birds should have been developed here and nowhere else is a mystery we shall perhaps never completely solve; but it is probably connected with the absence of the higher types of mammalia, and with the protection afforded by luxuriant equatorial forests. The only other country in which similar strange developments of plumage and equally superb colours are found is Equatorial America, where somewhat similar conditions prevail, and where mammalia of a low grade of organization have long predominated. Whatever may be the causes at work, their action has not been restricted to the paradise-birds. Nowhere else in the world are *pigeons* and *parrots* so numerous and so beautiful as in New Guinea. The great crowned pigeons, the largest of the whole family and rivalling the largest game birds, were first described by Dampier as "a stately land-fowl about the size of the dunghill cock, sky-coloured, but with a white blotch and reddish spots about the wings, and a long bunch of feathers on the crown." Many of the fruit-doves are strikingly beautiful, being adorned with vivid patches of crimson, blue, or yellow, on a pure green ground. Parrots are wonderfully varied, including the great black and the white cockatoos; the lorries varied with crimson and purple, green, yellow, and black; while there are strange little crested green parrots no larger than our blue tit—the smallest of the parrot-tribe, as the great black cockatoos are the largest. Kingfishers, too, are remarkably abundant, and include

several of the fine raquet-tailed species, with plumage of silvery blue, and with white or crimson breasts. Many other groups of birds are also adorned with exceptionally gay colours; and a careful comparison with the birds of other countries shows, that nowhere in the world is there so large a proportion of the whole number of species adorned with brilliant hues. Among insects the same thing occurs, though not in quite so marked a degree; yet the superior beauty of many groups of beetles over the corresponding groups in Borneo is very distinct; and the same is to some extent the case with the butterflies and moths.

Independently of the beauty and singularity, the great number of species of birds inhabiting New Guinea is very remarkable. Considering that there are no resident collectors in the island, and that our knowledge is wholly derived from travellers who have spent a few weeks or months on the extreme northern or southern coasts only, leaving the great mass of the interior wholly unexplored, the number of land-birds already known (about four hundred species) is surprising. It is very much greater than the numbers inhabiting the whole of the West Indian Islands, or Madagascar, or the large, rich, and comparatively well-explored island of Borneo. Even Australia, so much more extensive and so varied in climate and vegetation, has only four hundred and eighty-five land-birds; and when we consider that the central mass of New Guinea, with its lofty mountain ranges and fine upland valleys, yet remains absolutely unexplored, it is not improbable that the birds of this wonderful island may be eventually found to be as numerous as those of its parent continent. We may therefore safely assert that in no part of the world has the naturalist such a certainty of making new and important discoveries as in the still unexplored regions of central New Guinea.

The peculiar race of mankind inhabiting this great island attracted the attention of the earliest voyagers, and the country was called New Guinea from the resemblance of its inhabitants to the Negroes of Africa, removed from them by nearly one-third the circumference of the globe. The early writers, however, term the people Papuas or Papuans, a Malay term given to them on account of their woolly hair, so different from the perfectly straight hair of almost all the other Eastern races. The Malay word "papuwah" or "puah-puah," means frizzled like wool; and the Malays still call these people "orang papuwah"—woolly-haired men, and the island itself "tana papuwah"—the land of the woolly-haired.

It is a very remarkable fact that woolly-haired people should be found in two such widely-separated areas, and, with very few exceptions, nowhere else in the world. In Africa they occupy the larger portion of the continent, extending over all the tropical and southern regions; while in the East they are found only in a group of islands of which New Guinea is the centre, extending westward as far as Flores.

and eastward to the Fijis. There are also a few outlying groups of woolly-haired people, which are of great importance as indicating that this type once had a wider extension than now. In the Pacific we have the now extinct Tasmanians; and far to the east, in the midst of the brown Polynesians, we find the inhabitants of Penrhyn's Island and Mangaia, in about 158° west longitude, to be of the Melanesian or dark race. In the Philippines there is an aboriginal race of woolly-haired dwarfs—the Aëtas or Negritos; and a similar descriptive term may be applied to the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula, and to the natives of the Andaman Islands in the Bay of Bengal. These various Eastern tribes differ among themselves quite as much as do those of Africa. Both agree, however, in being usually very dark-skinned, and examples may be found in which Negroes and Papuans are in all respects very much alike. But this is exceptional, and there is almost always a characteristic difference which would cause most of the Eastern Negroes to appear out of place on the continent of Africa. The woolly hair, however, combined with the dark skin and almost always with a dolichocephalic or long skull, so markedly distinguishes all these people from the rest of the inhabitants of the globe, that it is impossible not to look upon them as being really related to each other, and as representing an early variation, if not the primitive type of mankind, which once spread widely over all the tropical portions of the eastern hemisphere. Successive incursions of the lighter-coloured, smooth-haired races seem to have exterminated them in many of the areas they once inhabited, while in some widely-scattered spots a few scanty remnants continue to exist. Two important groups, however, remain predominant in regions very far apart, but each well suited to their vigorous development. The Negro of Africa has been made the servant of the more civilized races from the earliest periods of history, and is better known to us than any other uncivilized people; while the Papuan or Melanesian, inhabiting a group of tropical islands on the other side of the globe, still remains a mere shadowy name to the great majority of English readers. We proceed now to point out the chief physical and mental characteristics, habits, and customs, of this interesting race as it exists in New Guinea, with occasional references to such modifications of it as occur in the other islands.

We now possess trustworthy descriptions of the Papuans as they exist at numerous localities scattered all round the extensive island they inhabit; and the substantial agreement of these descriptions renders it pretty certain that all belong to one race, exhibiting, it is true, considerable variations, and occasionally presenting undoubted signs of intermixture with other races, but always showing a decided predominance of true Papuan characteristics. In stature they present a medium between the short Malays and tall Polynesians, the average height varying at different parts of the coast from five feet two to five feet eight inches. Some tribes in the interior are believed

to be as dwarfish as the Negritos of the Philippines, while others are nearly equal to the tall Fijians, who are often considerably over six feet high. They are strong and muscular, but rather less finely formed than many of the Malayan and Polynesian tribes. Their colour is usually a chocolate-brown, sometimes almost black, at others almost as light as some of the Malays. It is, however, by their features that they are best distinguished from all other races of men, and especially by the form and size of the nose. This is always large and long, usually arched as in the Jewish type, and, when well developed, with the extremity so lengthened as to hide the nostrils and overhang the upper lip. This peculiar characteristic is found more or less developed everywhere round the coast of New Guinea, so that almost every traveller speaks of the "Jewish features"—the "aquiline" or "arched" or "very prominent" noses—or makes use of other similar expressions, clearly showing that this is the typical Papuan feature, a fact which is further demonstrated by the unmistakable, though exaggerated, manner in which it is represented in all their images and carvings. The nose is also very thick and coarse, as is the case in almost all savage races, the alæ are very oblique, and the base is much depressed between the eyes, a character which reaches its maximum in the natives of New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, though the nose itself is with them somewhat shorter. The forehead is rather flat and retreating, the mouth large, and the lips full but not excessively thick; nor is there any marked prognathism. The combination of these peculiarities in various degrees, produces faces which are sometimes ugly and savage-looking, while others have so much the character of the Jew or Arab as to be really handsome. Comparing Papuans with typical negroes of Equatorial Africa we find a radical difference in the small flat nose and very prominent jaws of the latter. In the South African races this difference is less pronounced. The Bechuanas and Natal Kaffirs have less prognathism and a straighter, better-formed nose, but this organ is always shorter and less arched than in the Papuan. The Hottentots have often well-formed features and sometimes have a considerable resemblance to the less typical Melanesians. The greatest resemblance, however, is to be found between the Negritos of the Philippines—who have short flat noses and somewhat projecting jaws—and some of the dwarfish tribes of Central Africa.

The Papuan contrasts strongly with Malays and Polynesians in being hairy-bodied and tolerably well bearded, but still more so by the wonderfully luxuriant growth of the hair of the head, which forms a dense mop often projecting six or eight inches from the skull. It is crisp, glossy, and very elastic, and each separate hair naturally curls itself up into a spiral of small diameter. The degree of twist and consequent woolliness of the hair seems to be dependent on its being oval or flattened instead of cylindrical. In the straight-haired races and in most Europeans the hair has a circular section, which becomes

slightly oval where it is naturally curly; but in the Negro and Papuan it is much flattened, and has besides irregular wavy margins, which seem to produce the strong spiral twist. Those who possess a large mop of hair are very proud of it, keeping it continually combed out with a kind of bamboo fork, and using a narrow wooden pillow on which to rest the nape of the neck, so as to preserve the hair from being squeezed out of shape. It was long thought that the hair of these people possessed a peculiar character in growing in separate small tufts scattered uniformly over the scalp; but more accurate examination shows that it grows evenly over the surface of the head, and that the tufted appearance probably arises from the tendency of the spirally twisted hairs to mat together in small curly locks. The hair on the body and limbs, though very short, has the same appearance and a similar structure.

The dress of these people is very scanty, the men wearing the usual T bandage of bark-cloth, but in some cases only a shell, or even going absolutely naked; while the women always wear some kind of girdle from which is suspended a small apron of bark or a fringe of leaves. As with most savages, ornament is more attended to than dress, and is more used by the men than by the women. They often pierce the sides of the nose, sticking in them pieces of bone, feathers, or tusks of the wild pig. The ears are also pierced, and either shell earrings are worn, or sticks ornamented with feathers are stuck through the lobes. Necklaces of teeth or shells are common, and heavy rings of white shell or plaited bands of grass, or palm-leaf are worn on the arms. The hair of the men is always carefully attended to. It is combed with a kind of bamboo fork with four or five prongs, and this is usually kept stuck in it both for convenience and ornament. Some tribes cut and trim, or plait the mop of hair into various helmet-like or other fantastic shapes, and all adorn it with combs, sticks, or feather ornaments. Suspended from the neck they often wear a small carved wooden figure with the Papuan features greatly exaggerated. As they freely part with these, they are probably mere ornaments or charms rather than idols or fetishes. Regular tattooing is unknown, except on the south-eastern peninsula where there is an infusion of Polynesian blood, but most of the men have raised marks produced artificially. These generally consist of a few short parallel lines on the arms or breast, and are said to be formed by gashes made with a sharp stone or bamboo, and the subsequent application of fire to make the skin swell up and leave a prominent scar. Painting the body is not generally practised, but some kind of stain producing a blue-black tinge has often been observed.

The houses of the New Guinea people are somewhat different in different localities, but the most general type is that found at Dorey Harbour. There is here a considerable village of large houses built on piles in the water in the usual Malay style, and houses similarly

raised on posts (but loftier) are found on the hills some miles inland. Each of these houses is large and accommodates several families, and they are connected by continuous platforms of poles and bamboos, often so uneven and shaky that a European can with difficulty walk on them. A considerable space separates this platform from the shore, with which however it is connected by narrow bridges formed of one or two bamboos, supported on posts, and capable of being easily removed. A larger building has the posts carved into the rude forms of men and women, and is supposed to be a temple or council-house. This village is probably very like the pile villages of the stone age, whose remains have been found in the lakes of Switzerland and other countries. Similar houses are found in the Aru and Ké Islands, in Waigiou, and on the south-west coast; and they are also common on the south-east coast, sometimes standing in the water, sometimes on the beach above high-water mark. These houses are often a hundred feet long, and sometimes much more, and are occupied by ten or twenty families. On the Fly river similar large houses occur, but only raised a foot or two above the ground; while at the mouth of the Utanata river, on the south-west coast, a large low house was found a hundred feet long, and only six feet wide, with nineteen low doors; but this was evidently only a temporary sea-side habitation of a tribe who had their permanent dwellings inland.

Finding these large houses, raised on posts or piles and common to many families, to prevail from one end of New Guinea to the other, both on the coast and inland, we are led to conclude that those described by Dr. Miklucho Maclay at Astrolabe Bay, on the north-east coast, are exceptional, and indicate the presence of some foreign element. The houses of the people among whom he lived were not raised on posts, and had very low walls, so that the somewhat arched roofs appeared to rise at once from the ground. They were of small dimensions, and seem to correspond pretty closely to those of the Admiralty Islands, New Britain, and New Ireland; so that this part of the coast of New Guinea has probably been colonized from some of the adjacent islands, a view supported by the fact that these people do not use bows and arrows, so general among all the true Papuans, and by other peculiarities. It is somewhat unfortunate that the only scientific man who has resided alone among these people for more than a year, for the express purpose of studying them exhaustively, should have hit upon a place where the natives are probably not true indigenes but an intruding colony, although perhaps long settled in the country. Dr. Miklucho Maclay will no doubt be quoted as the greatest living authority on the Papuans of New Guinea; and it is therefore very important to call attention to the fact that the people he so carefully studied are not typical of the race, and may not even be Papuans at all in the restricted sense in which it is usually applied to the main body of the aborigines of New Guinea.

The Papuans, as well as all the tribes of dark, frizzly-haired Melaneseans, make pottery for cooking, thus differing from all the brown Polynesian tribes of the Pacific, none of whom are acquainted with this art. Of course the actual seat of manufacture will be dependent on the presence of suitable materials; but those who do not make it themselves obtain it by barter, so that earthenware cooking vessels appear to be in general use all over the island. Cups and spoons are made out of shells or cocoa-nuts, while wooden bowls of various sizes, wooden mortars for husking maize or rice, wooden stools used as pillows, and many other articles, are cut out and ornamented with great skill. A variety of boxes are made of the split leaf-stalks of the sago palm, pegged together and covered with pandanus leaves, often neatly plaited and stained of different colours, so as to form elegant patterns. A variety of mats, bags, and cordage are made with the usual skill of savage people; and their canoes are often of large size and beautifully constructed, with high-peaked ends ornamented with carvings, and adorned with plumes of feathers.

The weapons chiefly used are spears of various kinds, wooden swords and clubs, and bows and arrows; the latter being almost universal among the true Papuans and most of the allied frizzly-haired races, while the Polynesians seem never to possess it as an indigenous weapon. It is very singular that neither the Australians, the Polynesians, nor the Malays should be acquainted with this weapon, while in all the great continents it is of unknown antiquity, and is still largely used in America, Asia, and Africa. Peschel, indeed, attempts to show that the Polynesians have only ceased to use it on account of the absence of game in their islands; but mammalia are almost equally scarce in the New Hebrides, where it is in constant use even in the smallest islands; while in Australia, where they abound, and where it would be a most useful weapon, it is totally unknown. We must therefore hold that the use of the bow and arrow by the Papuans is an important ethnological feature, distinguishing them from all the peoples by whom they are immediately surrounded and connecting them, as do their physical peculiarities, with an ancient widespread negroid type.

In their knowledge and practice of agriculture the Papuans show themselves to be far superior to the Australians, and fully the equals of the Polynesian races. They grow cocoa-nuts and bread-fruit, and cultivate various kinds of yam, sweet-potato, bananas, and sugar-cane. Though possessing, for the most part, only stone axes, they clear the forest to make their plantations, which they carefully fence round to keep out the wild pigs. Looking at these clearings, at their houses, their canoes, their implements, weapons, and ornaments often elaborately carved, we must, as Dr. Maclay remarks, be struck with astonishment at the great patience and skill displayed by these savages. Their chief implement, the axe, consists of a hard grey, green, or white stone,

made smooth and sharp by long grinding and polishing. A piece of the stem of a tree which has a branch passing off at an angle, something like the figure 7, is hewn off, and upon the branch, which has been cut off short and shaven at the top, the stone is laid horizontally, and bound fast with split rattans or tough bark. Such an instrument requires to be used with great skill, only to be attained by practice, or the stone will be broken without producing any result. These savages can, however, with a stone axe having a cutting edge only two inches broad, fell a tree-trunk of twenty inches diameter, or carve really fine figures on a post or spear. Each adult man possesses one such axe, but in every village there are usually one or two larger two-handed axes, which are about three inches broad. These are considered exceedingly valuable, and are only used for cutting large trees for canoes or other important work. Fragments of flint and shells are used for finishing carved work and cutting the ornamental patterns on bamboo boxes, as well as for making combs, spoons, arrows, and other small articles. For cutting meat and vegetables a kind of chisel of bone and knives of bamboo are made use of. On the north-west and south-west coasts, where the people have long been in communication with Malay traders, they have iron tools and weapons, and cultivate also maize and a little rice and millet, and have the papaya as an additional fruit and vegetable; and they also grow tobacco, of which they make huge cigars. At Dorey they have learnt to work iron, and make swords and choppers as well as iron points to their arrows and spears.

The daily food of these people consists of some of the vegetables already named, of which they have a pretty constant supply, together with fruits, fish, and occasionally the flesh of the wild pig, the cuscus, or of birds caught in snares or shot with arrows. They also eat shell-fish, lizards, and almost every kind of large insect, especially beetles and their larvæ, which are eaten either raw or cooked. Having no salt, they mix sea-water with that in which they cook their food, and this is so highly esteemed that the people of the hills carry away bamboos full of salt water whenever they visit the coast.

The plantations are usually made at some distance inland for safety, and after the ground is cleared and fenced by the men, the cultivation is left almost wholly to the women, who go every day to weed and bring home some of the produce for the evening's meal. They have throughout the year a succession of fruits and vegetables either wild or cultivated, and are thus never half-starved like the Australians. On the whole the women are well treated and have much liberty, though they are considered as inferiors, and do not take their meals with the men. The children are well attended to, and the fathers seem very fond of their boys and often take them when very young on their fishing or hunting excursions.

As in the case of most other savages, we have very different and

conflicting accounts of the character of the Papuans. Mr. Windsor Earl well remarks, that, whenever civilized man is brought into *friendly* communication with savages, the disgust which naturally arises from the first glance at a state of society so obnoxious to his sense of propriety, disappears before a closer acquaintance, and he learns to regard their little delinquencies as he would those of children; while their kindliness of disposition and natural good qualities begin to be recognized. Thus many writers make highly favourable statements respecting the Papuan character and disposition; while those whose communications with them have been of a *hostile* nature are so impressed with their savage cunning and ferocity, and the wild-beast-like nature of their attacks, that they will not recognize in them any feelings in common with more civilized races.

Many of the early voyagers record nothing but hostility or treacherous murders on the part of the Papuans. Their visits were, however, chiefly on the north-west and south-west coasts, which the Malays have long been accustomed to visit not only for commerce but to capture slaves. This having become a regular trade, some of the more warlike coast tribes, especially those of Onin in McCluer's inlet, have been accustomed to attack the villages of other tribes, and to capture their inhabitants, in order to sell the women and children to the Malays. It is not therefore surprising, that unknown armed visitors to these coasts should be treated as enemies to be resisted and if possible exterminated. Even Europeans have sometimes increased this feeling of enmity through ignorance of native habits and customs. Cocoa-nut trees have been cut down to obtain the fruit, apparently under the impression that they grew wild and were so abundant as to be of little value; whereas every tree is considered as private property, as they supply an important article of food, and are even more valued than the choicest fruit-trees among ourselves. Thus Schouten, in 1616, sent a boat well-armed to bring cocoa-nuts from a grove of trees near the shore, but the natives attacked the Europeans, wounded sixteen of them, and forced them to retire. Commodore Roggewen, in 1722, cut down cocoa-nut trees on the island of Moa on the north coast, which, of course, brought on an attack. At other times houses have been entered in the absence of their owners, a great offence in the eyes of all savage people and at once stamping the intruder as an enemy.

On the other hand Lieutenant Bruijn Kops, who visited the north-west coast of New Guinea in 1850, gives the following account of the inhabitants of Dorey:—

"Their manners and customs are much less barbarous than might be expected. On the contrary they give evidence of a mild disposition, of an inclination to right and justice, and strong moral principles. Theft is considered by them as a grave offence, and is of very rare occurrence. They have no fastenings to their houses, yet seldom or never is anything stolen. Although they were on board our ship or alongside during whole days, we never missed

anything. Yet they are distrustful of strangers until they become acquainted with them, as we experienced. This is probably less, however, a trait of their character than the result of intercourse with strangers who perhaps had frequently tried to cheat them. The men, it is true, came on board from the time of our arrival, but they were very cautious in letting any of the things they brought for sale out of their hands. The women were at first very fearful, and fled on all sides when they saw us, leaving behind what they might be carrying; but at length when they found they had no injury to dread from us they became more familiar. Finally, they approached without being invited, but remained timid. The children very soon became accustomed to us, and followed us everywhere.

"Respect for the aged, love for their children, and fidelity to their wives, are traits which reflect honour on their disposition. Chastity is held in high regard, and is a virtue that is seldom transgressed by them. A man can only have one wife, and is bound to her for life. Concubinage is not permitted. Adultery is unknown among them. They are generally very fond of strong drink, but although they go to excess in this, I could not learn that they prepared any fermented liquor, not even *sago-weer* or *tuak* (palm wine). Kidnapping is general in these countries, and is followed as a branch of trade, so that there is no dishonour attached to it. The captives are treated well, are changed if there are any of theirs in the enemy's hands, or released on payment of a ransom, as was the case in Europe in the middle ages."

My own experience of the Papuans at Dorey, in 1858, agrees with this account; and as I lived there for four months with only four Malay servants, going daily unarmed into the forest to collect insects, I was completely in their power had they wished to attack me. A remarkable proof of their honesty occurred to me at the island of Waigiou, where a man who had received payment in advance for red birds of paradise, brought back the money, represented by an axe, when after trying for several weeks he had failed to catch any. Another, who had received payment for six birds, brought me in the fifth two days before I was to leave the island, and immediately started off for the forest to seek another. Of course I never expected to see him again, but, when my boat was loaded, and we were just on the point of starting, he came running down to the beach holding up a bird, which he handed to me, saying with evident satisfaction,—“Now I owe you nothing.” My assistant, Mr. Allen, venturing alone among the mountaineers of the north-west peninsula, found them peaceable and good-natured. Drs. Meyer and Beccari and Signor D'Albertis, penetrating inland beyond Dorey, were never attacked or seriously opposed; and Dr. Miklucho Maclay suddenly appearing at Astrolabe Bay, among people who seem never to have had any communication with Europeans, soon established friendly relations with them, although subject to great trials of temper and courage at the outset.

His experience with them is very instructive. They appeared at first distrustful and suspicious of his intentions, as well they might be. Sometimes they left him quite alone for days together, or kept him prisoner in the little hut he had built for himself, or tried to frighten him by shooting arrows close to his head and neck, and pressing their spears against his teeth till they made him open his mouth. Finding,

however, that he bore all these annoyances good-humouredly, and, as a medical man, took every opportunity of doing them services, they concluded he was a good spirit, a man from the moon, and thenceforth paid him great respect, and allowed him to go about pretty much as he pleased. This reminds us of the experience of the *Challenger* at Humboldt Bay, where it was decided not to stay, because some of the natives similarly drew their bows at the officers when away in boats. This was no doubt nervous work for the person threatened, but it was only a threat. Savages do not commence a real attack in that theatrical way, and if they had been met with coolness and their threats been laughed at or treated with contempt, such demonstrations would soon have ceased. Of course it requires very exceptional courage and temper, not possessed by one man in a thousand, to do this; but the fact should be remembered that in many parts of the world such attempts to frighten Europeans have been adopted, but have never resulted in anything serious. Had the Papuans really wanted to rob and murder, they would have enticed the *Challenger* people on shore, where they would have had them completely at their mercy, whereas those who did go on shore were very civilly treated.

One of the most curious features noticed by Dr. Miklucho Maclay was the apparent absence of trade or barter among the people of Astrolabe Bay. They exchange presents, however, when different tribes visit each other, somewhat as among the New Zealanders, each party giving the other what they have to spare; but no one article seems ever to be exchanged for another of supposed equivalent value. On the whole, the Russian doctor seems to have found these people industrious, good-natured, and tolerably cleanly, living orderly lives, and conforming themselves strictly to the laws and customs which to them determine what is right.

Captain Moresby, Signor D'Albertis, Mr. O. C. Stone, and the missionaries who have recently explored the south-eastern extremity of New Guinea, have been greatly struck by the apparently quite distinct races they have found there. As far eastward as the head of the Gulf of Papua (on the east side of Torres Straits) the typical Papuans prevail, the natives of the Katow river being described as nearly black, with Jewish noses, and woolly hair, using bows and arrows, and living in houses a hundred feet long elevated on posts,—in all respects exactly agreeing with the prevalent type in the western portion of the island. But further east, about Redscar Bay and Port Moresby, and thence to East Cape, the people are lighter in colour, less warlike, and more intelligent, with more regular European features, neither making bows nor (except rarely) pottery, and practising true tattooing by punctures,—all distinctly Polynesian characteristics. When to this we add that their language contains a large Polynesian

element, it is not surprising that these people have been described as a totally distinct race, and have been termed Malays or Malayo-Polynesians. We fortunately possess several independent accounts of these tribes, and are thus able to form a tolerably good idea of their true characters.

Captain Moresby, speaking of the inhabitants of that large portion of the eastern peninsula of New Guinea discovered and surveyed by him, says:—

"This race is distinctly Malayan; but differs from the pure Malay, being *smaller in stature*, coarser in feature, *thicker-lipped*, with *less hair on the face*, being in fact almost beardless. The hair on the head is also *more frizzled*, though this may result from a different dressing. These men have high cheek-bones like the pure Malay; their noses are inclined to be aquiline and sometimes very well formed. Amongst them are met many men with light hair, and what struck us as a peculiarly *Jewish cast of features*. They rise to a height of from 5 feet 4 inches to 5 feet 8 inches, are sinewy though not muscular, *slight, graceful, and cat-like* in the pliability of their bodies."*

This description clearly shows that by "Malay" Captain Moresby means "Polynesian," the characters mentioned being in almost every respect directly the opposite of those of the true Malays, as indicated by the words and phrases here placed in italics. And even as compared with the typical brown Polynesians, the frizzled hair, aquiline noses, and Jewish cast of features, are all Papuan characteristics.

Mr. Octavius C. Stone describes the Motu tribe who inhabit the coast districts about Redscar Bay and Port Moresby as somewhat shorter than the Papuans to the westward, and of a colour varying from light brown to chocolate. The hair varies from nearly straight to woolly, often being frizzled out like that of the typical Papuan. The hair on the face is artificially eradicated, and they are thus made to appear beardless. The nose is aquiline and thick, and in a small percentage of the men the Jewish type of features appears. The adjacent tribes differ somewhat. The Koiari, Ilema, and Maiva are generally darker in colour; while the Kirapuno are lighter. These last live near Hood Point, and are the handsomest people in New Guinea. Their hair is of a rich auburn, often golden in the children, growing in curls or ringlets. It is this tribe that keep their villages in such excellent order, with well-kept gardens in which they even cultivate flowers. Mr. Lawes says: "We were all amazed at the cleanliness, order, and industry, which everywhere declared themselves in this model New Guinea village. The men are physically very fine and the women good-looking. One of the belles of the place had no less than fifty-four tortoise-shell earrings in her two ears, and her nose pierced too."†

Speaking of all these tribes as forming essentially one race, Mr. Stone says, that they are a merry laughter-loving people, fond of

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. xlv. p. 163.

† Journal kept by Mr. Lawes, *Times*, November 27, 1876.

talking, and loving a joke, hot of temper, and quick to resent a supposed injury,—all of which are Polynesian or Papuan as opposed to Malayan characteristics. They are clean in their habits, and particularly so in their eating. When allowed liberties they do not fail to take advantage; and, at Port Moresby in particular, they are accomplished thieves, inveterate liars, confirmed beggars, and ungenerous to a degree, so that, even if starving, they would give you nothing without an equivalent. This condemnation, however, does not apply to the interior tribes who have not yet been demoralized by European visitors. Both sexes are vain of their outward appearance, oiling their bodies, and adorning themselves with shells, feather and bone ornaments; and on all festive occasions each tries to outvie the other in his or her toilet. Their dress is like that of the Papuans, a T bandage for the men, a fringe of leaves for the women, but the latter are more carefully made than among the more savage tribes. They practise true tattooing, the women especially being often highly ornamented with complex patterns on the body and limbs, and occasionally on the face also, but wanting the elegant curves and graceful designs which characterize Polynesian tattooing.* Their weapons are spears, shields, stone clubs, and hatchets, one tribe only—the Ilemas—making bows and arrows. In like manner the Motu tribe only make pottery, which the other tribes obtain from them by barter. They use drilling machines with a spindle wheel and cord, like the Polynesians. The houses, whether on the shore or inland, are raised on piles, but are small as compared with those of the Papuans, each accommodating one or two families only.

Intellectually these people are considerably advanced. They can reckon up to a million. They use the outstretched arms as a unit to measure by. They divide the year into thirteen months, duly named, and reckoned from the new moons. The four winds and many of the stars have names, as well as every tree, shrub, flower, and even each well-marked grass and fern. They prefer fair to dark people, and are thus disposed to like and admire the white races. The children are very merry, and have many toys and games. The Rev. W. Turner tells us that they make small windmills of cocoa-nut leaves, and are well versed in the mysteries of cat's cradle; while spinning a button or round piece of shell on a cord, and keeping a bladder in the air by patting it with the hands, are favourite games. They also amuse themselves with miniature spears and bow and arrows, catching fish, which they cook for themselves on the shore. They are left to do what they like, and know nothing of the tasks of school, the troubles of keeping their clothes clean, or the miseries of being washed—troubles that vex the lives of almost all civilized children. According to Mr. Turner, the villages of the Motu are by no means clean, all

* See figures illustrating the Rev. W. Turner's article on "The Ethnology of the Motu," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1878, p. 480.

manner of filth being left about unheeded; and as this agrees with most other descriptions, we must conclude that the model village already referred to is quite exceptional in its cleanliness and order.

Mr. Turner thinks the Motu are colonists from some other land, while he considers the Koiari of the interior to be "evidently the aborigines of this part of New Guinea." Mr. Stone, on the other hand, classes them together as slightly differing tribes of the same race, the one being a little more advanced than the other; and he considers the whole eastern peninsula of New Guinea to be peopled by a race of Polynesian blood, who, in some far distant time, found their way to the coast, intermingled with the native Papuan tribes, and gradually drove them westward. There has thus resulted a number of separate tribes, showing various degrees of intermixture, the Polynesian blood predominating on the coast, the Papuan in the interior; one small tribe alone, the Kirapuno, being more distinctly Polynesian. How complete is the intermixture, and how difficult it is to determine the limits of the two races, is shown by the opinion of Mr. S. M'Farlane, who says, that though he at first thought the people of Katow River and those of Redscar Bay to be quite distinct, the former Papuan and the latter Malayan (or more properly Polynesian), yet, after five years' acquaintance with them, he believes them to be of the same race; while he considers the tribes of the interior to be distinct, and to be true Papuans. The coast people he thinks to be the result of an intermixture of Malays, Polynesians, Arabs, Chinese, and Papuans.

Dr. Comrie (of the surveying ship *Basilisk*) believes that all the tribes on the north-east coast, from East Cape to Astrolabe Bay, are Papuans; but his description of them shows that they have a slight infusion of Polynesian blood, and many Polynesian customs. One thing is very clear, that neither in physical nor mental characteristics do these people show any resemblance whatever to Malays, who are a very different race from the Polynesian. The graceful figures, the woolly or curly hair, the arched noses, the use of tatooing, the ignorance of pottery-making, the gay and laughter-loving disposition, the talkativeness of the women, the lying, thievishness, and beggary, widely separate them from the Malay; while all these peculiarities support the view of their being a race formed by a mixture of Polynesian men with Papuan or Melanesian women, the former having perhaps arrived in successive waves of immigration, thus causing the coast tribes, and those nearest the eastern end of the island, to be more distinctly Polynesian in character than those inland and towards the west.

Returning now to the dark Papuan tribes of the remainder of New Guinea, we find that here also there is some difference of opinion. Owing to the coast tribes being usually at war with those of the

interior, these latter have been described by them as a different race, and have been called by the Dutch and other writers *Alfuros** or *Harafuras*, a term applied to any wild people living in the interior of a country, as opposed to the coast tribes. This has led many writers to class the natives of New Guinea into Papuans and Harafuras, terms which are still sometimes used, but which are quite erroneous as implying any physical difference or any distinction of race. Dr. Meyer, who has seen much of the people of the north-west coast, considers that there is no difference of the slightest importance between the coast and inland tribes, but such as occur in every race. Dr. Miklucho Maclay concludes that the Papuan stock consists of numerous varieties, with no sharp lines of demarcation. Dr. Beccari, however, differs somewhat from the preceding writers; and as he explored a great range of country, and made repeated visits to the western half of New Guinea, his opinion is entitled to great weight. He thinks there are three distinct types of Papuans. One is dwarfish, with short woolly hair, skin almost or quite black, nose much depressed, forehead extremely narrow and slanting, and with a brachycephalous cranium; these he terms Oriental Negroes or Primitive Papuans. They do not now exist as a race, but are scattered among the interior tribes, and their description accords very closely with that of the Negritos of the Philippines and the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula. The next are the Typical Papuans, who are most widely spread, and present most of the characteristic features we have already described. The last are the Mafu or Mafor Papuans who inhabit Dorey and the shores and islands of Geelvink Bay, and are probably scattered all round the western coasts. They form the highest type, with fine Jewish or European features, a better intellect, and a somewhat more advanced civilization. These people divide the year into lunar months, each with a proper name, and have names for the four cardinal points, for many stars, and for entire constellations. Dr. Beccari believes them to be the result of an intermixture (at a remote epoch) of Hindoo or Caucasian blood with the indigenes of the island, and he even traces a connection between their rude mythology and that of the Hindoos.

A curious point of physiological detail may here be noticed as lending some support to this theory. Almost all observers have remarked, that the fully developed Papuan mop of hair is not a general feature in any of the tribes, but occurs sporadically over a wide area, is highly valued by its possessors, and from its extreme conspicuousness is always noticed by travellers. No other race of people in the world possesses this character at all; but, strange to say, it appears very fully developed among the Cafusos of Brazil. These are a mixed race, the produce of Negro and Indian parents, and their enormous

* The term is derived from the Portuguese "*fora*," out or outside; *Alfores* being applied to tribes out of or beyond the settlement on the coast (Windsor Earl's *Papuans*, p. 62).

wigs of frizzly hair have been described by Spix and Martius, and are known to most South American travellers. Still more interesting is the appearance of a similar peculiarity among the Arab tribes of Taku in Eastern Africa, where mixtures of Negro and Arab blood are very common.* It is well known that hybrid and mongrel characters are liable to great variation, and are very uncertain in their appearance or degree of development. If, therefore, the higher type of Papuans are the result of a remote intermixture of Hindoos or Arabs with the indigenous Papuans, we can account both for the appearance of the great mop of frizzly hair and for its extremely unequal development; and it is not improbable that the Jewish and greatly elongated nose may have a similar origin.

If we now take account of all the evidence yet obtained, we seem justified in concluding that the great mass of the inhabitants of New Guinea form one well-marked race—the Papuan—varying within comparatively narrow limits, and everywhere presenting distinctive features which separate it from all other races of mankind. The only important deviation from the type occurs in the south-eastern peninsula, where a considerable Polynesian immigration has undoubtedly taken place, and greatly modified the character of the population. At other points immigrants from some of the surrounding islands may have formed small settlements, but it is a mistake to suppose that there are any Malay colonies on the south-west coast, though some of the natives may have adopted the Malay dress and some of the outward forms of Mahometanism.

If we look over the globe for the nearest allies of the Papuans, we find them undoubtedly in Equatorial and Southern Africa, where alone there is an extensive and varied race of dark-coloured, frizzly-haired people. The connecting links are found in the dwarfish, woolly-haired tribes of the Philippines, the Malay Peninsula, and the Andaman Islands; and, taking these altogether, we may well suppose them to represent one of the earliest, if not actually the most primitive type of man. It is customary to consider the Australians to be a lower race, and they undoubtedly are so intellectually, but this by no means proves that they are more primitive. The Australian's hair is fine and glossy like our own; and no one can look at a good series of photographs of natives without being struck with the wonderful resemblance many of them bear to countenances familiar to us at home, coarse and brutalized indeed, but still unmistakably similar.

We must also take note of the fact that the two great woolly-haired races are almost entirely confined within the tropics, and both attain their highest development near the equator. It is here that we should expect the primitive man to have appeared, and here we still find what may well be his direct descendants thriving best. We may,

* Waitz's Anthropology. English translation, vol. i. p. 175.

perhaps, even look on the diverse types of the other great races as in part due to changes of constitution adapting them to cooler climates and changed conditions;—first, the Australians and the hill tribes of Central India, who once perhaps spread far over the northern hemisphere, but have been displaced by the Mongoloid type, which flourishes at this day from the equator to the pole. These, again, have been ousted from some of the fairest regions of the temperate zone by the Indo-Europeans, who seem only to have attained their full development and highest vigour when exposed to the cold winds and variable climate of the temperate regions.

If this view is correct, and the Papuans really form one branch of the most primitive type of man which still exists on the globe, we shall continue to look upon them with ever-increasing interest, and shall welcome every fact relating to them as important additions to the history of our race. The further exploration of their beautiful and luxuriant island will, it is to be hoped, be vigorously pursued, not only to obtain the mineral, vegetable, and animal treasures that still lie hid in its great mountain ranges, but also to search for the remains of primæval man in caves or alluvial deposits, and thus throw light on the many interesting problems suggested by the physical peculiarities and insular position of the Papuan race.

ALFRED R. WALLACE.

PROFESSOR GEDDES ON THE HOMERIC PROBLEM.

The Problem of the Homeric Poems. By WILLIAM GEDDES, I.L.D., Professor of Greek in the University of Aberdeen. London: Macmillan & Co. 1878.

THE Homeric question seems to be as "eternal" as the Eastern question. Indeed from one point of view the two questions may be said to merge themselves in one. It is certain that Grecian history, in its œcumenical aspect, will never be thoroughly understood till we fully take in the fact that a work was begun by Croesus—perhaps by Gyges—which was ended by Mahomet the Conqueror, and which has begun to be undone in our own century. From Croesus to Abd-ul-Hamid, some part or other of the Greek nation has always been under foreign rule, and in the earlier and the later ages of that long period that foreign rule has been Asiatic rule. But, if we accept the teaching of Herodotus, not only Croesus, but Gyges himself, represents a comparatively late stage of this long controversy. The Eastern question, the strife between Europe and Asia, is, in the view of Herodotus, far older than recorded history. But its beginning was at least characteristic; it began, as some later stages of it have also begun, with the carrying off of an European woman, a Greek woman, by Asiatic plunderers. Thus began that long strife of Greek and barbarian, of European and Asiatic, that long drama of which Herodotus himself recorded some later acts, and of which we ourselves behold some acts later still. One of these many acts, according to him, was the carrying off of Helen by an Asiatic prince, followed by the vengeance of Europe in the form of the war of Troy. Nor is there any reason to doubt that this doctrine of Herodotus is at least geographically true. Whatever else the Iliad is or is not, its groundwork is surely a poetic form of some scene of that act of the warfare between Europe and Asia which made the western coast of Asia for ever Greek. The only doubt is whether those inhabitants of Asia against whom that warfare was waged can be called Asiatics in the

same sense as utter strangers like Saracens and Turks, or even as kinsmen like the Persians from whom all obvious signs of kindred had passed away. One may doubt whether the people whom the Greek colonists found in Asia can fairly be called barbarians, except in that very rigid sense in which Macedonians and Epeirots are called barbarians. But however this may be, in popular Greek belief the war of Troy took its place in the long series of struggles between Europe and Asia; it was one of those phases of the struggle which beheld European warriors triumphant on Asiatic soil. Agamemnôn was, in popular belief, a forerunner of Agêsilaos and Alexander; we might go on to say, a forerunner of Pompeius and Trajan, of Heraclius and Nikêphoros, of Godfrey and of Frederick the Second. The war of Troy thus takes its place as one stage of the Eastern question, as one stage of the great controversy which is yet unsettled. The poet or poets of the *Iliad* take their place among the chroniclers of that great strife; the poem which he or they have handed down to us is the earliest even of its legendary records. That poem marks a stage from which we may reckon backwards as well as forwards. No one would ever have thought of those versions of the legends of Iô and Mêdeia with which the history of Herodotus begins, unless the tale of Helen had already taken full possession of Greek imagination. The tales of Iô and Mêdeia were put into such a shape as to come into the same class with the tale of Helen, and to form earlier stages of the same series of events. That is to say, though, in the tale of Troy, we have not history, still less chronology, though we cannot venture to affirm the historic reality of a single event or even the historic existence of a single person, yet we have something different from the myths of Iô and Mêdeia; we have the poetic or romantic remembrance of something which really happened, the successful warfare of Hellenic conquerors on Asiatic ground.

I said just now "the poet or the poets," the chronicler or the chroniclers, of this stage of the long and as yet unfinished drama. For the immediate question on which I would fain speak now, is whether we are to look on the Homeric poems as the work of one poet or of more than one; it is indeed a form of that question which narrows itself in a much more precise way. Shall we, instead of either one author or many, accept the definite number of two? One form of this doctrine, it need hardly be said, is as old as any discussion of the works and personality of Homer in any shape. The doctrine of the *Chorizontes*, those who held the *Iliad* to be the work of one poet and the *Odyssey* of another, was known in very early times; but it was for the most part known only to be somewhat scornfully cast aside. In modern times it has hardly been able to hold up its head between the two more thorough-going doctrines on either side of it, that which attributes both poems to a single author and that which divides each poem among many authors. But the doctrine of dual authorship, as

opposed to either single or many-headed authorship, has lately appeared again in a shape which has but little in common with that of the *Chorizontes*. This doctrine certainly assigns the larger number of books of the present Iliad to one poet, while it assigns the Odyssey to another poet. But then it assigns a large part of the present Iliad, ten books out of twenty-four, to the same poet as the Odyssey. The poet of the Odyssey, according to this view, inserted certain books in an already existing *Achilleid*, and so turned it into the present *Iliad*. And for this second poet, the author of the Odyssey, the enlarger of the *Achilleid* and thereby the author of the Iliad in its present shape, the new doctrine claims the rank and name of the personal Homer.

Such is the teaching put forth last year by Professor Geddes of Aberdeen, in his volume entitled "The Problem of the Homeric Poems." Its connexion with the doctrine with which we have all been made familiar at the hands of Mr. Grote will be seen at a glance. Mr. Grote taught that an original *Achilleid* had been enlarged into an Iliad; whether this was done by the poet of the *Achilleid* himself or by some later poet he did not undertake to decide. On the question whether this doctrine was strictly original on the part of Mr. Grote a few remarks by Dr. Donaldson will be found in Mr. Geddes' Preface. We may be quite certain, from the way in which Mr. Grote puts forth his theory, that he did not knowingly borrow it from K. O. Müller or from anybody else. And nothing is more possible, though not a few people find it hard to conceive the possibility, than that two observers, or a hundred observers, in any branch of learning or science, may light on the same idea or discovery quite independently. And at any rate this question in no way concerns Mr. Geddes. He claims no originality as far as concerns the enlargement of an *Achilleid* into an Iliad. That doctrine he confessedly adopts from Mr. Grote. His own share in the business is to support Mr. Grote's doctrine by further arguments which Mr. Grote had not thought of, and then to make certain inferences as to authorship which Mr. Grote had not thought of either. In short the acceptance of Mr. Geddes' teaching implies the acceptance of Mr. Grote's. But it is quite possible to accept Mr. Grote's doctrine, and even to accept many of the corroborative arguments which are brought by Mr. Geddes, without at all going on to accept Mr. Geddes' further inferences on the point of authorship.

Now, as Mr. Geddes was perfectly aware of all that Mr. Grote had said, their agreement clearly cannot be put under the head of undesigned coincidences. It is always a strong presumption in favour of any doctrine when two scholars are led to it by two quite independent lines of reasoning, each satisfactory in its own way. If Mr. Grote had been led to the doctrine of an enlarged *Achilleid* by the arguments which he sets forth in his History, and if Mr. Geddes, knowing

nothing of what Mr. Grote had said, had been led to the same doctrine by the wholly independent arguments set forth in his volume, the case would certainly have been a very strong one. As matters actually stand, Mr. Geddes' case can claim no such strength as this. Mr. Geddes' view was suggested by Mr. Grote's; but for Mr. Grote it might never have come into Mr. Geddes' head. Yet it surely tells somewhat in favour of any conclusion that it can be supported by a fresh line of argument, wholly distinct from that by which its author was led to it, a line of argument by which it is quite conceivable that either thinker might have been led to it independently. The doctrine that the present Iliad was formed by the insertion of certain books in an earlier Achilleid was suggested to Mr. Grote solely by consideration of the plan of the poem and the relations of the several parts to the general story. Mr. Geddes goes on to say that the two parts into which Mr. Grote thus divides the present Iliad have in many respects distinct characters of their own. He argues that the tone and spirit of the two parts, their way of looking at and speaking of many things, the habits, the tastes, the local associations, the general range of knowledge, implied in each, is altogether different. Those books, he says, which Mr. Grote looks on as forming the elder part of the poem, are in all respects more archaic, and point to an earlier state of things, than those which he looks on as the inserted parts. If Mr. Geddes can make out his case, if he can really show that all this is so, it is surely a very powerful and a very remarkable, because a *quasi* independent, confirmation of Mr. Grote's case. And, if we go thus far, we may be led to look with more favour on the more startling points of Mr. Geddes' theory. He goes on to attempt to show that in all those points in which the inserted books—it will be convenient so to speak of them for clearness' sake—differ from the original Achilleid they agree with the Odyssey. He argues thence that it was the poet of the Odyssey who made this great insertion in the older poem. All this reasoning hangs together; it is by a wholly distinct line of argument that Mr. Geddes makes that inference as to the personality of Homer which is clearly the least important part of his case.

Now, as I have undertaken to speak upon the subject, I may fairly be asked whether I am myself convinced of the soundness of Mr. Geddes' arguments on all these points. Shall I be deemed cowardly if I ask, for the present at least, to be allowed not to commit myself? I have read Mr. Geddes' book with great care. I have read through every word of the Iliad and Odyssey again to see how they looked by the new light thus cast upon them. Those books which, according to Mr. Grote and Mr. Geddes, are the original Achilleid I read by themselves, and I then read the inserted books by themselves. And I must say that, judged by this test, Mr. Geddes' theory seemed highly ingenious and highly plausible. That I found it absolutely

decisive of the point at issue I will not venture to say. Mr. Geddes has, to my mind, made out a strong case: I wait to see whether a case as strong, or stronger, may not be made out the other way. For in this kind of argument we not only cannot get mathematical proof, we cannot get that kind of proof which we deem decisive in establishing points which come within the bounds of recorded history. We can have nothing but internal evidence, a kind of evidence as to the value of which men's minds will always differ. An argument of this kind which seems strong to one scholar will seem weak to another scholar of equal rank. For its strength or weakness will largely be judged of by the habits of mind of the several judges, by their feelings and line of thought, and their general way of looking at things. Add to this that the line of argument which accumulates minute points of likeness and unlikeness is always liable to be met by arguments of the same kind the other way. I know very well that cases of this kind which seemed exceedingly plausible have been met by equally plausible cases the other way. Mr. Geddes has made a long list of points in which the *Odyssey* and the inserted books of the *Iliad* seem to agree in opposition to the *Achilleid*. It is quite conceivable that some equally diligent student may put together a list just as long of points in which the *Iliad* as a whole agrees in opposition to the *Odyssey* as a whole. Or he may even show that the *Odyssey* and the *Achilleid* agree in opposition to the inserted books. With the impression of Mr. Geddes' argument on my mind, this does not seem to me to be likely; but I know that it is perfectly possible. I am like King James the First when he had heard one side of the cause only. I infer from his example that, before I fully make up my mind, I shall do well to wait and see what other scholars may find to say on the other side.

But, while so waiting, I would ask thus much for Mr. Geddes, that he may be judged by the strongest parts of his argument and not by the weakest. In a chain of reasoning, strictly so called, in a series of inferences each of which by itself proves nothing, the common nature of chains comes in; the strength of the whole argument is the strength of its weakest link. If there is a single flaw anywhere, the whole argument breaks down. But this rule does not apply to a cumulative argument, like that of Mr. Geddes. Mr. Geddes wishes to establish certain points of general unlikeness between A and B, certain points of general likeness between A and C. He attempts to establish these general points by bringing together a vast mass of minute particulars, none of which by itself would prove the case, or even raise a presumption in its favour. The force of his argument lies in a prodigious mass of instances, the more minute and incidental the better, all independent, but tending the same way. Now in such a case it is quite impossible that every mind should acknowledge the force of all of them. In some cases the likeness or unlikeness will be denied; in other cases

it will be explained in some other way. Some will say, I am myself inclined to say, that Mr. Geddes, like Mr. Gladstone, refines overmuch, that both alike have a certain gift of seeing further into a stone wall than human eyes ever can see. But I do not forget, on the one hand, that this is in no way peculiar to Mr. Geddes or Mr. Gladstone, but that it is the natural tendency—it is, if we choose to call it so, the natural temptation—of every one who takes up this line of argument about any matter. In his anxiety to find points of likeness or unlikeness, he will be sure to see them where nobody else can see them. But I do not forget on the other hand that this does not always prove that the likenesses or unlikenesses are not real. If it is his interest, so to speak, to find them where other people may think them imaginary, he is also very likely to develop a real tact, a real gift for seeing true likenesses and unlikenesses, where other people do not see them. But granting that some, that many, of Mr. Geddes' instances are not to the point, I ask that this may not be allowed to set aside his argument as a whole. The question is, not whether he has not some bad votes which may be set aside on a scrutiny, but whether he has not enough good votes to give him a majority. If Mr. Geddes has brought sound arguments enough to prove his main points, it ought not to tell against him if he has also brought some arguments which may be judged to be unsound.

All, in short, that I wish to do is to ask for Mr. Geddes' theory that it may be seriously weighed and, if need be, answered. I fancy that I see in some quarters a disposition to toss it aside as a mere craze, or as something quite behind the present state of scholarship. If this merely means that Mr. Geddes is old-fashioned enough to believe that the poems are poems, that they are the work of a poet or poets—a maker or makers—in the highest sense—that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* did not come out, like Aaron's calf, by the chance melting together of detached scraps—I trust that English common sense will long be strong enough to keep most of us in such old-fashioned ways. This controversy is one of those on which men must differ for ever according to the turn of their minds. We have got out of the region of external evidence, and every man must believe according to his own notion of internal evidence. To some old-fashioned minds the internal evidence of design in the poems is so plain that any doctrine which shuts out design, any stitching together of detached lays by Peisistratos or any other editor, needs not to be argued against. The plot of the *Odyssey*, the plot of the *Achilleid*, whatever we say of the *Iliad*, speaks, some would say, for itself, without further argument. But the theory put forth by Mr. Grote and Mr. Geddes enables us better to see how much is, and how much is not, involved in the doctrine of real plot, real authorship, in the poems. That doctrine does not bind us to look on the poems, as we have them, as being exactly in the state in which their original author or authors conceived them.

It rather binds us to the opposite doctrine. It binds us to accept the theory of interpolation on the vastest scale, an interpolation of many books, an interpolation great enough to turn the original Achilleid into the present Iliad. And where one great interpolation is the very essence of the whole theory, it cannot be consistent to put aside the possibility of interpolations on a smaller scale. But it is as well to remember what interpolation really implies. It implies, by the very nature of the case, a pre-existent body into which the new matter is interpolated. If we admit that an Achilleid has been expanded into an Iliad, we imply the earlier existence of a substantive Achilleid. If we hold that the original plan has been altered, we imply the existence of two plans, neither of them a fortuitous concurrence of atoms, but each of them the deliberate work of a maker. It is possible that some firm adherents of the doctrine of unity may look with fear on the doctrine of large interpolation as at least tending towards the doctrine of detached lays. Such fears are wholly groundless. The theory of Mr. Geddes undoubtedly upsets—the original theory of Mr. Grote did not necessarily upset—the doctrine of absolute unity of authorship in the two poems. But the doctrine of absolute unity itself does not go more directly in the teeth of the doctrine of detached lays, as that doctrine is commonly understood.

I make this last qualification, because I can conceive a doctrine of distinct lays which is not inconsistent either with Mr. Geddes' doctrine or with the doctrine of unity of authorship for the poems. Let us waive the question whether the poems are the work of one poet or two. In either case each poem, as it came from the mouth of its author, was really a poem, a poetic design of his own, not a chance stringing together of detached lays. But it does not follow that every word of such a poem was strictly the poet's own composition. In carrying ourselves back to the epic age of Greece, we must cast aside all the notions with which we are familiar in our own age about property, legal or moral, in literary compositions. It is plain that there were phrases, epithets, whole lines, which were the common property of the whole epic school of poets. Many verses of Homer may in this way be older than Homer. But more than this, one cannot doubt that short lays preceded long epic poems, and nothing is more likely than that some such short older lays may be embedded in the existing epic poems. This may have happened in two ways, both of them quite distinct from the process attributed either to Peisistratos or to the yet later editor who is supposed by Mr. Paley's theory. The long stories in the Iliad about Bellerophontès, about the forefathers of Aineias, some of the tales put into the mouth of Nestôr, perhaps the story of the hunt on Parnassos in the Odyssey, or even the false tales told by Odysseus in his disguise—any of these might be conceived as existing in the shape of distinct lays, which, to my mind, no part of the real march of either story can be. The song of Dêmodokos, the tale of

Arès and Aphroditè, is yet more independent of the main story of the *Odyssey*. It is in its form exactly parallel to the so-called Homeric hymns; it might, as Colonel Mure says, have taken its place among them as a hymn to Hèphaistos. One might add that, as far as their form is concerned, we might conceive one of those hymns, say the hymn to Aphroditè, taking a like place in the *Odyssey*. Now it is perfectly possible that the poet may have composed these episodes of set purpose in order to give relief and variety to his main story. Or again it is perfectly possible that they may be interpolations made by a later poet with that object or with any other. In the case of some passages which are not likely to be the composition of the poet himself, interpolation is by far the most likely theory. Such is the description of the shield of Achilleus. We can hardly fancy the poet himself describing it at such disproportionate length; we can hardly fancy it existing as an earlier independent poem; it is far more likely to be an expansion of the original story of the forging of the arms worked in by some later hand. But with regard to the other class of stories, those which we can conceive existing as separate lays, though we may conceive them to be the poet's own work, though we may conceive them to be later interpolations, yet the third view has surely at least as much to recommend it as either of the others. As it is plain that the poets of the epic school freely worked in phrases and verses from the common epic stock, so it is quite possible that a poet planning an *Achilleid* or an *Odyssey* may have done the same thing on a larger scale. That is, he may have worked in whole lays which he found already in being. Glaukos, Aineias, Nestôr, were among the characters of his story; if he thought it suited his purpose to put into their mouths traditional lays which bore their names and which told of their exploits or of those of their forefathers, he would not be held back from so doing by the feeling which would influence a modern poet. A modern poet might not perhaps scruple to bring in a phrase or a line of an earlier poet, which might be meant and taken as a kind of tribute; but he would certainly scruple to bring in pieces of another man's composition of anything like the length of those of which I have just spoken. But if a primitive poet found that any lays already in being suited his purpose, he would work them up in his poem with no dread either of the law or of the sentiment of copyright before his eyes. He would act like the writer of a mediæval chronicle, who worked into his own book the materials of any other book that suited him, altering, omitting, adding, continuing, as he thought good. He would act like the architect of a basilica, when he took the columns of a destroyed temple, and taught them to carry arches within instead of an entablature without. He would act like Aurelian, fencing in Rome with new walls, and working into their circuit, here the prætorian camp, here an amphitheatre, here the arch of an aqueduct, here any other earlier building which suited his purpose. In these cases the amount of material used up

again is far larger in proportion than, according to my notion, it is likely to be in the Homeric poems; but the principle is the same. In all these cases, the poet, the chronicler, the architect, the military engineer, designs the plan of his work according to his own conceptions; but in carrying out his plan, he freely makes use of any suitable materials that come in his way. And if this work of adaptation might be gone through by the poet of the *Achilleid* or the *Odyssey*, it might be equally gone through by the poet who enlarged the *Achilleid* into an *Iliad*. Indeed some of the passages which, as it has been already hinted, are most likely to have been detached lays come from these very inserted books. The *Dolôneia* again is a case in point. According to Mr. Geddes' theory, it is an insertion in the body of the *Achilleid* made by the poet of the *Odyssey*. But it is a story which might very well stand by itself. It fits very well into the place where it stands; yet it is mere episode and does not at all help on the main action. It may have been inserted by the poet of the *Odyssey*, and yet it may not have been the composition of the poet of the *Odyssey*. If he found such an already existing lay of *Odysseus* and *Diomêdês*, and thought that it would suit his purpose and fit in well with his story, he would feel no more scruple about inserting it into his own work than, according to the assumption, he felt about inserting his own work into the body of the *Achilleid*.

Now all the processes here supposed, the great interpolation supposed by Mr. Grote and Mr. Geddes foremost amongst them, are altogether distinct from and opposite to the doctrine which makes the poems mere accidental collections of detached lays. According to this last doctrine, some one who was not a poet of the epic age, some later editor,—tyrant, philosopher, or anything else,—was lucky enough to light on lays which could be so strung together as to make two great poems, each with an elaborate, one of them at least with a thoroughly consistent, plot. But all the alternatives which I have just suggested suppose, what the theory of detached lays shuts out, a poet designing a poem. He works in, it may be, materials from various sources; but the design is his own. Or again, when his design is carried out, some later poet perhaps improves, perhaps mars, the design, by inserting interpolations of his own. But in either case there is the poem, no chance gathering of scraps, but a work of art, planned as a whole by a single mind, though particular portions may have been either borrowed from earlier minds or added by later minds. And it must be borne in mind that difference of authorship does not imply inferiority of work. The merit of the plan of the whole belongs to the mind which planned the whole; but the work of any earlier poet who was laid under contribution, the work of any later poet who made an interpolation, may be quite equal in poetic conception and in artistic finish to anything which came from the lips of the designer himself. It must indeed be so, if we accept

the theory of Mr. Geddes. For, according to that theory, the greatest of all interpolators, the interpolator who changed the Achilleid into an Iliad, was no other than Homer himself.

Let us now look generally at the arguments by which Mr. Geddes tries to establish this proposition. The minuter details must be studied in his own work; I will here attempt nothing more than to sketch out the main lines of his reasoning. And here it must be remembered that he constantly, as he himself points out with some degree of triumph, takes the arguments of the *Chorizontes* and turns them against themselves. The *Chorizontes* point out this or that feature of unlikeness between the Iliad and the Odyssey. Mr. Geddes steps in and says, "No; not between the Iliad and the Odyssey; between the Achilleid and Odyssey." He points out that most of the examples by which they try to prove this or that point come from those books of our present Iliad which Mr. Grote has marked off as the original Achilleid. He bids them turn to the other books which Mr. Grote holds to be a later insertion, where he holds that they will find, not the state of things which they find in the Achilleid, but the state of things which they find in the Odyssey. The arguments by which they sever the Odyssey from the present Iliad must, he tells them, also sever along with it several books of the Iliad, those books namely which Mr. Grote has already severed from it on other grounds. The position of the *Chorizontes* is that the Odyssey shows a later state of things than the Iliad, that it shows milder ideas and manners, greater knowledge, especially greater geographical knowledge, general advancement in everything. Mr. Geddes answers that this distinction certainly exists between the Achilleid and the Odyssey, but that it exists equally between the Achilleid and the other books of the present Iliad, and that these last agree in all these points with the Odyssey. Now it is plain that, if this can be made out, it is a very powerful argument indeed; for it is a complete rejoinder to the answer which is commonly made to the *Chorizontic* argument on this head. The usual answer which the advocates of unity make to the *Chorizontes* is that the state of things described in the Odyssey is necessarily gentler, and in some outward things more advanced, than the state of things in the Iliad, because the Iliad describes only the rougher life of the camp, while the Odyssey describes the more settled and gentler life of a Greek people in time of peace. As against the *Chorizontic* argument, this answer is very strong, perhaps conclusive. But it altogether fails against Mr. Geddes' doctrine, if that doctrine can be otherwise established. For both parts of the present Iliad describe the life of the camp, and Mr. Geddes' case is that one of those parts shows exactly the same signs of advance as the more peaceful Odyssey.*

* Of course the question remains whether the Odyssey does show signs of advance. No doubt, as a whole, it does. But there are two passages which it is open to any one to quote on the other side. There is nothing in the Iliad at all like the horrible

We will now go on to look at some of the particular points on which Mr. Geddes enlarges. It may be enough for the most part to look at them in a general kind of way, without stopping to dispute in detail over this or that passage. Let us take first a point which Mr. Geddes does not put first, but which really lies at the root of his whole theory. What is the position of Odysseus*—Mr. Geddes will hardly find any great following nowadays in talking about *Ulysses*—in those books which we now put together under the name of the *Iliad*? If he can show that the acknowledged hero of the *Odyssey* holds a very prominent place in one part of our present *Iliad*, a much less prominent place in the other part, and if the part where Odysseus is prominent answers to those books which Mr. Grote had already marked out as inserted, this is surely a great point in his case. Mr. Geddes affirms that it is so, so much so that he calls the inserted books of the *Iliad* the "Ulyssean" books. In the *Achilleid*, he argues, Odysseus is simply one of the chief Achaian leaders alongside of others; he holds no special position; he is spoken of with no special honour; in one place (© 93) he is spoken to by Diomédês with somewhat of scorn. In the "Odyssean" books he is much more than this: he holds a special place; if he is not absolutely the first among the heroes, at any rate he and Diomédês are bracketed together as first; these two moreover are special friends and comrades; Diomédês picks out Odysseus as his special companion in the *Dolôneia*, in a part which, in our present arrangement, stands later than his scornful speech to him. He has in the *Odyssean* books a special epithet, *τλήμων*, which is not given

punishment of Melanthios in the *Odyssey*; there is nothing so utterly repugnant both to modern and to later Hellenic feeling. And this fact is hardly met by saying that no one else in either poem had given so great provocation. For the position is that neither a modern European nor a democratic Athenian would, under any provocation, treat any one as Melanthios was treated. The other case is that strange passage in the first book of the *Odyssey* (260) which implies the possible use of poisoned arrows, though it also implies that it was an ungodly practice. Odysseus is described as seeking for such poison. A scrupulous friend refuses to give it him out of fear of the gods; but another friend gives it him out of extreme friendship. This comes in a fictitious tale, not in the main body of the poem; still such a tale is just as good for a point of manners as the main body. Yet there is no reference to poisoned arrows anywhere else in either poem.

* Odysseus, not Odusseus. Mr. Geddes has some arguments, perfectly convincing, but, one would have thought, a little superfluous, against writing *Klutaïnnestra*. Now the truth is that *y* is not only the Latin representative of *υ*; it is the English representative also. In the oldest attempt to represent Greek words in English, *υ* is expressed by *y*. And quite naturally; for either *i* or *u* would have given a different sound from that which was wanted, the sound namely of the German *ü*. It would not be hard to prove that this was the received sound of the Greek *υ* in the ninth century, though in the tenth it was getting confounded with the sound of *ι*. This is what happens to the *ü* sound in all languages. Both in Greek and in English, *υ* and *y* are in polite speech no longer to be distinguished from *ι* and *i*, though the original sound keeps a dialectic existence in both languages. The only difficulty is that we cannot use *y* for *υ* when the Greek letter appears as part of a diphthong. We cannot write *Odysseys*. The truth is that the Greek *υ* is really two, if not three, letters. Its diphthongal sound in *ou*, *eu*, *au*, has no relation to its sound as a single vowel. Whether, at the time when the received rendering of Greek words into Latin letters was devised, those combinations had the same sounds which they have now or any other, there was at least as wide a distinction among them as there is now. For *υ* simple the Latins invented a special letter *y*; *ou* they expressed by *u*, *au* and *eu* by *au* and *eu*. We may be satisfied to do the same; only we can express *ou* more exactly as *ou*.

to him in the Achilleid, and which seems to point to his labours in the Odyssey. Twice in these books he speaks of himself as "the father of Têlemachos," a formula which is nowhere else used of any father or any son throughout the poems, a formula which has no meaning within the range of either Achilleid or Iliad, but which has a very special meaning when we think of the Odyssey. With regard to these last two points, the description of Odysseus as *τλήμων* and as Têlemachos' father, I remember being struck with them years ago, and I remember that the thought flashed across my mind—though certainly not to stay there—whether, after all, the Odyssey was not older than the Iliad. This is a specimen of Mr. Geddes' style of argument. Of course he maintains his position with great minuteness and with an abundant quotation of passages. I do not say that he cannot be answered; I can even myself see the germs of an answer;* I only say that his arguments are in themselves weighty, and that they are entitled to be answered and not to be tossed aside.

Take another point, not altogether unconnected with this last. Odysseus is pre-eminently the traveller, the man who has seen many men and many cities. It is in the nature of things that a poem which records his adventures should show greater geographical knowledge than a poem which records the wrath of Achilleus beneath the walls of Ilios. This is the answer given by the defenders of unity of authorship when the *Chorizontes* bring forward the wider geographical range of the Odyssey as a sign of its separate authorship and later date. And as regards the Odyssey, the answer seems quite complete. But what if it can be shown that it is only part of the present Iliad which can be pressed into the service of this argument, and that another part displays the same wide geographical range as the Odyssey? The Achilleid, Mr. Geddes argues, shows a much less wide range of knowledge to the south and east; it knows nothing of Egypt, nothing directly of Sidon; Cyprus seems to be its furthest point. But Sidon and Egypt are known to the poet of the Odyssean books of the Iliad, as well as to the poet of the Odyssey. On the other hand, the poet of the Achilleid shows a greater knowledge of Northern Greece and of the countries to the north of it. This is a fact which will connect itself with another stage of the argument. The Odyssean

* For example, if Odysseus is not called *τλήμων* in the Achilleid, he is called by his favourite Odyssean epithet *πολύτλας δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς* in an Achillean book. And this comes in the very passage (Θ 97), where Diomêdês speaks scornfully to Odysseus. Also there does seem to be in the *Dolôneia* (K 294) a direct reference to that passage. When Diomêdês has chosen Odysseus as his comrade, with expressions of the loftiest praise, Odysseus answers:

Τυδείδῃ, μήτ' ἔρμε μάλ' αἶνεε, μήτε τι νείκει.

Also in the next Achillean book (A 312, et seqq.), no less than in the *Dolôneia*, Diomêdês and Odysseus appear as comrades, notwithstanding that little brush between them. This seems to upset the inference which Mr. Geddes draws from the particular passage Θ 93; but it does not touch his general fact that Odysseus is much more important, and that his comradeship with Diomêdês is much more prominent, in the Odyssean than in the Achillean books.

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poet again shows a feeling of the diversities of tongues and nations, and an approach to a feeling of Panhellenic nationality, of which there is no sign in the Achilleid. Phrases like βαρβαρόφωνοι, ἀγριόφωνοι, ἑλλόθροοι ἄνθρωποι, distinct references to differences of language, phrases like Πανέλληνες and Παναχαιοί, a wider use of the word Ἑλλάς, are common to the Odyssey and the Odyssean books, but are unknown to the Achilleid.*

Mr. Geddes goes on most elaborately with notices of religion, manners, customs, minute points of various kinds, everywhere following the same argument, sometimes, I must think, over-refining, but heaping together, I must also think, a great deal which tells strongly in favour of his theory. Sometimes Mr. Geddes makes use of Colonel Mure's arguments in a very ingenious way. Colonel Mure enlarges on the frequent references in Homer to the outward expressions of grief as having in them a certain element of pleasure, so much so that, as with other pleasures, so with the expression of grief, there may be enough and too much of a good thing. Colonel Mure also enlarges on the sense of humour in the Homeric poems. Mr. Geddes argues that the former class of passages belong wholly, and the humorous passages mainly, to the Odyssean books. The humour of the Achilleid, when there is any, is somewhat grim and savage. He does not forget to mention the tale of Arês and Aphroditê in the lay of Dêmodokos. He does not mention the scene between Zeus and Hêrê in an Achillean book. This last Colonel Mure looked on as a piece of intentional satire on the national theology.† Such an object is surely quite alien to the mental state of a primitive poet. To a modern reader there certainly seems a ludicrous element in it; it may be doubted whether the poet himself saw anything ludicrous in it at all.

Along with humour, Mr. Geddes claims pathos, and specially conjugal honour and affection, as belonging specially to the Odyssean range of the poems. Certainly the noblest specimens of both are to be found there. The conception of Hektôr and Andromachê is the exact parallel to the conception of Odysseus and Pênelopeia, and the very same words are sometimes applied to both heroines. Andromachê does appear, and that with a pathetic lament over her fallen husband, in the Achillean twenty-second book; but that lament will hardly bear comparison with her later lament in the Odyssean twenty-fourth book. This point I think is not mentioned by Mr. Geddes; but it might well form part of his argument. The *Teichoskopia*, with the picture of Helen, the speech of Helen to Hektôr in the sixth book, her lament over him which all but finishes the Iliad, all are Odyssean, and all fit in with the picture of Helen in the Odyssey, not at all with the occasional mention of her in the Achillean books. Odyssean

* Except the one use of Παναχαιοί in Iliad T 193, which can hardly fail to be an Odyssean insertion.

† History of Greek Literature, i. 988.

also is the most pathetic scene of all, the visit of Priam to Achilles in the last book. Nor is it any answer to say that in the books of the Achilleid, as being mainly taken up with fighting, such scenes were not to be looked for, while they were to be looked for in the other books which are of a more general character. For this is the very point, that this difference of character does distinguish certain books of the present Iliad from the others, and that this distinction coincides with a division already made on quite different grounds. The one poet keeps on his fighting scenes without interruption; the other interrupts his fighting to bring in pathetic scenes with Helen and Andromachê. It would have been just as easy, if the poet had so willed, to diversify the later fighting with episodes of this kind, as it was to diversify the earlier fighting in the same way.

The scenes with Helen and Andromachê naturally lead to Mr. Geddes' estimate of Hektôr, or rather, in his view, to his estimate of two quite distinct Hektôrs in the Achillean and in the Odyssean books. This is in one way the most interesting of all the points which Mr. Geddes has raised, because it is the one point, as far as I know, on which Mr. Geddes has been met by a disputant who deals with him as he ought to be dealt with. Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for October, bearing the strange title of "The Slicing of Hector," is, on a single point, exactly the kind of answer which I should like to see made on every point. Mr. Gladstone does not snub or pooch-pooch Mr. Geddes. He meets him as he should be met, and argues point after point in the same thorough and business-like way in which Mr. Geddes himself argues. Whether we think that the statesman or the professor has the better of it, in either case each of them has taught us something about the Homeric poems and the actors in them which we did not know before. But it must be remembered that, even if Mr. Gladstone is held to have altogether overthrown Mr. Geddes on this particular point, though our confidence in Mr. Geddes may be thereby to some extent weakened, yet his general theory is not upset by the upsetting of any one single argument, however important. If Mr. Gladstone can show that there is no difference between the Hektôr of one set of books and the Hektôr of the other set of books, or if he can account for the difference on some other theory than that of diversity of authorship, Mr. Geddes may still make out his case by other instances. It is no part of his case that the two parts of the present Iliad are unlike in everything; he only argues that they are unlike in enough things to confirm the doctrine of distinct authorship which had been already suggested on other grounds. As the establishment of one point of unlikeness would not make out Mr. Geddes' case, so neither does the overthrow of one point of unlikeness upset his case. If Mr. Geddes' case is to be upset, it will be by Mr. Gladstone or some other scholar going on to deal with other points in the same way in which Mr. Gladstone has dealt with the "Slicing of Hector."

This of course goes on the assumption that Mr. Gladstone has successfully answered Mr. Geddes on this particular point. The line which I am taking throughout this article releases me from any necessity of giving any positive opinion whether he has done so or not. But I may mark one or two points. One of the charges which Mr. Geddes brings against the Hektôr of the Achilleid, namely that he is "either a toper or a companion of such," is easily overthrown by Mr. Gladstone. It is just the kind of thing which Mr. Geddes should not have said; for, though in this line of argument one irrelevant instance does not logically weaken the force of those which are to the point, yet it practically does so by discrediting the discretion of their author. On some of the other points the controversy comes to a dispute over minute points, which looks as it might go on for ever between two disputants who have such a wonderful power of refining, and who pry so diligently into every corner, as both Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Geddes. But Mr. Gladstone does allow the main point, namely, that the braggart character of Hektôr comes out, to say the least, far more strongly in the Achillean than in the Odyssean books of the Iliad. Only he thinks that this is accounted for by the different circumstances of the two parts of the poem. The one part is all fighting, the other is not. But then comes in again the question which was asked just before, Why are the Achillean books so much fuller of fighting than the others?

One more point only must I mention, namely, Mr. Geddes' view as to the signs of personal authorship and as to the parts of Greece to which the poems belong. I cannot here follow Mr. Geddes through a crowd of minute points of comparison by which he strives to establish a difference in taste and feeling between the supposed two authors, a difference going down to such points as that one poet is held to be fonder of horses and the other of dogs. All this is very ingenious; it often comes very near to being convincing; and if it seems over minute, we must remember that it is only by going through such a crowd of minute details that a distinction in such matters can be either made good or set aside. But most important of all are the geographical indications. These lead Mr. Geddes to the belief that the author of the original Achilleid was a Thessalian poet, devoted to the honour of Achilleus, who may, in a wide sense of the geographical term, be called a Thessalian hero. The Odyssey and the Odyssean books of the present Iliad he looks on as the work of an Asiatic Greek. He must have been, as Mr. Geddes happily shows, one who was used to have the sea to the west of him. Could he then come from Western Greece, perhaps from Ithakê itself? For my own part I must risk the doubt whether the poet of the Odyssey knew much about those parts. Ever since I looked on Ithakê from the east, and saw the mountains of Kephallênia rising above it to the west, I have been troubled about the passage where Ithakê is said to lie *πρὸς ζῳφον* of all the islands. It is as if a Scottish poet should say that Bute lies to the

south-west of Arran. A poet from Aberdeen might say so, but hardly one from Argyle. Mr. Gladstone has a most ingenious explanation; but the points of the compass will not change their places at the bidding of either of our rival party leaders. As the northern districts of Somerset and of Roumelia remain geographically northern, though Lord Beaconsfield has ruled that in formal language they shall be called eastern, so ζῳφός will certainly remain in the west, even though Mr. Gladstone has determined to move it elsewhere. On the other hand, a crowd of signs connect our Odyssean poet with the Greek coast of Asia. And then comes in the fact that the great mass of Greek tradition tends to place the personal Homer, not in Thessaly, but in Asiatic Greece. Mr. Geddes thence argues that, of our two poets, Thessalian and Asiatic, Homer is the Asiatic and not the Thessalian. In other words, startling as it sounds, Homer composed the *Odyssey*; he also took the *Achilleid* of an earlier poet and turned it into an *Iliad* by the insertion of the Achillean books. There was in short no need of a Peisistratos for the *Odyssey*; for the *Iliad* the part of something like a Peisistratos was played by Homer himself.

Such then is a sketch of Mr. Geddes' theory; such are some of the main arguments by which he supports so bold and startling a doctrine. But no one can form any idea of Mr. Geddes' painstaking care, of his wonderful ingenuity—an ingenuity which, I must say, is now and then too clever by half—without following him through his own story in his own pages. I ask no one to accept Mr. Geddes' theory without full examination. I do not even bind myself to it till I know what is to be said on the other side. But I do call on those who do not accept it to stand forward and strive to answer it in the same spirit and by the same method by which Mr. Gladstone has striven to answer a part of it. Mr. Geddes may or may not have proved his case; but he has found quite enough to say on behalf of his case to entitle his views to be fairly answered, and not to be carelessly thrust aside.

EDWARD A. FREEMAN.

RITUALISM, ROMAN CATHOLICISM, AND CONVERTS.

SOME STRICTURES ON DR. LITLEDALE'S ARTICLE "WHY RITUALISTS DO NOT BECOME ROMAN CATHOLICS."

"Audierimus superbiam Moab, superbus est valde: superbia ejus et arrogantia ejus, et indignatio ejus, plus quam fortitudo ejus."—ISAIAH xvi. 6.

DR. LITLEDALE has of course every right to give an answer of his own to the question, which the Abbé Martin has addressed to that section of the Church of England to which Dr. Littledale professedly belongs. But in his answer he has said so many hard and bitter things of the Roman Catholic Church in general, and of its converts from Anglicanism in particular, that he can hardly be surprised at the appearance of a fresh antagonist from the ranks of those who have lately been styled "Rome's recruits." The present writer, with every claim and every inclination to resent Dr. Littledale's treatment of converts, has one special advantage, that when protesting against the charge of "intellectual and moral deterioration, especially in the matter of truthfulness," he can hardly be considered as pleading his own cause, since he was received into the Catholic Church as a child.

Ritualists do not become Roman Catholics, that is, *en masse*, Dr. Littledale says, because the Church of England is in a comparatively satisfactory state, and improving steadily. Her very sects, the Quakers and the Wesleyans, as compared with those which Rome has generated, are estimable in a high degree. Moreover, Ritualists are just now in a glorious state of persecution, from which it would be cowardly to shrink. On the other hand, Rome cannot manage the subjects she has got, who are fast lapsing into infidelity; her system is built upon the False Decretals; she has committed herself to such "indefensible figments" as Papal Infallibility and the Immaculate Conception; she has "upset the moral law" by approving probabilism in the person of St. Alphonso Liguori; she is "the parent or grandparent" of every offensive sect from Socinianism to Mormon-

ism; she is cruel, or has been cruel, or has on various occasions approved of cruelty, and only the other day she canonized cruelty in the person of the Inquisitor Peter d'Arbues; she encourages a world of superstitious devotions; in open disobedience to Christ's words she refuses the cup to the laity; she is in controversy consciously dishonest, throwing the *onus probandi* most unfairly upon Anglicans, and snubbing all attempts to "try all things, and hold fast that which is good;" she did next to nothing in the Deistic controversy of the last century; she has blacker sheep in high places than can be found on the Anglican Bench of Bishops.

After this we are hardly surprised that Dr. Littledale's "general experience is that conversion to Rome involves, in a large majority of instances, sudden, serious, and permanent intellectual and moral deterioration, especially as to the quality of truthfulness." For does not Cardinal Manning condemn the "appeal to history" in questions of religion as "heresy and treason," and "is not the very first thing most new converts do to sell off all their books" as a preliminary to sinking "into cold religious indifference, scarcely distinguishable from scepticism?" "Have you eyes?" Dr. Littledale would seem to exclaim,

" Could you on this fair mountain leave to feed
And batten on this moor?"

My critique upon Dr. Littledale will naturally turn upon three points:—
1. His presentation of the Ritualist position. 2. His various heads of accusation against Rome. 3. His appreciation of Anglican converts to Rome.

I.

Now it must be confessed Dr. Littledale does not say very much about the Ritualist theoretic position. We hear, indeed, that the Anglican Church appeals to the first five centuries, though whether "sincerely or not" Dr. Littledale cannot say, and we hear that Ritualists believe it to be their mission to keep the Anglican Church to its pledges in this particular. But surely Ritualists, to justify their detailed imitation of Rome, and their defiance of their own Church authorities, require some special modification of the ordinary Anglican Church theory. The indications of anything of the kind in Dr. Littledale's article are faint indeed. The Church Catholic, he tells us (p. 803), is a federation of patriarchates, and he appeals to Nicæa, can. vi.; Constantinople, can. ii., iii.; Ephesus, can. viii., and Chalcedon, can. xxviii. Now no one who knows anything of the history of the early Church can pretend that a "federation of patriarchates" is an adequate expression of the constitution of the Church, or that any definition which failed to ascribe an altogether unique authority to the Roman See could be accepted as such. That the Church did consist materially of certain patriarchates enjoying certain prescriptive rights is acknowledged and confirmed by these Councils; but that

the canons appealed to never intended to express the sum of the relations of the rest of Christendom with Rome, we know from the formal action of these very Councils, especially the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon. The absurdity of interpreting literally, as Dr. Littledale does, the oath taken by the Pope at his coronation to observe the decrees of General Councils "*usque ad unum apicem*" is sufficiently shown by the consideration that this would oblige him to enforce regulations concerning several patriarchates, which at the time had practically ceased to exist. The character of Dr. Littledale's conciliar exegesis may be estimated from his venturing to quote in this same page, from the Council of Trent—of all Councils!—to show that it acknowledged the acceptance of the Nicene Creed and not union with Rome to be "the basis of Christian solidarity in the Church."

Even if we were to admit the "federation of patriarchates" theory, it is hard to see how this affords a basis for Anglicanism, to say nothing of Ritualism, since England had been for centuries a portion of the Latin Patriarchate. Anglicanism requires the theory of absolute episcopal autocracy—at least no intermediate basis can be grounded on the rights of metropolitans, except by virtue of the broad Erastian principle of Nationalism; and then, supposing the Anglican Church so constituted, she is called upon to show cause why she is not to be regarded as guilty of heresy and schism. Unless Dr. Littledale is to shrink from the appeal to history altogether, he must allow that the main features of England's sixteenth century secession demand that she should submit to such compurgation; that here the *onus probandi* distinctly lies upon her. What historian, even in this age of historical surprises, has succeeded in eliminating, as the main motive powers operative in that secession, Erastianism, and sympathy with what Dr. Littledale is foremost in denouncing as the heresies of Luther and Calvin?

Now the difficulties of this position, whatever they may be, are much aggravated in the case of Ritualists by their chronic opposition to their bishops, who, upon any ecclesiastical theory, are required for something more than purposes of reproduction. If you have eliminated Pope and Patriarch from the *ecclesia docens*, the more obligatory is submission to the one teaching authority that remains. Mere formularies, whether Nicene or Tridentine, can no more constitute a living teaching Church than the Bible can.

It is impossible to exaggerate the intensity of the antagonism to the Anglican episcopate which characterizes Dr. Littledale's article. His detestation of converts is sufficiently great, but it is really nothing to the utter loathing with which he regards the ecclesiastical superiors upon whom he is dependent for whatever claim he has to order or jurisdiction. He says (p. 804), "the bishops for three hundred years past have never proved equal to their duty, notably just now, and for the last fifty years;" they are our "most embittered and persistent enemies and detractors," who, whilst acknowledging the magnificent revival of

faith and piety in the Church of England, were so base as "*more suo* . . . to revile and blacken the only people who have brought this state of things about;" who, "when the storm was raging about the 'Priest in Absolution,'" dared not, any one of them, assert the simple truth, "that the Church of England teaches auricular confession, and that we were simply carrying out its directions" (pp. 806, 814). Truly a most repulsive picture, to which we hardly know where to find a parallel, unless it be in the Ritualist conception of the Church of England in the sixteenth century, firmly holding the integral Catholic faith whilst coquetting with every fiercest devastator of God's vineyard which those unhappy times produced; tenderly preserving her belief in the mass, and confession, and the Madonna, whilst cheerfully assisting in the person of her ministers, for the most part of the second order, at the infliction of protracted torments upon mass-priest after mass-priest (against the most of whom no charge could with any plausibility lie, except that they said mass and strove to preserve or restore the Catholic faith in the hearts of their countrymen); and instead of whispering the consolations of a common faith, assailing the martyr's defenceless ears with studiously articulated blasphemy. I do not believe that the Church of England has either orders or jurisdiction, that she has been true either to the rule of faith or the rule of discipline; but God forbid that I should regard such a picture of the Anglican Church as anything short of calumnious; an institution so depraved could not have existed for three hundred years upon the soil of England. No true friend of the country could wish its Church's claim to Church-life and Catholicity vindicated at such a cost; better extinction, or the political life it would still retain as an expression of national worship, than so "*propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.*" Assuredly the sternest dealings of the Spanish Inquisition, even when refracted and multiplied in the mirror of the most sensitive of Protestant imaginations, would not approach in repulsiveness the mingled ruffianism and poltroonery exhibited in this conception of Anglicanism. Far more reasonable and far pleasanter is it to think of the Anglican Church of those days as inspired by the spirit of fierce heterodoxy which speaks in one of Milton's grandest sonnets, "Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints," than to imagine that under such circumstances she was crypto-Catholic. And as to the Anglican hierarchy of to-day, they are not, as Dr. Littledale would have it, the unmanly gainsayers of their own deepest convictions, the profane betrayers of what they know to be the interests of Christ's Church. They are simply a board of religious inspectors who have so far improved upon the Elizabethan tradition that they are first peaceable, then Protestant, but never, if they know themselves, Catholic; and, on the whole, they have consistently maintained an attitude of dignified forbearance under extreme and varied provocation. If they have turned restive under the sacerdotal apparel with which Ritualists would invest them, but

which their own good sense scruples at as inappropriate; if they have found it impossible to wean their lips from the phraseology at once measured in tone and vague in substance which is their tradition, and to adopt "that large utterance of the early gods;" it is monstrous that they should be therefore degraded to the position of an ecclesiastical Aunt Sally, at which Ritualistic scribes may week after week hurl their tasteless abuse, without scruple and without remorse.

When Dr. Littledale turns off from us, his formal antagonists, to rend his own bishops so fiercely and so persistently, one understands that they are his normal and natural prey, from which the exigencies of controversy may distract him for a moment, but to which he ever returns with the mechanical ferocity of an Ugolino at the Archbishop's skull.

"Quando ebbe detto ciò, con gli occhi torti,
Riprese il teschio misero coi denti
Che furo all'osso, come d'un can, forti."*

—DANTE, *Inferno*, xxxiii. 76—78.

If it is difficult to believe in the Anglican branch-theory, or rather that the Anglican Church is a sort of sucker from the first five centuries, our feeling that their branch is a severed branch is not weakened, when we see its principal members thus ostentatiously trampled in the mire.

It may be asked, whether I am not mistaking Dr. Littledale altogether. Has he pledged himself to any Church theory? Is he not contented with the conviction that he and his brother clergymen are priests, however churchless, with real orders, and a sufficient jurisdiction emanating therefrom, and that in spirit they adhere to the early Church. I must confess that there are serious grounds for the suggestion. He certainly (p. 811) hangs out very unmistakeably the flag of the spiritual freebooter, claiming, as he does, the right of treasure-trove in regard to any spiritual practice or rite that may commend itself to his judgment. "The modern Ritualist," he says, "is entirely free from the strait-laced prejudices of his Anglican brother, and is perfectly ready to take a hint or adopt a useful addition from any quarter whatsoever, and does not care a straw whether a Roman cardinal or a Baptist minister be its original parent." Of course on this principle he has as much right to the first five centuries as to anything else; but this is not tradition. The language of one who, despite his characteristic vehemence, is no unfair representative of the sentiment of the early Church, affords a rather piquant contrast to Dr. Littledale's jaunty liberalism. "What servant looketh for food from a stranger, not to say an enemy, to his lord? What soldier seeketh to obtain bounty and pay from unallied, not to say hostile, kings, unless he be altogether a deserter and a runaway and a rebel? Even that old woman sought for the piece of silver in her own house: even that knocker at the door knocked at his neighbour's door: even

* "With raging eyes askant, when this he'd said,
And teeth, like those of mastiff at a bone,
Again he seized the miserable head."—FORD.

that widow appealed to not an adverse, though a hard judge. No man can be built up by that whereby he is pulled down. No man is enlightened by that whereby he is darkened. Let us 'seek,' therefore, in our own, and from our own, and concerning our own."* (Tertullian de Præscript, cap. 12, transl. Dodgson.)

Dr. Littledale is a free and vigorous hitter, and it is hard not to sympathize with the strong blows that are dealt in our favour, even when it is with weapons that one should hardly care to use oneself. When Chillingworth came forward on the Protestant side with his brilliant but shallow argument as to the necessity of an infallible mean to justify certainty, Anglicans applauded vigorously, without seeing at first, until their Catholic antagonists pointed it out to them, that this argument struck at the root of all Christian belief; that in adopting it, they were cutting off the bough upon which they were themselves seated. Such Ritualists as have not entirely forsaken the old Anglican moorings, who still hold in some shape or other to tradition and an historical Church, should be cautious how far they accept Dr. Littledale's championship. No doubt Dr. Littledale does fairly enough represent one element in modern Ritualism, and one that bids fair in time to predominate—I mean its liberalism. It is indeed in virtue of this element, that Ritualism has assumed of late years almost the character of a national movement. But Church-life should be something more than "the life of winds and tides." With a divine sanction, indeed, the billows may be trodden under foot, but you cannot build upon them: and though a fervid imagination may with the poet teach itself to hear chaunts and litanies in the roaring of the sea, and fashion for itself a surpliced choir in the white surges, the illusion cannot last, and the wave "filled full of the terror and thunder of water that slays as it dies" is not more uncongenial to stability than is liberalism to any other than perfectly fluent forms whether of doctrine or of ritual.

With its liberalism, too, Dr. Littledale represents what is also a characteristic of Ritualism as liberal—its hatred of Rome; and so far he is no doubt right in insisting that it is no movement Romewards. But then Ritualism is not, and perhaps never can become, homogeneous, and more and more as the liberal element articulates itself, must all those who in any degree hold to a divine ecclesiastical tradition separate themselves from those who are merely florid Protestants with an antiquarian turn for early Church usage. The poor woman who takes her Bible self-interpreted as her one rule of faith and practice, is less pointedly at variance with the spirit of the early

* "Quis servus cibaria ab extraneo, ne dicam ab inimico domini sui, sperat? Quis miles ab infœderatis, ne dicam ab hostibus, regibus donativum et stipendium captat, nisi plane desertor et transfuga et rebellis? Etiam anus illa intra tectum suum drachmam requirebat. Etiam pulsator ille vicini januam tundebat. Etiam vidua illa non inimicum, licet durum, judicem interpellabat. Nemo inde instrui potest unde destruitur. Nemo ab eo illuminatur a quo contenebratur. Quæramus ergo in nostro, et a nostris, et de nostro."

Church, and, I may add, with common sense, than the rebellious clergyman who insists on conforming himself to a *florilegium* of canon law and ritual, gathered by himself at his own sweet will, in the teeth of his legitimate superiors.

It will be obviously necessary to revert to this consideration of the Ritualist position when engaged on my third point, Dr. Littledale's appreciation of converts, because the question turns upon the character of the convert's choice of alternatives, Ritualism or conversion to Rome. But at present I must deal with Dr. Littledale's various heads of accusation against the Roman Catholic Church. My readers must bear with me if here my chariot wheels move heavily. It is so easy to be fluent in attack, so very difficult to be otherwise than slow in defence.

II.

Dr. Littledale presses us with the infidelity and irreligion which prevail to such an extent in Catholic countries—in France, Italy, &c. I answer, that Christianity has ever professed to be the religion primarily of the few, rather than of the many. It is a narrow way for such as consent not to be of the world. Had its main object been, so to speak, to deodorize the world, to improve the masses, it would certainly, like Mahometanism, have affected a lower standard. It is often objected by unbelievers that Mahometanism is really a more wholesale social improver than Christianity; and the contention is not only plausible, but has to some degree also its truth. A religion without any high aspirations, which contents itself with inculcating cleanliness, and hospitality, and teetotalism, and which cultivates no high ideal of female virtue, may possibly succeed in doing away with prostitution and mendicity, in, so to speak, consuming its own sewage, as any high form of Christianity would not. But it is at the expense of a general deadness, without hope of reform or recovery, because the inward light has become darkness, and the salt has been so diffused and adulterated that it has lost its savour. The Christian ideal did not bring peace into the world, but a sword. It was a light that, separated from the darkness, tended to make the darkness that rejected it still more dark. But in this very antagonism there is a higher life, and for those that sit in darkness a nobler promise than in the uniform greyiness of a lower form. It is this inexhaustible vitality of the Catholic ideal, as manifested especially in France, in spite of the fires of the Revolution in which every institution of Church and State was as it were calcined, that won from Macaulay those expressions of enthusiastic admiration, which I am ashamed to quote here, because they have been quoted so often. With no wish to underrate the revival which Ritualists have brought about during the last twenty years in England, I believe that, judged

by any fair standard, it is insignificant beside the "gesta Dei" within the same period in the single city of Paris.

The Catholic Church is a ship ever on the high seas, progressing here, beaten back there, ever making history that can be read by friend and foe. She is a city set upon a hill, a queen "in the fierce light that beats upon a throne." She is a kingdom, too, as well as a Church, with numberless points of secular contact of which Anglicanism knows nothing; and so now and again in her high places of state we may meet with a man in whom special qualifications for the post have been allowed to cover moral deficiencies. The Anglican Church is a vessel which, after long rotting in dock, has at last, under the influence of Dr. Littledale and his friends, begun to execute—well, some highly promising harbour manœuvres, but they hardly yet belong to history.

Again, we ought to recollect that the political excitement with which the most important Continental countries have been for so long convulsed, has tended to make the relations of the Church with large sections of her subjects most abnormal and difficult. To estimate the comparative depth of waters, we should try and sound them when they are at rest. Science has not yet learned how to calculate and discount a moral wave.

I have not Dr. Littledale's hardihood in wholesale contrasts, but surely it is a matter of notoriety that the Catholic peasantry, notably of Ireland, Italy, and Spain—occasional flashes of violence, Garibaldianism, Fenianism, notwithstanding—contrast most favourably in intelligence and morality with the inhabitants of many of our English villages, where sobriety and purity are almost unknown, and where for the last three centuries the influence of Anglicanism has been unrestricted. I assuredly know of no Roman Catholic country, of the hierarchy of which, at any period of its history, it could be truly said, as Dr. Littledale says of his own bishops (p. 814): "Open depravation of Christianity itself in the pulpit, personal immorality of life, daring nonconformity in public worship, gross neglect of pastoral duties, illegally exacted fees for gratuitous offices, deliberate sordidness and irreverence in the ministration of sacraments; all these I have myself known to have been laid before bishop after bishop, with no result whatever save a snubbing to the complainant; while the slightest hint of Ritualism was sure to meet with immediate attention, and expression of readiness to suppress and punish it, if possible." Even if such a monstrous phase should occur at some exceptional crisis in the history of a Roman Catholic country, there would still be the escape of an appeal to the Holy See. If this is what has been going on for the last three hundred years, well may Dr. Littledale exclaim, "That sort of thing sends men over to Rome."

One charge of Dr. Littledale's (p. 820) is quite disarming in its simplicity. He positively congratulates Anglicanism on having

"originated" two such really estimable sects as the Quakers and the Wesleyans, as compared with the horrible progeny of which Rome is either "parent or grandparent," a family including every Western sect, with the doubtful exception of the "Albigensian Gnostics," from Socinianism to Mormonism. On first reading this, I not unnaturally exclaimed, "How very hard that Dr. Littledale should not at least give us the credit of the parentage, if not the grandparentage, through Luther and Calvin, of the Anglican Church;" and then I perceived that, according to Dr. Littledale, Catholic Churches are not obtained by generation from Catholic Churches, but somehow come to co-exist in virtue of an enlightened sympathy, unrestricted by time and space, and that it is its heresies which are the true progeny of the Church. I commend this theory to the consideration of ecclesiastical historians, and will content myself with asking Dr. Littledale whether, on the common view that heretics are rebels and traitors expelled by the authority they have outraged, we should not expect them to be vile and sacrilegious, in exact proportion to the sanctity which they have forsaken. The virtues of Quakers and Wesleyans would seem to argue that at least they had not committed the crime of forsaking the true Catholic Church; the viciousness of Rome's apostates is, so far, a plea for the virtue of her whom they have abandoned.

As regards the False Decretals, which Dr. Littledale compares to a forged will by which an estate has been obtained by the forger's family to the exclusion of the rightful heirs, I would observe that Dr. Döllinger's analysis in the main agrees with that against which Dr. Littledale protests (p. 795). "The materials from which these forgeries were made up," says Dr. Döllinger, "were, for the most part, from the more ancient sources to which the author had access; the Roman 'Liber Pontificalis,' the historical works of Rufinus and Cassiodorus, the acts of genuine but more recent synods, and papal decrees, the writings of the Latin Fathers of the Church, and the collections of Roman law."* According to the same authority, one "entirely new principle" can be recognized in these Decretals, which is, "that provincial synods generally could not judge a bishop without the permission of the Pontiff;" but here the innovation simply amounted to the removal of a cause, from a court against whose sentence there was already admitted a right of appeal. Dr. Döllinger allows "that the contents of the work" corresponded, "in the main points, to the ecclesiastical principles and institutions of the time."† The same view is taken by the Protestant historian Neander (*Church Hist.*, vol. vi. p. 9, ed. Bohn), who adds that "what Leo the Great says of the Pope's primacy over the whole Church, involves the principles of all that is to be found in the Decretals;" and so, to precisely the same effect, Bowden's *Life of Gregory VII.*, p. 56.‡ Assuredly the Church's belief in the Pope

* *Church History*, vol. iii. p. 198, transl. Cox (mainly).

† *Ibid.* p. 200.

‡ See, too, Hefele, *Tübingen Quartalschrift*, 1847.

must have been boundless, if she revolutionized her constitution on the presentation of documents mainly in the form of Papal assertions.

Dr. Littledale's notion, that the Pope is bound to restitution, might possibly be entertained, if the Pope had ever pretended to exercise his powers on the title of commission from the Church. But it is not maintained, even by Gallicans, that Papal prerogative has any other title than the words of Christ to St. Peter. True they, some of them, maintained that these forgeries helped to ground a false interpretation of these texts, but there can be no question of restitution until the texts are proved a forgery. To carry on Dr. Littledale's illustration, the possessor of an estate would not be bound to give it up because, although he possessed what he and all his friends regarded as a flawless title-deed, it had been discovered that a certain number, though by no means all, of his predecessor's letters laying claim to the property had been forged.

No scholar now believes that these Decretals were forged either by Rome or directly in Rome's interest. But suppose the charge of Papal forgery established in its crudest form, the Popes of to-day are no more called upon to restore the rights which the Decretals vindicate, than the children of Jacob were called upon to yield up to the children of Esau the birthright of which, although their father's own *de jure*, his fraud had made him the *de facto* possessor.

If the false Decretals are ever used now, it is in no sense as authorities, but as texts, as convenient formulæ, simply for what they represent, because they are too closely associated with the practice of the ecclesiastical courts to be eliminated without inconvenience. The right which they represent has long ago been realized by prescription, and what the Canonist Wilhelm (ap. Mabillon *de re diplom.* tom. i. p. 249) says of "*documenta suffecta, substituta, vicaria legitimorum*" may be applied to these. "Public instruments, sealed in court, strong in the authority of great names, are called in question by historians; and often what the judge has approved in the forum the man of letters condemns in his study. In which case I would compound, and so attemper matters as that, whilst the learned should rightly reject such documents as historical evidence, their forensic repute and authority might still remain to them."

Dr. Littledale tells us (p. 812) that Cardinal Manning "has denounced the 'appeal to history' in questions of religion as 'heresy and treason.'"^{*} Now I presume Dr. Littledale has not mistaken what Cardinal Manning has denounced, which is of course nothing more

* Compare Fr. Newman's Letter to Mr. Gladstone, pp. 104, 105 :—"Why should private judgment be unlawful in interpreting Scripture against the voice of authority, and yet be lawful in the interpretation of History? It is the Church's use of History in which the Catholic believes; and she uses other information also, Scripture, tradition, the ecclesiastical sense, or *φρόνημα*, and a subtle ratiocinative power, which in its origin is a divine gift."

than the appeal in questionable matters to our own private reading of history against a decision of the Church; and I ask of Dr. Littledale with what face he can condemn, as he assuredly would, a poor woman who appeals to her own interpretation of a text of Scripture against the decree of a General Council, and withhold his assent to the Cardinal's denunciation of one who should boldly take the interpretation of the decrees of Councils and of Popes, the Church's own memory of her own acts, out of her hands, and substitute his own unauthorized reading. Such an appeal would be nothing less than an appeal from the living to the dead, from a living voice to a dead formula; and God is God of the living, not of the dead. The living, divinely-guided Church is the one legitimate guardian and interpreter of her own memories. No other doctrine has ever prevailed in the Catholic Church. On the other hand, nothing can be more untrue than to represent the Roman Catholic Church as hostile to, or suspicious of, history. She is the one Church of history, and on the field of history her greatest triumphs have been won, notably in regard to the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, which Dr. Littledale is audacious enough (p. 822) to denounce as "a shameless and indefensible figment," "which all who have even cursorily examined the evidence know" to be such; which was "repudiated the other day by many of the greatest Roman Catholic divines, and whose recent promulgation lost the Roman Church many of her most distinguished sons." It is hard to say for what mistakes a very cursory examination may not be responsible; and, even on Dr. Littledale's admission, many of the greatest Roman Catholic divines are left to defend the "shameless and indefensible figment." In matter of fact, with very few exceptions, all defend it. Dr. Döllinger has not asserted it, indeed, so far as I know, in the words of the Vatican Council, but I appeal to any candid mind whether any one who regarded that doctrine as "a shameless and indefensible figment," or thought that the direct jurisdiction of the Pope in every diocese destroyed the bishops' rightful independence, could have written as he has done (*Church History*, vol. i. p. 253). "What the bishop was in his diocese and the metropolitan in his province, the bishop of Rome was in the universal Church" (vol. ii. p. 220). "That the decrees of Synods regarding faith obtained their full power and authority only by being partaken in and confirmed by the Pope, was publicly maintained in the fourth century." "The second General Council, held in 381, which was a Council of only Oriental bishops, acquired the authority of an Ecumenical Synod by the subsequent acceptance and confirmation of the Pope;" the same is said of the Fifth Council (p. 222), "and St. Augustine declared, after the two African Synods had been confirmed by the Pontiff, that the cause of the Pelagians was terminated." "The right of presiding was conceded without contradiction, by all the General Councils, to the legates sent by the Pope." "It was customary that a decree of

the Apostolic See should precede the dogmatical decisions of General Councils, and this decree was the authority and guide of the Council." "The patriarchs were in immediate subjection to the Roman Pontiff. . . . Hence it was the custom of the newly-elected patriarchs to seek confirmation in their dignity from the Popes." "As the immediate superior of the patriarchs, the Pope was also their judge. Without judgment from the Roman See no patriarch could be deposed." "While the bishop of Rome could be judged by no one." "In virtue of their supremacy, the bishops of Rome possessed also the right of receiving appeals, and in the last instance to decide." The Popes had authority to decide "questions of matters of doubtful or contested faith and discipline" (pp. 222—231).*

Now, on the supposition that the Church is in any sense infallible, if the Pope has the supreme decision on matters of faith, if he can receive all appeals, if his acceptance could give the authority of an Œcumenical Council to what was a mere Eastern Council, and no decrees of a General Council avail without his acceptance and confirmation, and all this in virtue, not of ecclesiastical enactment but of the words of Christ, one hardly sees how the conclusion defined by the Vatican Council can be avoided, "that the Pope, when he by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority defines a doctrine which concerns faith and morals to be held by the whole Church, is infallible," and this "by reason of the Divine assistance promised to him in the person of St. Peter;" and "accordingly all such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are of themselves, and not in virtue of the assent of the Church, unalterable."

It may be urged that anyhow, as time went on, Dr. Döllinger changed his mind. Still even *ante lapsum* he was, I suppose, too learned and too honest a man to have defended in principle what "all who have even cursorily examined the evidence know to be a shameless and indefensible figment." The more we look at the broad features of the history of the early Church as indicated in these passages, the more we shall see that it is big with the doctrine defined at the Vatican Council. Substitute a contradictory definition, and the Church would have found herself in hopeless antagonism, not with this or that exceptional fact, but with the whole texture of her past. Nothing can be less satisfactory than the attempt to apply the Gallican theory to the whole course of Church history, however fairly it may appear to represent a passing phase. The really strong point of the Gallican polemic was their use of *prima facie* exceptions, notably that choicest weapon of theirs, the case of Honorius. Their learning enabled them to detect many a clumsy hypothesis, and to eliminate many an extravagance once more or less prevalent amongst Ultramontanes; and so they really subserved the cause, which, with very many of them, lay much nearer to their hearts than any controversial

* Cox's translation (1840), collated with the German edition of 1843.

triumph, the cause of God and of His Church. It is far more congenial to one's feelings to play the part of hammer than that of anvil in the forging of truth; to enunciate the substantially triumphant thesis, than to watch it gradually moulding into impregnability under the fire of our objections; but the latter part is certainly not the less useful; and this part was played, blindly in great measure, doubtless, but with the utmost patience and devotion, by the better sort of Gallicans; and he would be a bold man and a loose thinker, who should venture to oppose to the actual decree passed at the Vatican Council the case of Honorius.

The Vatican definition has had the effect, Dr. Littledale says (p. 821), of making "a brand-new creed with only one article, I believe in the Pope," and (p. 822) he insists that "its last achievement"—he is speaking of the late Pontificate—"makes the permanence of any ancient dogma whatever, in the Romish Church, altogether precarious for the future." This means that we are committed to the position of holding every article of the Creed under condition of the Pope's good pleasure. Dr. Littledale seems to imagine that the formal motive of faith is the word of the Church, or of the Pope, whereas it is the Word of God, whether we attain to the knowledge of it through the Pope, or through a General Council. Its formula is "*Credo quidquid dixit Dei Filius*," as St. Thomas sings. And this word, once received, we forsake not for Pope or Council, nor for an angel from heaven. The condition of the *bene placitum* of a future General Council, such as Dr. Littledale would recognize, would—none the less for its improbability of realization—as certainly vitiate Dr. Littledale's faith, as the condition of Papal non-contradiction with which he would embarrass ours. The believer in one infallible teacher is as really open to this objection as the believer in another; but it can only lie at all by virtue of withdrawing with one hand what it grants with the other. An infallible teacher who contradicts the faith is a self-contradiction of which we are not called upon to take cognizance. It would seem that Dr. Littledale, true to his liberal instincts, regards the safety of ancient dogma as dependent upon the unattainableness of infallible pronouncement. Certainly a creed is sufficiently safe which can only be shaken by the voice of a Council whose validity will depend upon the successful efforts of the A. P. U. C. But, it may be urged, theorize as you will, here is the Pope, a single man, subject to all a man's variations of temper, of mental sanity, &c. If he were to publish some fine morning, with all the regular formalities, that our Lord is present in the Eucharist in figure only, not in reality, all Catholics would be obliged to assent, without criticism, to this heresy. I have no difficulty in making my answer on this hypothesis, whether realizable or not. I answer then, if the Pope should contradict, by any utterance, however solemn, any article of the Catholic faith, the Catholic episcopate, which has not lost its sensitiveness to Catholic

truth by the definition of the infallibility of its head, would proceed against the Pope for heresy, and this they would surely do in virtue of the passive infallibility inherent in the Church. That this is the action authorized by the highest authority, on such an hypothesis, may be sufficiently gathered from the terms of union with the Greeks, which, Pope Alexander IV. testified in 1256, had been accepted and approved by his immediate predecessor Innocent IV. "*de fratrum suorum consilio*," of which the eighth article lays down, that the Pope, "in questions of faith, if any shall emerge, shall before any other bishop deliver the judgment of his will, which judgment, *provided only it gainsay not the evangelical and canonical testimonies*, the rest shall obediently receive and follow."*

But has not the Vatican Council defined the impossibility of such a gainsaying on the part of a Papal definition *ex cathedrâ*? I wish to make myself absolutely clear on this point, "*mallem enim, quam aperte non intelligi, aperte convinci*." In one sense, certainly, I do not think its possibility is precluded by the words of the definition, and I submit my grounds for not thinking so to the judgment of theologians. It has always been a very common opinion held by very Roman theologians, that the Pope by manifest heresy *ipso facto* ceases to be Pope. Now if a Pope defining, however solemnly, should define a heresy, he would not be a Pope really defining *ex cathedrâ*, and he would only appear so till his heresy had fallen upon the ears of the Church, when his forfeiture of the papacy would be recognized. *In sensu diviso* then the Pope *in cathedrâ* could define heresy, but he could not define it *in sensu composito*; or, in other words, he simply could not define heresy *ex cathedrâ*, for this reason, if for no other, that in so defining he would unpope himself.† Not that I conceive for a moment that God would ever permit such a scandal. It is clear then that the acquiescence of the Church is a guarantee, whether wanted or not, for the orthodoxy which is a *sine quâ non* of *ex cathedrâ* definition, and the notion of a Pope free to define right and left at his pleasure is absurd. The more definitions the less space for definition. Every article of faith, like a great rock in a stream, narrows more and more the sphere of question on which the Pope is free to decide, as it increases the number of points which in his decision he is bound to respect.

Dr. Littledale (p. 822) considers that the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception "explicitly contradicts the well-nigh unanimous teaching of ancient Christendom." Now the only explicit theological contradictions of that doctrine I ever came across are the well-known passage from St. Thomas, together with sundry other mediæval authorities. There is no explicit patristic denial of it, and implicitly it is taught in the patristic doctrine of the second Eve, as Fr. Newman has brought

* Lequien. Dissert. Damasc. I. xlv.

† See Turrecremata, De Eccles., lib. 2, cap. 112, ad. 7, and lib. 4, pars. 2, cap. 16, mod. 17. Also Greg. de Valent., S. J., De object. Fid., punct. 7, qu. 6. Also Tanner, S. J., De Fide, qu. 4, dub. 6, assert. 4.

out in his "Letter to Dr. Pusey." The general statement that all are born in sin is the statement of a general rule which is no more an explicit denial of all exception—of all intervention of another dispensation—than a law of nature precludes the possibility of a miracle, or than the general proposition that men's lives on earth are closed by death precludes the case of Enoch and Elias. Certainly the whole mind of the Church, teaching and taught, had from the earliest times been impressed with the sentiment that no sin of any sort had ever touched the mother of Him who was by nature sinless. The development of the doctrine was wrought out by a movement in the widest sense popular, in which scholar and peasant, priest and king, in spite of the adverse authority of certain great names, and the conservative resistance of a great Order, were absolutely at one. It was a doctrine of the Eastern Church as well as of the Western, as witness the Oriental records of the celebration of our Lady's Conception, in the fifth and seventh centuries.* Before it was defined, its universal acceptance throughout the Church certainly fulfilled the conditions for pledging the Church's passive infallibility to its absolute truth. The great university of Paris, which Dr. Littledale esteems so highly, was a devoted adherent of the doctrine. Marsilius ab Inghen, in his commentary on the Sentences, remarks that in his time—the fourteenth century—the doctrine was taught in every school of Paris except that of the Dominicans; and long before the definition, the Dominicans had ceased to present any exception to the common credence of the Church.

Dr. Littledale (p. 821) charges us with "deteriorating into gross and puerile superstition," and having adopted cults which, though "thoroughly Pagan in spirit," are "eagerly pushed forward by authority," and concerning which "a born Roman Catholic knows that he is expected to be at least silent if he cannot openly yield them his assent." On the contrary, all Catholics, whether born or convert, know that, so far from its being their duty to keep silence as to superstitious devotions, they are bound to delate them forthwith to the proper authorities, and that if the local authorities are remiss, the way is open to the highest tribunal. It is quite true that they also know that they must not insert a slashing article in a magazine charging every one concerned, particularly the bishop of the diocese, with "gross and puerile superstition." Perhaps this is what Dr. Littledale means. It is notorious that devotions which fall far short of meriting Dr. Littledale's extravagant vituperation are not unfrequently condemned and prohibited by Rome. (See additional note to fifth edition of Fr. Newman's Letter to Dr. Pusey.) On the other hand, it is quite true that, provided there is no offence against faith or morals, the Church is very tender of repressing any expressions of love, however puerile, as befits the spouse of one who has said, "Suffer little children to come unto me, and forbid

* Ap. Perrone, De Im. B. V. M. Concep. cap. 12.

them not." She says, in fact, "*Ama et fac quod vis.*" She is too much impressed with the Divine condescension in consenting to our worship at all, to feel that there is all that immense difference, upon which Dr. Littledale would insist, between the grave refined beauty of a mediæval hymn, though such as to extort the reluctant homage of the most critical agnostic, and the novena which expresses in language at once florid and feeble the emotions of a French school-girl.

To the charge (p. 822) that our "refusal of the Eucharistic chalice to the laity . . . involves express disobedience to a Divine command," it is sufficient to observe that, if there be any such absolute Divine command, then the Church of the first five centuries, which, it is quite certain, under a variety of circumstances, such as sickness and persecution, gave communion under one species, is open to the same charge of disobedience. It must be clear, then, to any one who believes in the early Church, that this is a matter, not of absolute rule, but of discretion; and the discretion of the Roman Church, I think, may be preferred to Dr. Littledale's.

The Roman Church is cruel and treacherous. Three hundred years ago Gregory XIII. approved the cruelty and treason involved in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and had a medal struck with an angel "advancing swiftly to stab one of the fugitives in the back" (p. 795), a facsimile of which Dr. Littledale has in his possession; and not two hundred years ago the French bishops preached a murderous crusade against the heretics of the Cevennes, and Clement XI. granted a plenary indulgence to any Catholic taking up arms, the outcome of which was a horrible band of volunteers, the *Enfants de la Croix*, whose barbarities startled even that barbarous age; and only the other day, in 1868, Pius IX. canonized an inquisitor Peter d'Arbues, "a man of whose personal character nothing whatever is known, and whose one claim to notice is that he was slain by the friends of some victims to his ruthlessness as an inquisitor."

As to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, nothing has as yet been produced to prove that the Pope knew anything more than that the King had suppressed in blood the enemies of both Church and State. Such congratulations as we may have received from foreign courts on the suppression of the Indian Mutiny certainly showed sympathy for a friendly power in a substantially righteous cause, but as certainly did not necessarily involve any approval of various painful details which I am afraid actually took place. The assassinating angel is a very bold conception of Dr. Littledale's, but I believe quite unknown either to theology or art. Of course there is all the difference between turning the back to the sword and the sword to the back.

The treatment of the Huguenots of the Cevennes was exceedingly bad, but innocent victims they certainly were not. They were continually allying themselves with the enemies of France, and though no doubt their lot had been made a very painful one by the revocation

of the Edict of Nantes, the actual game of slaughter was of their beginning. According to a Protestant writer quoted in the "*Mémoires pour Servir*" forty parishes had been destroyed, and nigh a hundred Catholics massacred by the Huguenots in the single month of January, 1703, and the Huguenot barbarities certainly equalled, if they did not surpass, in quality at least, those of their opponents. To whatever extent the rash and cruel policy of Louis XIV. may be responsible for this hideous civil war, yet when convents began to be burned and priests massacred, Catholics had to fight, and their bishops lawfully and rightly encouraged them to do so with every means at their command. But I can find nothing of the preaching of a crusade, nor any trace of an indulgence granted by Clement XI. It does not appear in his Bullarium. It is not mentioned by St. Simon, the "*Mémoires pour Servir*," Michelet, or the voluminous history of Gabourd. I may observe that the Roman party in France were the most opposed to these dragonnades. Madame Maintenon spoke so strongly against them that Louis taunted her with her Calvinist blood, and Fénelon exerted himself vigorously in behalf of the victims; whereas Bossuet, I am afraid, went with the King thoroughly. The *Enfants de la Croix* were enthusiasts enlisted by the communes, in opposition to the royal leader Montrevel, and as a protest against his leniency. He was ultimately obliged to repress them. These are certainly the last people whose arms a pope would bless who cared to keep on good terms with Louis.*

As regards the case of Peter d'Arbues, I suppose it would be a hard matter to convince the British public of the reality of the virtues of a Spanish inquisitor. But if absolute persistent self-sacrifice, in a cause firmly believed to be the cause of God, and to involve the highest interests of mankind, can constitute any claim to sanctity, only the narrow-minded can deny that several of the Spanish inquisitors may deserve the name of Saint. But, be this as it may, my complaint against Dr. Littledale is, that, in speaking of Peter d'Arbues he implies that in the processes of his canonization no testimony as to his virtues was forthcoming, and that he was simply declared a saint off-hand because he was an inquisitor slain in the ruthless exercise of his office. The facts, of which I presume Dr. Littledale is ignorant, are to be found in the Bollandists for September 17. According to various solemn testimonies recorded in the processes, Peter d'Arbues was a man of consummate virtue, prudent, just, full of the love of God and of his neighbour, to the relief of whose spiritual and temporal necessities he was devoted; of rigid mortification, continual prayer, dauntless courage, and self-forgetfulness. It may of course be maintained that these virtues are calculated on a wrong standard, but Dr. Littledale has no right to speak of the man to whom they are imputed as one "of whose personal character for holiness nothing whatever is known."

* See *Histoire de France*: A. Gabourd, tome v. p. 421.

Before his martyrdom an attempt had been already made upon his life by the Jews, and his friends besought him to resign his dangerous office, but he answered calmly, "Let them make a good martyr of a bad priest." He was stabbed repeatedly in the neck, and lingered two days, incessantly thanking God and praying for his murderers. It is not surely necessary to defend the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella towards the Jews, in order to establish this man's claim to the veneration of the faithful. It is true, as Dr. Littledale notes, that his murderers had, in addition to the *odium fidei*, a private grudge against him for having condemned a relative to death; but there is nothing to suggest that there was anything unjust, or even especially harsh, in the sentence.* A *cultus* at once arose about his tomb, which was constantly confirmed by numerous attested miracles; amongst these we may mention the raising of three children to life. He was beatified in 1664 by Alexander VII. at the earnest and repeated solicitations of Spain and its kings. His office has been said ever since, not only in Spain but in parts of Italy, particularly at Bologna, where the martyr had once been professor. It is surely gratuitous to accredit the Rome of to-day with any particular affection for the Inquisition, because Pius IX., on the presentation of fresh miracles, accorded to Peter d'Arbues the final honours of canonization.

I have said that I am not concerned to defend the treatment of the Jews in Spain; but I think we have hardly realized what extraordinarily difficult people the Jews of that day were to deal with. In one of the early accounts of the death of Peter d'Arbues his murderers are spoken of as "wicked men accustomed to live by the oppression of the innocent." Of course it may be said that this is merely an expression of hostility towards men who followed out strictly the legal advantage which their superior cleverness in money-dealing gave them. I believe it to be a fair account of the ordinary Jew of that day in Spain. A few extracts from a practical treatise on morals by Maimonides may throw some light upon the attitude of the Jew towards the Christian.

Moses Maimonides flourished in the twelfth century, first at Cordova, and afterwards at the court of Saladin. He was in his way a liberal, had travelled much, and translated various Gentile books, and had excited the animosity of sundry stricter brethren by the freedom with which he had abridged the Talmud. The article upon him in the "Biographie Universelle" extols him as quite the greatest light amongst the Jewish Rabbins. He wrote at a time when the Jews were free from the exasperating influence of the Inquisition, and so he may be taken fairly to represent the Jew at rest. His essay is formally entitled "On Idolatry," and as such has been published with a Latin translation

* The Inquisition had to deal with a great variety of criminals, amongst others, with "murderers and rebels, if their deeds were in any way connected with the affairs of the Inquisition" (Hefele's *Life of Ximenes*, chap. 17).

by Voss.* But, under idolaters, Christians are unmistakably comprehended; indeed, as we shall see, in one of the strongest passages, he uses the term "Gentile." He says (cap. x. sect. 1), "We must not show them mercy, and so if any one see a Gentile perishing or drowning in the water, he must not give him aid. If he see him nigh unto death he must not snatch him from death. Natheless, actually to slay him, or to push him into a pit, or the like, is wrong, because he is not at war with us." His Dutch commentator is shocked in a mild way, and exclaims "Maimoniden hic qui purgem non video." He continues: "Such Israelites as forsake their religion or become Epicureans, we are bidden to slay and pursue even unto hell. . . . Hence we may learn that it is forbidden to minister medicine to idolaters for any guerdon whatsoever. But if a man is in fear from them and believes that such conduct will make him extremely hated, he may do it for a guerdon, but on no account gratis" (cap. ix. sect. 13). The Jew is allowed to assist a pagan woman in labour, if he is afraid not to do so; it is lawful "*odii causa obstetricari*" (sect. 10). A Jew must not buy from travelling merchants licensed by an idolatrous government, because the license-money helps to uphold idolatry. If he has done so, and it be merchandise, he must leave it to rot. If it be a slave and he tumble into a pit he must not pull him out, though he must not push him in. Beside this typical Jew, Shylock is something almost "gentle." The Spanish government may have been extreme, but it must be admitted that a policy of toleration in regard to such subjects presented exceptional difficulties.

I have endeavoured to group Dr. Littledale's charges with some regard to their subject matter, but it is like trying to arrange the "*saxorum crepitantium turbo*" which overwhelmed St. Stephen. I take now the charge against Pius VII., because, if it were true, it would convict the Pope of such an exquisite piece of baseness and cruelty as would fit him to take a place with the Anglican bishops in Dr. Littledale's chamber of horrors. He talks (p. 810) of the "plot of Pius VII. with Napoleon I. against the liberties of the Gallican Church." It was unfair enough to speak, as Dr. Littledale has done in his Tract on Anglican Orders,† of Pius VII. acting as the tool of Napoleon I.; but anyhow tools don't plot. However, the genesis of vituperation is not logical—"vires acquirit cundo;" it is now a plot, and against the very Church which had just poured out its blood so generously in the dreadful revolution. Pius VII., even on the admission of his enemies, was a man of singular piety and benevolence, gentle to a fault; and yet Dr. Littledale has no hesitation in charging him with this hideous treachery. The motive of the Pope's action has always been perfectly clear. For the first time the wildfire of the Revolution took a "questionable shape;" it became human in the person of the man who had mastered it; and the man was one whose keen eye appreciated in the

* Upon this translation I am dependent.

† Masters, 1871.

Church a great element of social order. So far as Pius VII. entered into any plot with Napoleon I., it was a plot against the Revolution, and its object was to restore to millions of Christians the aids and consolations of Christian rite and sacrament. It was impossible to attempt to bring back the exiled hierarchy without setting all France in a blaze. Under these circumstances the Pope ventured upon what was doubtless an extreme act of papal jurisdiction. This was the project, this the motive, perfectly adequate and perfectly in accordance with the character of the person in question, and yet Dr. Littledale must needs suggest the theory, quite new and quite gratuitous, of a plot, as uncongenial to the refined and tender soul of Pius as the intent of stabbing treacherously to the conception of an avenging angel.

The late Pope, says Dr. Littledale (p. 821), has "upset the moral law." How wonderful, everything considered, that such a delicious expedient should never have occurred to a Pope before! And it was done so easily, "by making Liguori a Doctor of the Church, and his 'probabilism' her accredited doctrine." St. Alphonso Liguori was made a doctor of the Church, not because he was the inventor of "probabilism," or of anything else in particular, but because he was the first considerable theological writer of recent times who had set the seal of very conspicuous sanctity upon what had for some time been the prevailing sentiment and practice of the Church. As to probabilism, it is, *pace* Dr. Littledale, very consonant with common sense. It is the application to the confessional of the common principle which lies at the bottom of all equitable jurisprudence, "*Lex dubia non obligat.*" It practically comes to this, that, *e.g.*, a penitent can fairly say, "I do not know how it may really be, whether I am bound in charity to incur this expense or not, but I see there is good substantial ground both in reason and authority in favour of the lawfulness of the easier line of action, although what may be fairly considered a somewhat greater weight of reason and authority makes against it: my liberty is in possession: with this really probable ground in my favour, I am not probably, but certainly free, for '*lex dubia non obligat.*'" Whilst the confessor on his part, although he may urge the other course as the higher and better by every argument in his power, does not feel himself justified in enforcing, under pain of loss of absolution, the choosing of the presumably better part. This is probabilism; an innocent-looking doctrine truly to be accredited with upsetting the moral law.*

Dr. Littledale taunts us (p. 817) with having been so languid in our defence of Christianity against the Deism of the last century, that the Abbé Migne, in his "*Démonstrations Évangéliques*," has actually had to appeal to Anglican writers. Now against whom, I would ask,

* So far from St. Alphonso's probabilism being extreme, it has been maintained recently by the Redemptorists against the Jesuits, that his doctrine is not probabilism so much as *æqui-probabilism*, which requires the opinion you follow to be equally probable with the opinion you set aside.

is this objection levelled? Against Spain or Italy? But who were the Deistic writers there to combat?* Against the French Church? What? the Church of Bossuet, the great Gallican Church, in whose praise Dr. Littledale is so eloquent? Against the persecuted remnant of Catholics in this country? And in whose interest is it urged? In that of the Anglican Church at notoriously its deadest and least Catholic stage. I answer then, that eighteenth-century Deism was for the most part English-speaking, and that you and your father's house had silenced the Catholic Church in England; that in France such a work as the Benedictine "*Divinitas Jesu Christi*" was a host in itself, to say nothing of such writers as Bullet and Bergier, but that the Abbé Migne doubtless felt that heretics had their uses; of whom St. Hilary of Poitiers says, "Their mutual victories are the Church's triumph over them all, whilst one heresy combats in another that very point which the faith of the Church condemns; for heretics have no point common to them all. Meanwhile when combating each other it is our faith that they assert." I do not here wish to use the term "heretic" reproachfully, but how many, I would ask, of a list which comprehends Locke and Burnet and Tillotson, have reached the Ritualist standard of Catholic orthodoxy? Observe, this appeal to Migne's undenominational collection, a collection embracing Catholic, Protestant, and even infidel writers, amongst others Rousseau, is Dr. Littledale's *tu quoque* to the remark that Anglicans have had to import their manuals of practical theology from us, which importation at least suggests that the theology itself is exotic. As though the Catholic Church had not, as Fr. Newman remarks in a passage appealing to this very collection (*Idea, of a University*, Disc. i. p. 26), "ever used unbelievers and pagans in evidence of her truth, as far as their evidence went. She avails herself of scholars, critics, and antiquarians who are not of her communion, . . . and the late French collection of Christian Apologists contains the writings of Locke, Burnet, Tillotson, and Paley."

When we turn from the eighteenth century to our own, and ask what has been done respectively by the two communities in the way of resistance to the attacks of modern materialism, we are met by the significant fact that when the veteran leader of the High Church party would enter his solemn protest against science falsely so called,† he selects his weapons almost exclusively from our armoury,—from Mivart, Reusch, *The Dublin Review*, *The Rambler*, F. Pianciani, S.J., Fr. Newman; no Anglican writer is even mentioned.

After attempting to show that Roman Catholics have not deserved to succeed, Dr. Littledale proceeds to contend that, as might have been expected, they are not succeeding in this country. Our quality is bad, and we are not "maintaining our natural ratio of increase," as

* Nevertheless Italy contributed several distinguished apologists, amongst others, the great Cardinal Gerdil; and as early as 1718 Collins' Discourse was condemned at Rome.

† Unscience, not Science, adverse to Faith. A Sermon by the Rev. E. B. Pusey, D.D., 1878.

the marriage returns prove (pp. 817, 818). As regards the disproportionate numbers of Roman Catholics convicted of criminal offences, I shall not pretend to check Dr. Littledale's statistics. I admit that our criminals are greatly out of proportion to the number of our population, but I submit that as immensely out of all proportion is the number of our very poor, the class from which prisons and reformatories are mainly supplied. Again, "criminal offence" is a wide term, embracing everything from rape and wholesale fraud to assaulting the police and obstructing the pathway. Until denominational statistics discriminating the different kinds of criminal offence are produced, I cannot see how any fair conclusion can be drawn as to our relative morality. My strong expectation, take it for what it is worth, grounded on some years' experience as chaplain in a gaol, is that amongst our technically called criminals the number of grave offenders would be comparatively small. The vast majority of Irishmen of the poorer class, when packed in one of the crowded alleys of our great towns, are, even when quite sober, convertible at a moment's notice, and as often as the police may think it advisable, into criminals of the slighter sort. When the tide of Irish immigration set in upon this country, our priests and schools were wholly inadequate to meet the sudden demand made upon them, and the Irish immigrant, used to the almost paternal vigilance of his own parish priest, found that he was left to himself in a strange land. No wonder that soon after the flush before 1851 a steady falling-off ensued, suspended only by the characteristic revival, noticed by Dr. Littledale, at the No-Popery agitation. I believe that there are at least 1,500,000 Roman Catholics in England and Wales, instead of the 1,000,000 allowed by Dr. Littledale;* and for these there are something under 1,900 priests of all classes, of whom many have no sort of congregational work. It is rather too bad to find that, when Dr. Littledale is calculating the ratio of criminals (p. 818), he complains that the Church of England "is held accountable for every one who does not definitely avow himself as a member of another society;" and that, on the contrary, when he would test the quality of either community by calculating (see footnote, *ibid.*) the proportion to their respective populations of the clerical force at their command, he allots to the Anglican clergy the whole population of the country, Roman Catholics included, for which, he insists, "the Anglican Church is responsible." Now, the Roman Catholic priesthood does concern itself, and so, in a certain sense, may be said to hold itself responsible, for the whole population; but of only a very small minority of the Anglican clergy can the same be said. However, let both communities lay claim to the 24,000,000. I can have no possible objection, and the result is that Catholics have only 1,900

* Whitaker's Almanack allows two millions to Great Britain, and half a million is surely a generous allowance for Scotland. "The Catholic Church in Scotland" (Glasgow: 1878), a statistical pamphlet emanating from the highest authority, sets down the Scotch Catholics at about 300,000.

men for the same work for which Anglicans have 23,000. Of course, I do not insist upon what no doubt was a mere oversight, though an outcome, I fear, of that greediness of cheap triumph which characterizes the whole of Dr. Littledale's article. Let us take, then, the 12,000,000 ordinarily allowed to the Anglican Church; for these it has 23,000 clergymen—that is, one to every 521; whereas our 1,900 priests to one million and a half is one to every 789. So much for Dr. Littledale's calculation, which gives a proportion to population of two priests for every Anglican clergyman. It should be borne in mind, moreover, that the heaviest of a Catholic priest's duties in a large town parish is his attendance on the dying. He believes, in common with such Ritualist clergymen as have really grasped the Sacramental system, that the ministrations of the priest at a death-bed may make all the difference. In consequence of his so believing, this portion of his work necessarily enforces a predominant claim upon his thoughts and energies; whilst of its results there can be nothing whatever to show till the great day of account. With the vast majority of Anglican clergymen, on the contrary, this most laborious and harassing part of the Christian ministry is to a great degree in abeyance; and even amongst Ritualists, with few exceptions, it falls far short of the proportions it assumes with us. Partially worked-out statistics certainly do not present the controversial field I should have selected, but I am bound to follow Dr. Littledale; and it is important to show that, where most men at least affect scrupulosity, he does not care to do so.

As regards the argument from the marriage returns, I must premise that our marriage returns less fairly represent our numbers than in the case of any other community. Marriage in the Roman Church is a sacrament, for which the recipients are expected to prepare themselves by confession; and it anyhow obliges ill-livers to face a religious influence which they have the strongest desire to avoid. The consequence is that a number of bad Catholics every year, particularly, but by no means exclusively, in the case of mixed marriage, go through the ceremony before the Registrar or in the Anglican Church. There is, on the other hand, nothing whatever to deter bad Protestants from being married in the Anglican Church.* But this, it will be said, and fairly said, does not meet the argument from the diminution of the ratio of the marriage returns. I submit that, in the face of such a phenomenon as the Irish immigration, a minute calculation of real gain or loss is hardly attainable. The flush which in 1851 doubled our marriage returns was succeeded by a long course of diminution, arising from our loss in children and adults, for whom it was impossible to make adequate religious provision; and again, we must take into account the egress of English-Irish to America, which

* Again, we must take into consideration the number of our celibates, the comparative infrequency with us of remarriage, and our innocence of divorce.

has been going on for the last twenty years; and, more than all, the enormous losses we have sustained, owing to our disproportionate number of very poor, in pauper children. Under the circumstances, I really believe that to have fairly realized in 1878 our enormous flush of 1851 is matter for serious congratulation. I have a little hesitation in accepting Dr. Littledale's way of accounting for the increase in the marriage returns of 1853 by the No-Popery agitation. It may have increased the number of Catholic marriages, by bringing more Catholics to their duty, but it surely diminished, rather than not, the number of converts in the lower and middle classes; and assuredly the Public Worship Act can never have had any appreciable effect either upon conversion in these classes or on the regularity of Catholics.

Conversion to Rome of Englishmen, mainly from the lower and lower middle class, is a real and continuous fact. I am sure that I can appeal to the testimony of all our priests in large towns, that, although their hands are too full for anything that can be called proselytism, a steady if slender stream of converts, year after year, from these classes, is one of the most cheering experiences of their missionary life, and furnishes them, for the most part from the Anglican Church, with some of the most satisfactory members of their flocks. The least intelligent of these converts have a very sufficient appreciation of the confusion and feebleness of what they are leaving, and the reality and unity of what they are embracing, and there is more philosophy than is at first apparent in the saying as to the Catholic Church one comes across so frequently amongst English Protestants of the lower class, "She was the first and she will be the last."

The Roman Catholic laity, Dr. Littledale says (p. 818), "are distinctly more narrow, apathetic, negative, more incapable of interest in higher thought, even on religious topics, less earnest and willing—apart from those who devote themselves directly to clerical and conventual life—to work in and for their Church. Indeed, the complaint I hear from Roman Catholics is, 'We can get money enough for almost any scheme we start, but they drop through, one after another, because we cannot get the men.'" For this he considers the clergy are responsible "in their craving to officialize everything."

My answer is, that, literally, we have not got the subjects; that is to say, we can seldom find, except in the most favoured congregations, a sufficient number of persons of any one class—above the lowest class—to co-operate in parish work, and there are often difficulties in the way of isolated work, apart from the question of its efficiency. The very confession that we can get "money enough" (?) is a considerable corrective of the charge of want of earnestness. Out of our comparative poverty it seems we give abundantly, but, of course, we cannot create masses of men socially homogeneous. The priest is thus forced to officialize things more than he otherwise would. At the same time I do not deny that the tendency to professional

exclusiveness in the Roman Catholic clergy is strong; it is the price it pays for its professional efficiency.

It is unfair in estimating the religious spirit of the Catholic laity to exclude altogether those who "devote themselves to conventual life." We precipitate, in the form of religious, a considerable proportion of the most zealous part of the community. Taking the Roman Catholic laity as they are, they have to fight each man almost by himself, like the Guards at Inkerman, an isolated battle, and certainly neither hearts nor purses have been wanting in the cause of charity and religion.

I should like to paraphrase one portion of Dr. Littledale's charge, and to accept it so paraphrased. Our laity are comparatively narrow, as walking in a road which leads whence and whither they know. They are unexcited, "apathetic," if you will, as compared with the rash excursionist who is trying to edge his daring way betwixt legal rock and liberal surf, and, above all, they are ever scrupulous to check their "high thought on religious topics" with the "*noli altum sapere*" of the apostle.

III.

Dr. Littledale testifies (p. 819) that it is "our general experience that conversion to Rome involves, in a large majority of instances, sudden, serious, and permanent intellectual and moral deterioration, especially as to the quality of truthfulness." He supports his theory of intellectual deterioration by the fact, "that the very first thing most new converts do is to sell off all their books," as a preliminary to sinking into a state of "cold religious indifference scarcely distinguishable from scepticism;" whilst their moral deterioration is illustrated (1) by the account of an acquaintance of Dr. Littledale's who gets drunk and assaults the police on the day of his reception; (2) by the misbehaviour of the convert majority of an Anglican sisterhood who, "under very high Roman authority and counsel indeed," expelled the Anglican minority, and at the same time refused to pay any part of the year's expenses, whilst retaining almost the whole of the furniture. This last illustration is further pointed and applied by comparing the edifying conduct of the Anglican superior-general, who would not allow the aggrieved minority to prosecute, with the disedifying legal contest of *Saurin v. Starr*. Dr. Littledale also points out, as reflecting at once upon the convert himself and the Church which fails to utilize him, that one convert clergyman has become "a house-decorator," another "a low comedy reciter and author," a third "a mere loafer about billiard-rooms and the like."

He proceeds to range the causes of conversion under three heads—temperament, sentiment, and practical grounds. Amongst the sentimental causes he most characteristically includes episcopal opposition, doubts as to orders and jurisdiction, and the possibly invalidating effect of State interference. Amongst practical grounds he insists

upon—1. The desire on the part of Anglican clergymen to “be free from the moral and religious checks of the clerical profession, and to be at liberty to adopt uncensured the habits of a fast layman” (p. 799). 2. Want of Ritualistic opportunities. 3. “Sheer mental laziness and sloth” (p. 815).

I now approach what I feel to be decidedly the most delicate part of my task. I may be told that the more wanton and extravagant Dr. Littledale's aggression, the less needful to care about a defence. But then Dr. Littledale is, after his fashion, “lively and powerful,” and this is sufficient to win appreciative regard. There are so many persons who are naturally glad of anything that may tend to weaken at any cost, in popular estimation, the adverse testimony of “Rome's Recruits;” and anyhow it is well, in the general interests of fair play, that Dr. Littledale's polemic should be put in its true light. And yet the recollection of a certain fable troubles me, which tells of a bear who, out of pure friendliness for a sleeping man, was fain to crush a fly that teased him; but, zealous overmuch, severely bruised the slumberer's cheek, and killed an ancient friendship. I can only say that I will be as little personal as the personality of Dr. Littledale's offence permits.

In the first place I would remark, that even if I were inclined to accept all Dr. Littledale's facts in the very colour he gives them, they are ludicrously insufficient to sustain his charge of intellectual and moral deterioration against the convert body. Nay, inasmuch as Dr. Littledale's heart is certainly in his work, and he is not overburdened with scruples of delicacy, the fact that he only produces two or three unpleasant cases, although he assures us they are only specimens, is a strong testimony that no more are forthcoming. You have no right to contest the valour of a regiment because it has been once reported, even on the best authority, that a man here or there has been seen to hang back.

Dr. Littledale thinks that Rome ought to have utilized convert married clergymen as clergymen. She could not have done so without revolutionizing her whole system. Is it clear that it would have been to the general advantage to have done so? No doubt to many convert clergymen it has been a very trying lesson to learn, but certainly not one conducive to moral deterioration, that “they also serve who only stand and wait.”

The “house-decorator”—I can only suppose Dr. Littledale is here referring to a gentleman very well known in art circles, who certainly has given designs for the decoration of various houses as well as churches—would, I am sure, account the humblest employment with which Dr. Littledale should accredit him as far more honourable than that of trying to make the face of heresy “beautiful for ever;” whilst the “low comedy reciter and author,” who has furnished more innocent food for honest laughter than almost any one in his generation, can well afford to smile at Dr. Littledale's cynical contempt. I would suggest that Mr. Sketchley's popular heroine should interview

Dr. Littledale on the spot; indeed, this might perhaps be the most appropriate way of answering him. As to the billiard-room loafer, and Dr. Littledale's other acquaintance, who got drunk and assaulted the police, I abandon them regretfully, feeling sure, from the mere fact of their appearance in the excellent company of Dr. Littledale's black list, that there must be a world to say in their behalf. Had the facts regarding the converted majority of the Anglican sisterhood been precisely as Dr. Littledale has related them, of course restitution would have been necessary; as it appears this has not been made, the sisters doubtless do not accept Dr. Littledale's version of the facts. The superior-general's sentiment as to the impropriety of sisters quarrelling was a noble one certainly, but perhaps too it was quite as well, considering what bad lawyers women generally are, that she did not lean too confidently upon her boldly expressed opinion, "Your claim would stand good at once in law." Such mingled amiability and prudence is of course a far more pleasing spectacle to contemplate than that of a crazy Catholic nun prosecuting her sisterhood. The year's bills, however, I venture to think, might have been left with equal prudence and propriety in the hands of the local tradesmen, who would have had no scruple in exacting their payment from the establishment to which they had furnished their goods.

Converts sell their books, according to Dr. Littledale, for something the same reason that prompted Prospero to drown his, because they were of no further use to men who had relinquished their private judgment.

" But this rough magic
I here abjure; and, when I have required
Some heavenly music,
. I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And deeper than did ever plummet sound,
I'll drown my book."

The fact being that converts for the most part have left a state of comfort for one of penury, a state of stable prospects for one of complete uncertainty, and they sold their books because they were the goods most readily convertible into money upon which they could lay their hands. With most of them their having done so has been a constant topic of regret, because the sum obtained was generally very trifling, and the books not easily replaced. If Dr. Littledale knows anything of converts, he knows this. One is reminded of the proverbial unmanliness of beating a cripple with his crutch.

I now come to Dr. Littledale's three classes of causes of conversion, Temperament, Sentiment, and Practical Grounds. Of the first I will only observe, that to suppose a man created with a natural sympathy for the character Dr. Littledale has ascribed to the Roman Catholic Church, is little short of a libel on the Creator.

As regards the sentimental causes, I suppose the main difference between the mind that is converted to Rome and Dr. Littledale's is

just this, that the former is incapable of taking the opposition of bishops, doubts as to orders and jurisdiction, for merely sentimental, as contrasted with real difficulties. It feels that the basis of all Church-life is authority, and that the persistent opposition of ecclesiastical superiors to what it regards as Catholic faith and practice proves that the body in which authority and Catholicism are so opposed must be something short of Catholic. This constitutes an objection of far too solid and real a character to be met by such a sentimental satisfaction as that of cutting up the bishops in a magazine. "Di me terrent et Jupiter hostis," exclaims Fr. Newman in his "Apologia." "It is because the bishops still go on charging against me, though I have quite given up: it is that secret misgiving of heart which tells me that they do well, for I have neither lot nor part with them: this it is which weighs me down." Even Dr. Littledale seems to feel that his classification requires some apology, and attempts to justify it thus. He says that in his experience "they are almost never the original moving causes, but are simply caught up subsequently, in nineteen cases out of twenty, as a justification for seceding." Surely this vitiates his classification; he had undertaken to classify, not the excuses, but the causes of conversion. In his pretension to be exhaustive he pressed what he presently acknowledges to be a mere excuse into his list of causes; with what face then can he pass over so lightly what converts, with hardly an exception, testify to being the main motive of their secession—the fearful suspicion, gradually settling into a certainty, that the Church of England is "a mere national institution" and as a Church "the veriest of nonentities" (Apologia, note 2). As to doubts about orders and jurisdiction, we know that Dr. Littledale can make short work of them (see "Anglican Orders: a Summary of Historical Evidence," 1871); but then, as every one who has read Canon Estcourt's book on "Anglican Orders" knows, there is ground for the gravest doubts of Barlow's consecration, an all but certainty that, if the *opus* of the formal consecrator be *nil*, the co-operation is *nil* also, and the plain fact that the Anglican form is an ambiguous one, which, when read in the light of the mutilated ordinal and liturgy, is unlike anything that has been accepted, as even probably adequate, either by East or West. It is a curious commentary upon Dr. Littledale's absolute self-confidence that a party from amongst his more advanced brethren have actually had themselves re-ordained, and three of them consecrated bishops, by, as they say, representatives of no less than three lines of undoubted episcopal succession, and actually re-baptize and re-ordain all Anglican clergymen who join them. According to these gentlemen the jurisdiction of the Anglican episcopate has lapsed to them, the bishops having forfeited it in their attempt to transfer it to the State.

It is this intense feeling of the nothingness of what they are leaving that is the characteristic, I may say, of converts from Anglicanism to

Rome, and it is the naïve expression of this irresistible conviction that offends so intensely those whom they leave behind. Converts before reception, it is true, as a rule, have by no means solved every objection that can be brought by able disputants against this or that particular doctrine; but they firmly believe that Christ's Church is on a rock, and they know that they are in the water. It would be unreasonable to demand of a drowning man that he should not attach himself to the only piece of *terra firma* that presents itself, until he can give a scientific account of all its animal and vegetable productions.

It is only natural that Anglicans should be inclined to dwell upon any other reason of conversion, rather than one so painful for them to contemplate. But I do not know who has gone so far as Dr. Littledale in imputing ill motives to men who, whatever their shortcomings, have, at least most of them, been sufferers for conscience sake; each one of whom might say with Fr. Newman that he "has given up much that he loved, and prized, and might have retained, but that he loved honesty better than name, and Truth better than dear friends." As I have already said, I am not pleading my own cause, yet in one sense it is mine, inasmuch as it is the cause of those to whom I owe it that I am not now on board a ship drifting heavily on the rocks, with officers and crew alternately putting one another in irons.

Dr. Littledale talks of "moral deterioration" and the operation of such causes as the desire of "unrestraint" and "sheer laziness and sloth;" whereas I have been all my life wondering, as one does in reading the acts of the martyrs, if I could ever have acted half so fearlessly or endured with half the cheerfulness. It may be said that I am witnessing to positive virtues, whereas Dr. Littledale does not say that convert clergymen are not good, but only that they are not so good as when they fed their flocks in his company. Here, of course, he has the advantage of me: I did not know them then. If their present state is the outcome of a fall, then must their original level have been very high, and their fall curiously light. I might address them in the words of Edgar:—

"Hadst thou been aught but gossamer, feathers, air,
So many fathoms down precipitating,
Thou'dst shivered like an egg; but thou dost breathe;
Hast heavy substance; bleed'st not; speak'st; art sound.
Ten masts at each make not the altitude
Which thou hast perpendicularly fell;
Thy life's a miracle: speak yet again.
Glo. But have I fallen, or no?
Edg. From the dread summit of this chalky bourn:
Look up a-height;—the shrill-gorged lark so far
Cannot be seen or heard: do but look up."

But the moral height from which converts have fallen—how are we to measure it? Dr. Littledale himself furnishes the standard, in his article of last November. When he tells us that converts have

suffered "sudden, serious, and permanent intellectual and moral deterioration" we know what he means. Once, they handled history and theology with the delicacy and precision of Dr. Littledale. Once, they had all his scrupulous horror of "misleading statements as to matters of historical fact;" once, if ever they did use "such weapons in arguing," at least it was quite gratuitously, and not because they found it necessary (see p. 823). And now let me continue with Edgar:—

" This is above all strangeness :
Upon the crown o' the cliff, what thing was that
Which parted from you ?
Glo. A poor unfortunate beggar.
Edg. As I stood here below, methought his eyes
Were two full moons : he had a thousand noses,
Horns whelk'd and wav'd like the enridg'd sea ;
It was some fiend : therefore, thou happy father,
Think that the clearest gods, who make them honours
Of men's impossibilities, have preserved thee."

Dr. Littledale's ill-treatment of converts would have lacked something in the perfection of its unpleasantness, if he had omitted an awkward compliment to Fr. Newman, as one who, it appears, has not fallen, and so, whilst unappreciated by his co-religionists, is fortunate enough still to retain Dr. Littledale's esteem. No doubt Fr. Newman has the "reverence and love" of many Anglicans even outside the sphere of his own personal friends, and this is to some extent based upon a true instinct on their part that even his severest blows are "*vulnera diligentis.*" Amongst Ritualists, however, of Dr. Littledale's school, a fashion has for some time prevailed—which only a perverted sense of courtesy could construe into an expression either of reverence or love—that, whenever they throw a stone at a window of the Catholic Church, they hint to Fr. Newman with a bow and a grimace that they know he rather likes it than otherwise. And even when he has sallied out upon them and dealt them his weightiest blows, the very Ritualist transfixed on his spear will writhe round in an expiring effort, not to strike, but to exclaim, "Ah, never mind! your heart is with us, after all." It is touching, and yet it is absurd. It is to their credit that they should like Fr. Newman, as it is that they should like the first five centuries; but their claim upon the one and upon the other is about equal. Such an extravagance could only have occurred to men who have persuaded themselves that they can form an historical Church, as some fantastic youths have thought to form a society, by the arbitrary enrolment of such honorary members as might please their fancy.

Of Ritualists as a body it is very hard to speak. As I have said, they are so heterogeneous. A certain section is no doubt sufficiently exempt from Roman proclivities, but still the body as a whole furnishes, and will continue to furnish, for some time at least, most of the recruits to Rome. Curiously enough, Dr. Littledale, although in the teeth of his main contention, admits as much. The Roman Church, which fails

everywhere else in this country, succeeds, Dr. Littledale allows, when "she poaches in Anglican preserves." For the sake of calling Roman Catholics poachers, he recklessly kicks down his own stool. So be it: it is this, of course, which, from our point of view, most recommends Ritualism; and as a shaft against us it is absolutely pointless, for the Roman Catholic Church has ever regarded all outside herself as *feræ naturæ*, to whom she has a wholly unrestricted mission.

As to the labours and Christian zeal of numbers of Ritualistic clergymen, I have ever regarded them with the greatest admiration. Young men thrown early into absorbing missionary work may well, for considerable tracts of time, altogether fail to realize the duty of ascertaining their precise relations to the Church which Christ founded upon Peter. And so in their daily combat against evil, in their generous efforts to supply the spiritual and temporal necessities of their neighbours, assuredly the Master whom they serve, the King of whom Dr. Littledale speaks, is with them. But when Dr. Littledale would magnify the persecution to which Ritualists are now exposed as something which has exalted them on an especial platform of honourable danger, as contrasted with the dishonourable security of comfortable converts, I can only say the paradox is worthy of Dr. Littledale.

With the hardy Ritualist of Dr. Littledale's type who can afford to treat episcopal opposition as a sentimental grievance, this terrible persecution resolves itself into the enforced relinquishment of all hope of a bishopric under a Conservative Government, and the impossibility of indulging in any very daring Ritualist manifesto, without being exposed to the chance of legal proceedings, with the possible issue in a brief technical imprisonment, softened by the consolation of troops of sympathizing open-handed friends. This is not more, I think, than any man with a good conscience might be expected to endure without special heroism. That the whole position of the Ritualist is an intensely trying one I willingly admit; but this supposes the existence of those sentimental appreciations and doubts upon which Dr. Littledale has no mercy.

Ritualists have done much, very much, for the revival of zeal and piety in the Church of England; but how can one say, except hyperbolically, what Dr. Littledale has said for them (p. 806): that the whole work is theirs? With what justice can one ignore the co-operation of so many energetic members of the Broad-Church party, such, for instance, as the present Bishop of Manchester? And when they appeal to their missionary successes—be they what they may—as a sufficient proof of their Catholicity, what is to be said to the successes of the early Methodists?

And now, if I may address myself to these men, forgetting for a moment Dr. Littledale, I would beg them, if in any degree they are tempted to endorse what he has said as to the unfairness of Roman Catholic controversy, to recollect that the main matter in dispute

between Roman Catholics and themselves, viz., Papal Supremacy, is an article of Roman Catholic faith which we hold on the same motive that we hold the other articles of our creed, and so there is always a danger, to which a free debater on indifferent matters is not exposed, lest a Catholic unskilled in controversy should allow the authority of a conclusion, otherwise assured, to guarantee insufficient premises.

Again, as to the expressions of hostility and suspicion in the Roman Catholic prints, which Ritualists are so often tempted to resent, I will say this. I do not think that on whatever terms Ritualists should be admitted into the Catholic Church, converts generally would be tempted to play the part of the prodigal's elder brother. Yet when we turn our eyes upon the section of the Ritualist party represented by Dr. Littledale, which, with open profession of scorn and hatred of Rome on its lips, disports itself in the very vestments which it was death for our Catholic ancestors to possess, with rights to the same, that, for the life of us, we cannot see to be other than those of any inheritor of a hangman's wardrobe, it requires all the grace of that terrible tumble with which Dr. Littledale accredits us, not to be sometimes angry.

To Dr. Littledale himself, although he has been most liberal in his imputations of conscious mendacity, I have no wish to impute any other unfairness than the unfairness of passion. Numbers of his objections are expressed so extravagantly that if we answer them as they stand, it is obvious to retort that we are answering what was never meant. A theologian has no right to use the licence of the hustings and the tradesman's advertisement, and invest his truths in such loosely fitting garments. Moreover, Dr. Littledale uses weapons which, save so far as the wielder's character may afford an antidote, are calculated to inflict pain out of all proportion to their real effectiveness.

"È gentilezza dovunque virtute,
Ma non virtute ov' ella,
Sì come è 'l cielo dovunque la stella,
Ma ciò non è converso."*

H. I. D. RYDER.

* Dante: *Del Convitto*, Canzone viii. :—

"With virtue, gentleness doth ever dwell,
Though without virtue gentleness may be;
As there the sky is, where a star we see,
Nor holds the converse."

LADIES AND HOSPITAL NURSING.

ONE of the most striking characteristics of modern medicine is the importance assigned to nursing in the treatment of the sick. Many diseases for which our forefathers used the most violent remedies, are now known to tend naturally to recovery, if the patient is only placed under favourable conditions; so that a large part of the duty of the physician or surgeon is to see that his patient is well nursed, and that the environment of the sick or injured person is such as will favour, and not retard, recovery. Hence in a case of severe illness the medical attendant of the present day directs his attention less to the sharpening of his lancet and the devising of elaborate and voluminous mixtures of drugs, than to the ventilation of the sick-room, the cleanliness of the patient, the preparation and administration of food, and the exclusion of harmful influences; and in the sick-room the vast array of potions and unguents and the odour of drugs has been replaced, we will hope, by a neat and skilful nurse and a plentiful supply of fresh air.

It is obvious how much the surroundings of a sick person must depend upon those who have the immediate charge of him, and how greatly the efficacy of any treatment must depend upon the care and accuracy with which it is carried out. The physician cannot be always with his patient; he can only visit him at intervals, and in his absence he must depend upon the nurse, not only for the carrying out of his directions, but to a great extent also for the observation of the patient, and for a report of the varying symptoms of the disease. This is the case both in hospitals and in private houses, for, although in a hospital the patient is under more frequent supervision, and some of the duties which in a private house devolve upon the nurse are therein performed by students and junior officers, yet even in a hospital the sick are during a part of the day, and usually during all the night,

completely under the control and at the mercy of the nurse. Moreover, an important function of the nurse, which has perhaps been too much lost sight of, is the observation and recording of the condition of the patient in the intervals between the visits of the medical officer; this is at no time more necessary than during the night, when serious changes often take place in the progress of diseases of which it is most needful that the medical officer should be kept accurately informed.

But the large part which nursing plays in the rational treatment of the sick will probably be by no one denied, so that it is needless to insist at greater length upon the great attention which should be bestowed upon the excellence of the nursing by the managers of hospitals, or upon the gravity of the responsibility which rests upon them in this matter. It is indeed a subject which one is glad to know is at the present time seriously occupying the attention of many of those interested in hospital work. But the more clearly the importance of good nursing is recognized, and the more carefully its requirements are investigated, the more manifest do its difficulties become. For let it be noted how many and divers are the qualities necessary for an efficient nurse, and it will be seen how seldom these are to be found in one and the same person. First, there must be *physical* health and strength sufficient for an arduous and trying work. This will include a soundness of all the organs of sense—good eyesight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell; a suitable age, and a stable nervous system; moderate muscular power and a fair amount of manual dexterity are also necessary. It will be sufficient to imagine a nurse deficient in any one of these qualities to see how essential each of them is. The work of nursing, especially in a hospital, is exceedingly trying to the health, and many faults of temper or of apparent carelessness may be due really to imperfect health. There are some persons with physical susceptibilities, not incompatible with ordinarily good health, which yet render the air of a hospital instantly poisonous to them, and which completely debar them from hospital work. The writer has seen most persevering attempts to overcome these susceptibilities by a process of acclimatization and other means, but without success. Instances are not wanting in which fatal mistakes have been made by nurses in consequence of imperfect eyesight or hearing; needless pain is often inflicted from a want of delicacy of touch, and there are some persons to whom throughout their lives manual dexterity is an impossibility.

Certain *mental* qualities are also essential to the efficient nurse. She must be good-tempered and cheerful, not easily depressed or disturbed, possessed of great patience, observant and accurate. Her *moral* character is also of importance; she must be sober and vigilant, truthful, trustworthy, and conscientious.* It must be remembered

* Miss F. Lees, the superintendent-general of the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association, describes the qualifications which are required in a nurse as—cleanliness,

also that the lack of some of these qualities is not compensated for by special excellence in others, nor by any amount of enthusiasm. It cannot be too clearly understood that nursing is by no means a poetical or sentimental occupation; but that it is often a very painful and disagreeable one. The professional nurse, moreover, has not the pleasure of looking forward to the society of the sick person when recovered, and when the fretfulness of illness has been replaced by the thankful calm or joyous gratitude of health; nor has she the interest given by a family relationship to, or a natural affection for, the patient. She has charge of a constant succession of sick persons of whom she has no previous knowledge, and of whom she loses sight as soon as recovery has taken place, and who moreover frequently fail to exhibit the slightest sense of gratitude for her care. This is obviously neither the occupation for a delicate devotee who seeks relief from the monotony of fashionable frivolity; nor for a coarse and ignorant drudge as an alternative employment to scrubbing the floor. It needs not only a special capacity, but a special training.

It will probably be apparent from the foregoing considerations, that persons possessing all the necessary qualifications for good nurses are neither very numerous nor easily to be obtained; and as a matter of fact, the maintenance of an efficient nursing staff is a constant difficulty at nearly all hospitals. The ordinary remuneration of a hospital nurse is not such as to attract very large numbers of capable women, and these numbers are at present diminished by the increasing demand for nurses in private practice. But if all the required qualifications for a particular work are seldom to be found in existence in the same person, and yet there are many persons possessing some of these qualifications while lacking others, one obvious way out of the difficulty is to seek such power in two different persons, and to combine their efforts towards the common end. For instance, though there are many respectable women possessing in various proportions the qualities of a good nurse, some of these will be wanting in the necessary steadiness of character, others in accuracy, others again in powers of observation or of resource under difficulty. Yet these might make excellent nurses, and perhaps develop the wanting qualities, if only assisted and directed by some one of superior intelligence and capacity to themselves. Such a combination may be obtained in hospital nursing by the employment of trained ladies as superintendents. This is the arrangement by which the writer believes the services of ladies may best be utilized in hospitals, and by which the most efficient nursing can be secured. It has many advantages, and seems to be free from the objections which belong to most other systems of hospital nursing. Its consideration, however, of course

neatness, obedience, sobriety, truthfulness, honesty, punctuality, trustworthiness, quickness, and orderliness. And she is to be patient, cheerful, and kindly.—*Handbook for Hospital Sisters*, p. 7. London: 1874.

involves the question whether the employment of ladies in hospitals is in any way desirable; and if so, under what conditions. Unfortunately this question has not usually been argued simply upon its own merits, but has been complicated by the introduction of other disputed topics not necessarily connected with it. Whether or not the authorities of our hospitals should avail themselves of the aid of trained ladies in nursing, is a matter which has nothing really to do with the advantages or disadvantages of sisterhoods, nor with the method of hospital government, nor with religion, nor with politics, nor with many other subjects with which it has been confused. What we have to inquire is, whether the nursing of a hospital will be more efficient if under the superintendence of ladies than if all the nurses are of the less educated class. Now in contrasting the two systems, it is necessary to point out that the writer does not advocate the *exclusive* employment of ladies in hospital nursing, but that they shall take a *certain part* in it in combination with the ordinary nurses; and this arrangement, which to save repetition will be called the system of "lady superintendence," he wishes to contrast with that in which the assistant-nurses are superintended by a head-nurse of their own class, who is herself responsible to a matron or superintendent of nurses. It is not easy to make this question in all its bearings thoroughly intelligible to any one unacquainted with the work of a hospital; nor would any one having experience of only one system be the best judge of its value as compared with the other. It will therefore be desirable to give a brief outline of the nursing arrangements of a ward under each system, described from the writer's own experience, which he thinks it right to say has been obtained by a residence in, and intimate knowledge of, hospitals nursed upon both plans.

In the ward in which ladies are not employed there is usually a head-nurse or "Sister;"* and several under-nurses who are directed in their duties by the head-nurse. The head-nurse accompanies the medical officer in his rounds, receives his orders, reports to him the progress of the patient during his absence, and either carries out herself, or sees that those under her carry out, his directions. She is responsible for the proper administration of medicines and food, for the condition of the beds and bedding, for the cleanliness of the patient, and to a variable extent (depending upon the nature of the case, and the amount of dressing performed by the surgeon or dresser), for the changing and adjustment of dressings. She calls for the assistance of the resident medical officers when she thinks it necessary or desirable. She is sometimes required to take the temperature of the body and to make other observations under the direction of the medical officers. She is on duty either in the day or night only, or takes her turn at night-duty at intervals, when she is of course relieved from work in the day. In the absence therefore of the medical

* This is merely a name, and does not imply membership of a sisterhood.

officer the head-nurse has the entire control of the ward and every one and everything in it.

Under the other system there is in each ward a trained lady who, as ward superintendent, has authority over the other nurses, and performs all those duties which have been described as pertaining to the head-nurse. There is therefore in the ward a person of intelligence and refinement, whose mere presence is a great restraint upon any ill-behaviour or coarseness either upon the part of nurses or patients, and who, if she fills her office judiciously, is looked upon as the friend and adviser as well as the director of those under her authority. She is free from many of the prejudices of the class below her, she is as a rule more accurate and trustworthy, and is less likely to conceal a mistake or condone a neglect of duty. For instance, the writer has known, in a hospital where no ladies were employed, every window in a ward closed by the head-nurse immediately after the visit of the medical officer, and opened shortly before his presence was again expected. In another instance the head-nurse was playing cards in the room of one of the junior officers, while a ward full of important cases was left for a whole evening to the care of a young nurse almost wholly ignorant of her work. In another hospital a patient who was ordered four ounces of wine and an egg daily, had during the period of her illness but one egg, and no wine at all. At this hospital also the night-nurse turned a patient out of bed that she might herself repose in it for the rest of the night. Under the same system the poultices in a certain ward were changed just before the medical officer made his rounds, and at no other time; and the food was placed beside the patients at night, so that if they were strong enough to take it, well; but if not, no effort was made to feed them. It will probably not be considered unjust to say that these things would not have occurred had a lady been at the head of the ward. It is not intended to deny that there are most excellent and trustworthy nurses, who are not ladies, at the head of some of our hospital wards; the writer knows some of whom it would be difficult to speak too highly; but he has no hesitation in saying that the class of nurses who take office under these are, as a rule, greatly inferior in every way to those employed under lady superintendents; and he can affirm from experience, that there is a tone of refinement, a quiet industry, and an absence of frivolity to be observed both among nurses, students, and patients, in a ward under the superintendence of a lady, which is usually wanting in one under the control of the ordinary nurse. And, although not directly connected with the nursing, it may not be out of place here to point out the advantage of bringing the lower classes, during the impressionable period of sickness, into contact with the sweetness and light which are ever diffused around her by the cultured gentlewoman. The poor may thus, especially in the case of children, carry away from the hospital some germs of future culture for them-

selves, and at least will have seen that however stern are some of the lines of separation between themselves and the rich, there are those among the upper classes who are capable of hard work, and of genuine sympathy and kindness for them.

It is a mistake to suppose that the most sympathetic and skilful nurses for the poor are to be found among their own class. Any one who has seen much of their homes will have observed that the majority of the poor are congenitally deficient in, and only acquire after much training, those habits of cleanliness, delicacy, order, and restraint so needful in the nursing of the sick; and that long familiarity has produced a certain insensitiveness to suffering, disease, and dirt in those around them.*

Another department of a hospital in which the presence of ladies is an inestimable advantage is the out-patient room. The difference in comfort both to the patient and the doctor between having a crowd of out-patients under the management of a porter or nurse of their own class, and under the gentler but infinitely more potent sway of a lady, is enormous; but it must have been experienced to be appreciated. Instead of a noisy and disorderly mob, shouting to and being screamed at by the nurse, amongst whom the feeblest fare the worst, and whose readiest means of access to the doctor is often a bribe to the porter or nurse,—the presence of a lady soon produces order and quiet. In a few kind words the poor people are shown the advantage of patiently waiting their turn, an exceptionally bad case is recognized and attended to at once, an applicant with a contagious disease observed and isolated, the ventilation of the waiting-room looked after, bad language and indecency suppressed, and the time of both patients and doctors materially economized. Besides this assistance in the out-patient room of the hospital, most valuable help may be rendered by ladies visiting at their own homes such of the out-patients as are referred to them by the doctors. Much of the advice given to out-patients is rendered of little or no use by the incapacity of the poor people to understand how to apply it; and if such patients could be visited by a lady who would instruct them in such matters as how to make and apply a poultice, how to change the sick person's linen or to make the bed; who would see to the proper application of surgical apparatus, and advise in some of the chronic cases when the patient should be taken to see the doctor, the treatment of out-patients would be rendered very much more satisfactory and efficacious. This work being external to the hospital, and not always coming within the scope of its organization or funds,

* Miss Lees writes:—"Women of a higher class, from the very nature of their education and surroundings from their infancy, acquire a love and respect for cleanliness to which a lower class of women are strangers. In religious institutions, both Protestant and Catholic, which I have visited, I have often had occasion to remark of how much higher a standard gentlewomen's 'cleaning-up' was than that of the women of a lower grade."—First Annual Report of the Metropolitan and National Nursing Association, p. 15.

might well be undertaken by some of those ladies who are anxious to render gratuitous assistance in nursing the sick poor.

But to obtain these advantages it is of course necessary that the ladies should work under proper regulations and control, that they should be efficiently trained, and that none should be appointed without due ascertainment of her capacity and fitness for the duty. It is therefore necessary that no lady should be appointed as ward superintendent without having undergone a thorough training in all the duties of a nurse, so that there is nothing which her subordinates will be called upon to do which she would not be able herself to execute. Of this capacity she may fairly be required to give proof, either by the testimony of those who have had previous experience of her powers, or by undergoing a probation in the ordinary duties of a nurse, before she is appointed to the superintendence of a ward. It would be well also that all those proposing to enter upon the duties of a nurse should undergo a medical examination sufficient to ascertain their physical fitness for the work.

The superintendent of nurses should be appointed by the managing committee, to which she should be responsible for the efficiency of her department. She should nominate the ward superintendents and nurses, and should have power to engage them, after their approval by the medical and governing authorities. This approval should only be given after the claims of the candidate have been duly investigated, and this is most conveniently done by a small sub-committee, called "the committee on nursing," which should consist of an equal number of medical and non-medical members, nominated by the medical and the managing committee respectively. The medical officers should report to this committee, at regular intervals, on the state of the nursing in each particular ward, so that any inefficiency on the part of either superintendent or nurses should be duly noticed and inquired into. There should be proper rules for the guidance of the ward superintendents, who should be required to observe them with just the same regularity and strictness as the nurses theirs.

In hospitals where the wards are superintended by ladies, it is obviously necessary that the superintendent of nurses should also be a lady; for she will be responsible for the entire organization of the nursing, and the ward superintendents and nurses will be under her immediate control. This is a most important office, and one in which the education and refinement of a lady are of the greatest value. For, as has been well said, "the tone which she gives to the nurses pervades the whole hospital. And there is no position in the world in which the truly feminine virtues of humility, gentleness, simplicity, and loving-kindness have a wider scope, or yield a richer fruit."*

In large hospitals where there is a resident superintendent or director, her duties will be confined to her own department, but in

* On Hospital Organization, by Charles West, M.D. (London: 1877), p. 10.

smaller hospitals, as for instance those for children, it will be convenient to make her the general superintendent of the hospital. She will then "undertake, subject to the supervision and regulations of the managing committee, the whole internal management of the hospital, both as regards the housekeeping and nursing, and be responsible for the good behaviour and obedience to the hospital rules of all the female inmates of the hospital."*

In such smaller hospitals the housekeeper (also a lady) should be under the authority of the lady superintendent; for it is better both for economy and discipline that there should be but one head of the establishment.

This is the system which has been for some years pursued at the Hospital for Sick Children in Ormond Street, and under which, with the valuable aid of the lady superintendent, the nursing has been brought to an excellence but rarely equalled and probably at no hospital surpassed.

It will be at once seen that the system which has been above described is quite incompatible with the nursing being undertaken by a sisterhood. For the great objection to the latter is that the managing committee must resign their control over the nursing department to the authorities of the sisterhood; and that the nurses owe their allegiance, not to the hospital, but to their own institution. If then the interests of the hospital and the sisterhood should at any time come into collision, the managing committee, which is responsible for the government of the hospital, finds itself powerless in one of the most important departments. But under the arrangement here advocated the managing committee, whatever may be the powers it confers upon the lady superintendent, retains in its hands complete control over the entire hospital, for the lady superintendent can only act subject to its supervision and authority. Neither the lady superintendent nor the ward superintendents have any independent governing power; they are, like the medical officers, merely the agents selected by the managing committee to carry out, each in their own department, the work of the hospital. And if either fail to perform their duties to the satisfaction of the governing body they are equally liable to reprimand or removal. Another objection to nursing by a sisterhood from which the system of lady superintendence is free, is that a sisterhood implies in all its members adherence to a particular religious creed, and that there will always be the danger that religious devotion will be allowed to compensate for nursing inefficiency, whereas it is obvious that a person's capacity for nursing has no relation whatever to her religious opinions.

The remuneration of ladies employed in hospital nursing has not hitherto been alluded to, because the question whether a lady is or is not paid for her services does not affect that of whether or not those

* Extract from the Rules for the Lady Superintendent at the Children's Hospital, Great Ormond Street.

services are in themselves desirable; but it is a matter of some importance, and a point in the argument has now been reached at which it will be convenient to consider it.

Now it has been justly argued* that the general substitution of gratuitous workers for paid nurses "would have the result of depriving a large number of women of the means of earning their bread." This is one objection amongst others to the exclusive employment of lady-nurses, but does not apply to the system of lady superintendence, because the number of ladies thus employed will always bear but a very small proportion to that of the ordinary paid nurses, who will still be required. Nevertheless in my opinion it is much better that all ladies employed in hospitals should be paid. For in the first place, the receipt of a salary places the recipient in a more formal manner under the authority of the governing body, and removes any false sentiment about the excellence, or exemption from criticism, of unpaid work; and, in the second place, another employment is thus provided for gentlewomen in need of earning their living. There are many ladies now engaged in teaching children, a work for which they are entirely unfit, who would make excellent nurses and ward superintendents. Moreover the very straitness of their circumstances will have exercised them in those habits of economy so desirable in the working of all public institutions. And if nursing were once duly recognized as a profession for ladies, so that a greater number were educated for it than would be required for ward superintendents in hospitals and other public institutions,† they would find a large field for work in private practice amongst the wealthier classes, who would be only too glad to secure their services. It would often be of the greatest advantage to introduce into the household of the sick an educated lady who would superintend, and assist in, the nursing of the patient, make such observations as are desired by the medical attendant, and take accurate note of the progress of the case in the intervals between his visits. Both physicians and surgeons have frequently to lament that they cannot obtain for their private patients the intelligent and careful nursing which is bestowed upon those under their treatment in hospitals, and upon which recovery so greatly depends. The presence of such a nurse would protect the sick person from the often irreparable injuries inflicted upon him by the injudicious and ignorant interference of relatives; and she would soon leave behind her many a useful lesson in hygiene, of which the upper classes are, to their cost, still lamentably ignorant.

The most powerful objection however which has been made to the superintendence of ladies in hospitals, is that founded upon the supposed expensiveness of the system. Now in considering this objec-

* West, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

† Parochial infirmaries, for instance, which might thus furnish employment for large numbers of ladies, whose influence would be most beneficial.

tion it is necessary to state at the outset that it is at present purely theoretical: no particle of evidence has yet been advanced in proof of the assertion that the presence of ladies in hospitals gives rise to an increase in the working expenses. But even supposing that it were indisputably proved that upon the introduction of ladies as superintendents the expenditure upon the nursing department of a hospital became increased, it would not in the least degree follow that the management of the ladies was therefore objectionable or bad. For the increased expenditure may have been necessary for, and have resulted in, an increase of efficiency, and may therefore have been an outlay of the most desirable kind. For it must be remembered that hospitals are institutions primarily for the treatment of the sick, and that therefore all expenditure for increasing the efficiency of that treatment is not only justifiable, but is the duty of those who administer the funds of such charities.

Now it is probable that in no way is money more absolutely and harmfully wasted than in the purchase of "cheap" things; but it would be difficult to name many more injuriously wasteful than cheap nursing.

What would be said of a hospital that bought only cheap drugs, and denied to its inmates needful or potent remedies because they were expensive? Yet not a few physicians, if confronted with the alternative of giving up in the treatment of a patient either the drugs or the nurse, would unhesitatingly yield the physic, and trust to Nature aided by the nurse. Probably no part of a hospital expenditure is more fruitful of good than that devoted to securing excellence in the nursing; and in no department is parsimony more dangerous, for bad or inefficient nursing may more than neutralize all the efforts of the rest of the staff.

But it is surely not in accordance with experience to assert that ladies who devote themselves to this arduous work, either as a profession or from motives of benevolence, are likely to be more extravagant than persons of the class from which the ordinary nurses are derived. This is certainly not the case in the domestic service of our households, wherein the wastefulness of servants is proverbial; and probably few persons will have better learned the lesson of economy than some of those ladies whose stern teacher has been their own necessity. And it is difficult to see why extravagance of any kind should be more easily detected or prevented where the nurses are all of the same class, than where there is a system of lady superintendence. Surely if those whose duty it is to control the finances of a hospital observe an undue expenditure in any department, it is as easily checked under the one system as under the other.

But it must be remembered that in those matters which chiefly affect the expenditure of a hospital, neither ladies nor nurses have really any discretion. For instance, it has been by some supposed that under the superintendence of ladies the patients may be indulged

in "needless extras of diet,"* and that thus the ladies may be responsible for an increase in the cost of food. But in all the hospitals with which the writer is acquainted the diet is ordered by the medical officer, and nothing not so ordered is allowed to be given to the patient, so that the ward superintendents have no more to do with this than with the amount or character of the drugs administered. Again, in most hospitals there are certain diets arranged for the inmates, such as "meat diet," "fish diet," "broth diet," for each of which the quantity and kind of food, and its mode of preparation, are definitely prescribed, a matter it will be seen in which neither nurse nor ward superintendent has any power to interfere. Another large item in the expenditure of a hospital is the cost of medicines, including wine and spirits, upon which the nursing staff can have only this influence, that the better the nursing the less will be the amount of medicine required, and the shorter will be the duration of the patient's residence. The amount of the washing, another considerable source of expense, is also to a great extent determined by rule, and is therefore not subject to the discretion of the ward superintendent; but that part of it which varies with the exigencies of the ward would be least in quantity under the most careful supervision. Again, the cost of the warming and lighting, another large item, can hardly be increased by the presence of ladies, for the wards have to be maintained at a definite temperature, determined by the medical officers; and the amount of light required is in no way dependent upon the character of the nurse. Neither is the expenditure upon wages increased by the employment of ladies, for without taking into consideration the fact that many of them are willing to give their services gratuitously, the remuneration of a ward superintendent is not at present usually higher than that of an ordinary head-nurse.† The cost of repairs and the general maintenance of the hospital buildings and furniture obviously can have but little relation to the question of lady superintendence; but it is certainly not probable that less care would be taken of the ward-fittings and appliances under that system, than when the nurses are not under any such supervision.

It may be thought by some however that besides these general considerations, it would be more satisfactory to have some statistical comparison between the expenses of a hospital in which ladies are employed, and those of one in which the nurses are all of the ordinary class; or to ascertain the relative duration and success of the treatment of the patients under each system. But any such comparisons would really be entirely valueless, even if the data for making them were with any approach to accuracy obtainable, which is not the case. For in the first place, it is impossible to find any two hospitals exactly

* West, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

† Miss Lees says:—"The board, wages, dress, washing, lodging, and general accommodation for district nurses, living in district homes, would cost the same for the 'common woman' as for the 'woman of a higher class.'"—Report quoted above, p. 14.

resembling each other in all points save the method of nursing; yet this would be essential for arriving at any conclusion concerning the relative cost of the two systems, deduced from a comparison of the cost per bed in the two institutions. The character and arrangement of the building and fittings, the age of the patients, the kind of diseases and the method of treatment, the situation of the hospital, the mode of its government, the source of its income; *—these are only some of the many causes which influence the expenditure, and which would be sources of fallacy in such comparisons. Nothing therefore can be more absurd than to suppose that because a patient costs less in one hospital than in another, therefore the nursing in the first is either of a more desirable kind or less expensive than that in the second. Equally fallacious are such deductions drawn from a comparison of the mortality, or the number of cures, or of the duration of treatment in a hospital; for the similar reasons, first that these things are influenced by so many other causes besides the nursing, † and secondly that it is impossible to obtain a series of cases exactly comparable.

It seemed desirable to point out these sources of error, because although reasons have been given in this paper for the belief that the intelligent superintendence of ladies is rather a source of economy than of expense in the nursing of hospitals, yet there appears to be in the minds of some a contrary impression which may have its origin in some such fallacious comparison. This erroneous impression has perhaps been strengthened by some statements published in a book upon hospital organization by Dr. Charles West, ‡ to which reference has already been made. The statements alluded to will be found at pages 44 to 47 in Dr. West's book, where he writes:—

"Economy is the touchstone by which the management of a hospital may fairly be tested; and tried by this it will be found that wherever there is a strong secular administration the cost is low, and that it is high in almost exact proportion to the degree in which a sisterhood, or an association similar to a sisterhood, bears sway." §

It may be thought by some that "efficiency" should be substituted for "economy" in the paragraph quoted; but however that may be, it is clear that Dr. West's comparison therein is between a secular administration and that of a sisterhood. Now it has been shown above that the system advocated in this paper, and which has been pursued at the Hospital for Children, is absolutely incompatible with the sway of a sisterhood or any similar association, so that it is obvious that that system is not affected by the comparison. In the next sentence, however, Dr. West proceeds:—

"If two hospitals, at distant parts of the metropolis, and resembling each other

* For instance, the cost of advertisements at St. George's Hospital in 1876 (average number of patients, 310) was £89 4s.; at the Hospital for Sick Children (average number of patients, 83), it was £127 10s. 6d., besides £275 19s. 10d. the cost of the "Anniversary Festival," which is really a mode of advertising.

† For instance, the kind and severity of the cases, the situation of the hospital, the method of treatment.

‡ *Op. cit.*

§ West, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

only in this, that they are both under lay control, are compared in this respect with the Children's Hospital, we arrive at the following startling results:—

	At the Westminster.	At the London.	At the Children's.
Cost of patient per day . .	£0 3s. 7d.	£0 3s. 4d.	£0 4s. 9d.
Provisions in year for patients and atten- dants per head . . .)	£17 13s. 11½d.	£16 1s. 7d.	£19 9s. 7¼d."

From which it might be supposed by any one unacquainted with the Children's Hospital that that institution was not under lay control, but was governed by a sisterhood or some religious association.*

The Children's Hospital, on the contrary, is governed by a managing committee of laymen, assisted by two sub-committees, as recommended by Dr. West himself, "the medical committee for the consideration of purely medical questions; the house committee for the control of the internal management generally;"† and it has no relationship with any religious association whatever.

Dr. West gives some further details‡ of the expenditure of these three hospitals, from which it will be seen that the increased cost per patient at the Children's Hospital over the other two is in great part due to the amount expended upon provisions, washing, coals, and gas, with which it has already been shown that the system of lady superintendence can have little or nothing to do.§

But it is only fair to the management of the Children's Hospital to remind the reader that during the year 1876, to which these figures apply, only eighty-three beds were permanently occupied, owing to the incomplete state of the new hospital, while the arrangements of that part of the building already finished are on a scale proportioned to the requirements of the two hundred and ten beds which the entire hospital is to contain. Moreover, for the working of the portion of the hospital now opened "nearly as large and expensive a staff is required as the two hundred and ten patients will eventually demand."||

Under these exceptional circumstances it is clear that no just estimate, for purposes of comparison, of the cost of the administration of this hospital can be at present obtained.

The cost of the nursing in a children's hospital must always be larger than in a hospital for adults, because the children require a larger nursing staff in proportion to their numbers; and both the Westminster and London Hospitals are hospitals for adults: but if the cost per bed of the Ormond Street Children's Hospital is compared with that of another children's hospital with about the same number of beds occu-

* The writer does not mean by this that Dr. West intended this deduction to be made, but that Dr. West, being himself familiar with the Children's Hospital, has probably overlooked the fact that he is liable to be thus misunderstood by those of his readers who are not acquainted with its organization and mode of management.

† *Op. cit.*, p. 13.

‡ *Op. cit.*, pp. 46, 47.

§ For instance, the cost per head for coals, gas, &c., is £5 9s. 6d. at the Children's Hospital, and £3 2s. 11d. at the London: a difference which obviously depends upon structural differences, and the methods of warming and lighting the buildings.

|| Annual Report of Managing Committee for 1875, p. 6.

pied, and where the nursing was not under the management of ladies, the two will not be found very different: thus in 1876—

Cost per bed at Ormond Street Hospital	...	...£74 10 0
" " East London Children's Hospital	...	72 12 10

A careful perusal, however, of Dr. West's book will convince the impartial reader that it contains nothing whatever to justify the deduction that the employment of ladies in hospital nursing is a source of additional expense.

Lastly, it is necessary to say something about the social and domestic relations of the ladies employed in hospitals to the rest of the household. It will be found most convenient to have a common sitting-room for the ladies, and another for the nurses, and a refectory in which both ladies and nurses would take their meals but at different times. By this arrangement the ladies and nurses would not be absent from the wards at the same time, but the one would be on duty while the other was at meals. This involves no extra work in the kitchen, for the resident medical officers must of necessity dine late, and if they do not dine with the ladies should do so at the same time, so that one dinner serves for both even though it may be taken in different rooms.

Arrangements should also be made to allow of both nurses and superintendents obtaining a proper amount of recreation and out-door exercise. The neglect of this, which is part of an absurd asceticism aimed at by some of those engaged in this work, is the cause of much ill-health both of body and mind; and it will certainly be found that a reasonable amount of cheerful society and healthy recreation will increase both the equanimity of temper and the working capacity of those who are occupied in the trying work of nursing.

It is thought by some that social distinctions should be abolished when ladies enter upon hospital nursing, and that both ward superintendents and nurses should occupy the same sitting-room and take their meals together. But the difference of social position remains whether it is recognized or not, and the result is a certain amount of restraint which interferes with the recreation of both classes when they are thus associated together. The nurses should be encouraged to look upon their ward superintendent as a friend and adviser to whom they may appeal in any difficulty or trouble; and the ward superintendent will find her influence over the nurses vastly increased by showing for them a ready sympathy and kindly interest. This relationship will however be promoted more by the recognition of their differences in education and position, than by any attempt to maintain a fictitious equality.

Here indeed is a work for woman, with full scope for the exercise of those powers and graces which are peculiarly her own; wherein too she may set an example and diffuse an influence of incalculable value, and whereby moreover she may obtain an honourable livelihood.

WARRINGTON HAWARD.

MONEY IN ANCIENT GREECE AND ROME.

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

I.

THE Greeks were the inventors of the use of money, or at least they were the first to give it any considerable development. They never made any mistake about its true character of real merchandise, accepted as a representative sign of the value of things. An admirable passage of Aristotle, often quoted by economists, contains the philosophical expression of the soundest and most advanced theory of the true properties of money.

“It was agreed,” said the great philosopher, “to give and to receive in exchange a substance which, useful in itself, was easily available for the common requirements of life,—iron or silver, for example, or some other analogous substance, of which the dimensions and the weight were first determined, and which subsequently, in order to save the trouble of perpetual weighing and measuring, was marked with a particular stamp in token of its value. With money, the outcome of the earliest indispensable exchanges, arose also sale, another form of acquisition, exceedingly simple in its origin, but soon developed by experience, as it was discovered that the circulation of articles was the source and the means of considerable profits.”

As Aristotle speaks without any hesitation of money as a thing which ought to have value of its own, corresponding to its conventional value as a circulating medium, so also he is true to the soundest economic principles, when he enters into the question whether money constitutes wealth, as some persons supposed, both in ancient times and in the middle ages, or whether it is merely a representative thing and the most general and convenient measure.

“Might not a moneyed man be lacking in some things of prime necessity? and is not that an ironical kind of wealth which does not prevent a man from dying of hunger, like the Midas of mythology, whose avaricious desire changed into gold all the viands on his table?”*

* Aristotle: *Politic.*, I. ix. 11.

When he wrote these words, to which an economist of our day could add nothing in scientific precision and accuracy, was the Stagirite expressing his own theories, or was he giving a more philosophical form to those generally held by his contemporaries? Let us observe, first, that the theory stated by him was at least the received theory among the philosophers; for Plato expresses the same idea much more briefly but with great exactness, in his "Republic," not in that purely Utopian part of it, in which he seeks to exclude the precious metals from the ideal state, the creation of his dream; but in the second book, in that remarkable portion in which, reconstructing societies from their origin, he lays down the laws of production and the sound principles of the division of labour.*

If we now glance through the Greek authors of the autonomous period, we do not find a single one in whose writings there appears the least trace of the fatal theory which treats the gold and silver coinage merely as a conventional sign of value, subject to the will of the sovereign or of the State. The doubt as to the true theory of money does not seem to have even arisen in men's minds. The distinction between coin and wealth is less clear to them than the mercantile value of the circulating medium. Nevertheless, the passage of Xenophon's treatise on "The Means of augmenting the Revenues of Attica,"† in which the learned Blanqui‡ thought he had discovered the formal expression of the erroneous doctrine, according to which the possession of coin constitutes wealth, will not bear the meaning attached to it by that economist. If in a few isolated phrases the expressions used might seem equivocal, the meaning of the treatise as a whole, and the circumstances under which it was written, preclude any misconception. Xenophon has a twofold end in view. On the one hand, he is showing to the Athenians the necessity of using silver as a monetary standard, because it was subject to less frequent and less severe fluctuations of production and of value than gold, which was a fact in ancient times. On the other hand, he is encouraging them to greater activity in the working of the silver mines of Laurion. He reassures them against any fear lest the increased production of the metal might tend to depreciate it, and with this view he draws their attention to the fact that the metals destined for coinage, inasmuch as they are available for all transactions, are less rapidly depreciated by their abundance, than articles of merchandise which serve only one purpose, even though they be articles of prime necessity, such as corn. For the greater abundance of the precious metals permits the multiplication of mercantile transactions, opens the way for the acquisition of foreign goods, and thus increases wealth; and this was more true in ancient times than in our own day, because the imperfection

* Plato: *De Republicâ*, ii. p. 371.

† IV. 1, 2, (*De Vectigalibus*).

‡ *Histoire de l'Economie Politique*, vol. i. p. 32.

of the system of credit, and the limited use of it, made a larger quantity of available coin necessary for the same number of operations and enterprises. Xenophon is mistaken in thinking that, with great commercial and industrial activity, the depreciation of the coinage might be indefinitely avoided, however large the proportion in which the sum of the precious metals was increased, or however rapidly the increase was made.

If we turn now from the text of classic writers to the evidence furnished by a study of the numismatic monuments of Greece, we shall find that to whatever country or age they belong, they all show indisputably that true economic principles always guided the Hellenes in their coinage. Taken as a whole the Greek money is excellent; pure in metal and exact in weight, its real corresponding to its nominal value. Nothing better has been done in this way among the most civilized and best governed nations of modern times. There is, indeed, always a certain recognized limit, which keeps the actual weight of the money slightly below its theoretical weight; and this fact recurs with such regularity that it may be regarded as a rule. We must conclude therefore, that it was under this form that Greek civilization allowed to the coiner of money the right of seigniorage, or the benefit legitimately due to him to cover the expenses of the coinage, and in exchange for the service rendered by him to the public in providing them with money, by which they were saved the trouble of perpetual weighing. This allowance, however, is always kept within very narrow limits, and is never more than the excess of the natural value of the coined money over that of the metal in ingots. It is greater in proportion for the very small coins, intended to be used only as odd moneys and not for the payment of large sums, than for the coins of higher value; and this is the case also in our own day among the nations most advanced in political economy, those which have the best coinage and the soundest finance. It can, indeed, have no injurious effect on commercial transactions, if the odd moneys are in great measure fiduciary merely, provided that the law never obliges the public to receive such money except for small sums, not exceeding a certain figure; and provided that the public has the option of changing it at any time for real money; for then the piece put in circulation for a nominal sum, greater than its actual metallic value, is merely the conventional representative of a certain fixed weight of metal, and may always be exchanged for true value in the real money which forms the greater part of the currency.

Of course, the general and predominant fact of the excellence of the Greek money in the time of Hellenic independence is subject, like all human things, to some exceptions. There were a few cities which yielded to the delusive bait of an unlawful advantage, debasing the quality of their coins without foreseeing that the consequences of this unfair operation would react against themselves. But these

exceptions are very rare, and, as a rule, the ill effects of experiments of this sort seem to have quickly disgusted those who made them. We can enumerate a few cities of Greece which, for some reason or other, preferred to coin moneys of metal much alloyed, of a very low standard; to use, for example, pieces of electrum* instead of gold pieces; but we have also positive proof that the metal thus alloyed had a particular, fixed commercial value, and that it was for this value it was put in circulation in the form of coin. The electrum money was then in principle a real marketable article, no less than the pure gold coins. It had, however, the disadvantage of lending itself easily to fraudulent transactions, for the commercial metallic value of electrum supposed a certain proportion of gold and silver in its composition, and as it could only be discovered by analysis whether the true proportion had been kept, it was easy for the coiner of money to make dishonest gains by increasing the quantity of the silver alloy, or even by introducing a little copper. It is precisely for this reason that the electrum coinage could not sustain the competition with the pure gold currency, when Greek commerce had a sufficient supply of the latter, from the time, that is, of Philip II. of Macedon; it was, therefore, soon abandoned. Previous to this, from the middle of the fifth century B.C. to the middle of the fourth, the Cyzicenes were far from observing strictly the legal proportions of the composition of electrum in the staters which they circulated in all the markets; their operations were among the most considerable, and at the same time the least scrupulous in the matter of coinage, of any city of Greece. But these operations were not based on the theory that the conventional value of the coinage was dependent on the will of the State, since it was especially with a view to exportation that the Cyzicenes coined their staters, which were received by foreigners as articles of merchandise. They had succeeded, in the midst of the wars which at that time were convulsing the world of Greece, in securing to themselves a monopoly, and they took extravagant advantage of it, as they might have done of any other monopoly. All the gold which, during this period, came into circulation in the Hellenic lands, or very nearly all, passed through their hands. They alone coined it; and it was only to be had through them, in the form of electrum. Abusing their opportunity, they put their own price upon it, and gave, for the value of electrum containing 25 per cent. of alloy, coins which really contained 40 per cent. Having the monopoly of the market, they compelled their countrymen to accept the coinage as they were pleased to issue it, or to dispense with it. The monopoly of any kind of merchandise produces like results. The Cyzicenes might have carried on the same operations with corn, for example, as well as with gold. And hence the deterioration which we have shown in the legal standard of the coins, so far from proving the existence of the doctrine

* An alloy of gold with 25 per cent. of silver.

of the conventional value of the coinage, shows rather that money was regarded as actual merchandise, to be used as an article of traffic according to the same methods and laws, and even with the same tricks of trade, as any other marketable article. Further, the manner in which the staters of Cyzicus were for a whole century adopted by international commerce, proves that it was not found that the people of that city abused their position by exceeding the lawful proportion of alloy in their electrum. But when Phocæa, and the other cities of Ionia and of Æolis which formed in the fifth century the "Union of the Hektæ" * of electrum, endeavoured to go further in the same direction and to lower yet more the standard of their coinage, international commerce would no longer accept their specie as true electrum; it was recognized as merely a fiduciary and conventional coinage, and could only circulate for its nominal value in the cities which were bound together by commercial treaties, while everywhere else it suffered great depreciation. Thus the issue of this debased money did not last so long as that of the staters of Cyzicus, and it never came into such extensive use.

In the detestable practice of issuing plated money,† which was a shameful attempt to deceive the public by passing off fiduciary money as genuine, by mixing the false with the true specie, the Greeks no doubt led the way. Their example was followed by the Romans. But in Greece this practice never became so extensive as it did in Rome. Plated coins are rare in the ages of Greek autonomy. When they are not to be traced to private forgers, when it is clear that the governments themselves must be held responsible for their issue, there is almost always historical evidence that utterances of this sort among the Hellenes took place under exceptional circumstances of military necessity. They were always regarded, moreover, like the siege-pieces of later times, as a purely conventional currency, circulating without reference to its metallic value, till it could be exchanged for genuine coin. Such exceptions, which were in their character temporary, and arising out of extraordinary circumstances, cannot be taken into account in estimating what were regarded by the Greeks as the conditions of the regular issue of money in times of peace.

Siege-pieces are never, properly speaking, true money; they are rather a sort of assignat created by necessity. We find the Romans, in the later times of the Republic, maintaining also the right of the government even in times of peace, and under the normal conditions of the State, to mix plated money with the genuine, so that a portion of the coin in circulation would have no other value than the fictitious

* The hekte is a coin of the value of one-sixth of the stater, which was the monetary gold unit of the Greeks.

† This is the name given to money put in circulation as gold or silver, which contains in reality only a thin coating of the true metal over copper or iron.

price put upon it by the government stamp. Such a claim can only be based on the false theory of a *money-sign*, and history shows what deplorable consequences followed in Rome from its adoption. We have no authority, however, for believing that any such claim was recognized, either theoretically or practically, by Greece, flourishing and independent.

It was not only the philosophical, and at the same time practical character of the Greeks, nor simply their commercial instinct, which, so long as the Hellenic life was free, maintained among them true monetary principles, and the honest utterance of a genuine metallic coinage. If they always had good money, they owed it primarily to liberty and to the constitutional laws by which in their social system the coinage was regulated. The subdivision of the governing power, which the local jealousy of each city made a necessity in republican Greece, had grave practical disadvantages in money matters, since it gave rise to too large a variety of local coins, all based upon different standards; but these drawbacks were in a great measure compensated by the fact that any important debasement of coinage intended for circulation was thus rendered almost impossible. When each city was sovereign, and as such issued her own coins, the sovereignty being essentially local became identified with the municipality. The conception of the State was equally limited, and the money thus issued was therefore, in fact, only municipal money. There could be no surer guarantee than this for the purity of the coinage. All the members of the community were alike interested, both for the stability of public property and for the security of private transactions, in seeing that the money put into circulation was not debased. They therefore exercised a constant supervision over the operations of the mint, and taking part themselves in the local administration, they rendered impossible the frauds which a sovereign, acting alone and uncontrolled in a wider sphere, may sometimes be tempted to practise. The Greek city was further guarded against the temptation to adulterate its coinage, by the constant interchange of moneys with neighbouring cities. In fact, the temptation in this direction is only strong when the Government can hope to derive some great advantage from its fraudulent operations, by forcing its bad money upon a great country, its refusal being barred by legal penalties. But if the coinage of a Greek city were debased, it would find no circulation beyond its own walls, so that the demand for it could not be great enough to cover the expense, or to compensate the inconveniences of such an experiment. On the contrary, all the transactions of its merchants would be fettered by the general refusal of its bad money beyond the limits of daily exchange, and on its own markets this money would soon suffer a ruinous depreciation, hastened by the introduction of the good currency of other cities, which it would be impossible to exclude.

Moreover, a free people never has bad money; the temptation is

constant to a despotic power to defraud its subjects, and so to realize at their expense unlawful gains, by imposing on them, as genuine, money which has neither the purity nor weight necessary in order that its real value should correspond to the nominal value for which it is issued. But when the nation itself takes part in the administration of its affairs, although the principles of political economy may not be fully known or understood, natural good sense and the practical use of money will suffice to prevent recourse to operations, the inevitable result of which is the ruin of the State and of individuals. Thus until the invention of the system of representative government by England, republics were, by the very principle of their constitution, far better secured than monarchies against the curse of the adulteration of money. When this evil was rife throughout Europe, in the middle ages, it was the merchant republics like Venice and Florence that had the surest guarantees against it. And in the ancient times of Greece, it may be added, as we observed just now, that the smaller the State was, and the more nearly restricted to the city, the more democratic it was (like Athens, in whose public affairs all the citizens took part), the stronger was the guarantee that the coinage would be pure and good.

It must be observed that wherever true Hellenism, that is to say, the spirit of liberty, prevailed, even in States which had a monarchical constitution, like those of the successors of Alexander, the money remained good, and the true principles of a sound currency were maintained. Wherever liberty was lost, these principles were lost sight of, and the coinage was tampered with. For example, at Syracuse (the silver coins being elsewhere of very good quality) complete bankruptcy was brought about by a change in the intrinsic value of the money which formed the basis of all reckonings. This was the work of Dionysius, that is to say, of a man whose name has come down through the ages as that of one of the most complete personifications of the spirit of tyranny. It cannot be said that by any means all the Greek kings, all those who made themselves for life tyrants of the Greek cities, were guilty of unfair monetary operations: in many cases the coins issued by them are remarkable for purity of standard and exactness of weight. But in the Hellenic world there is absolutely no bad money to be found which does not bear the stamp of king or tyrant.

The first examples of any importance of extensive and systematic adulteration of specie, appear in certain passages of the numismatic history of the kings of Persia. The fundamental basis of their monetary system was the golden daric, invented by Darius the son of Hystaspes. It equalled in quality of metal and exactness of weight, if it did not surpass, the best utterances of Greek money at the same period. Thus the darics found ready currency throughout the Hellenic world, and more than one statesman of Sparta or Athens allowed

himself to be enticed by this beautiful money, which was so easily disposed of. Beside this, as money for the Empire, they struck the Persian silver shekel, the metal of which was of a slightly lower standard than that of the silver moneys of Greece of the same period. The crime of Aryandes, the Egyptian satrap, punished by Darius with death, was, according to Herodotus,* precisely that of adopting for silver pieces of this description, issued by his Government, a higher standard than that of the coins which the Great King issued to the rest of his Empire; and at the time of the historian of Halicarnassus, there were still certain signs recognized in commerce, by which the Aryandic silver was distinguished from all the other Persian shekels, and τὸ ἀργύριον τὸ ἀρυανδικόν passed for a higher currency as of better metal.

The Persian monarchy, less intelligent than the Greeks in commercial matters, had, in organizing its military system, endeavoured to realize the chimera of the double standard, and this it endeavoured to maintain, in the face of facts, as long as it lasted. In the last century of its existence, while it persisted in seeking to maintain a legal value for gold $13\frac{1}{3}$ times greater than that of silver, the commercial value of that metal had fallen everywhere at least 11 per cent. Necessarily, in spite of royal ordinances, there followed an export of silver to the Hellenic West in such quantities that, at the time of the conquest of Alexandria, it had disappeared almost entirely from the interior provinces of the empire, where there remained only gold, greatly depreciated by that fact, though still retaining its nominal value. In matters of finance and political economy, one mistake leads on to another, by an almost fatal sequence, especially in one of those Asiatic monarchies in which the only rule is the will of the despot, and in which there is no check on the abuse of arbitrary power. The Achæmenidæ, when monarchs of Persia, thought that by debasing the silver specie they could stop the exportation of it, which they themselves had induced by their false notion of the double standard. They therefore lowered the standard of the Persian shekel of the empire, to such a degree that some of the provinces of Asia Minor which enjoyed a semi-independence, like Lycia, closed their markets against this money of the suzerain, and refused to accept it, except on condition of setting on it a countermark, after having tested its metallic quality, and themselves fixing its value according to a tariff of the municipal money of the country, which was still of excellent quality. The depreciation was even greater still of the provincial moneys, intended for certain purely Asiatic satrapies, where there existed no trace of independent municipal life, and where the populations, prostrate in the dust before the divinity and superior majesty of the Great King, accepted unresistingly the idea that the royal will was enough to give to a piece of metal, bearing his signature,

* Herodotus, iv. 166.

a value which it could never have commanded commercially in the form of a mere ingot.

The larger coins uttered for the fifth and ninth satrapies of Darius, especially for the Aramæan portion of the fifth satrapy and for the countries of the Euphrates, became in the decadence of the Persian monarchy a vile issue, in which the worthless alloy largely exceeded any fair proportions, especially in money which was to be used, as this was, for the largest payments. As might be expected, this depreciation of the silver coinage failed to remedy the evil to which it was intended to be a palliative, and its consequences reacted against the bad administration, which had sought to benefit itself at the expense of its subjects. Instead of arresting the export of silver bullion to the countries where it was at a premium, that exportation only went on more rapidly; gold was proportionately depreciated, and a general rise in prices was the result. One evil was thus added to another, and the difficulties of the monetary circulation were only increased. Thus the rise of money, which was with difficulty naturalized in the interior provinces of the empire, where long habit had accustomed the people to another mode of circulation, made no progress among the native population till after the Macedonian conquest. If the inhabitants of these provinces were not in a position to contest the right of their monarch to attach whatever value he pleased to his coins, without reference to their intrinsic quality as metal, they did as far as possible avoid using this bad and depreciated money. Thus all commercial transactions and bargains between individuals were negotiated for metal in the ingot, taken by weight as merchandise. The use of coined money did not thoroughly take root in these districts and become the habitual rule till after the time of Alexander, when Greek money came into circulation which was equal in real value as metal to its nominal value, so that the people were sure, without the trouble of weighing, that in a piece of money bearing the official stamp, they had the same quantity of fine metal as in a piece of the same weight of the usual commercial ingot.

As the ancients had no conception of any other than the direct exercise of popular sovereignty, the idea of representation had never occurred to them; they did not therefore recognize the possibility of anything like that moderate and limited monarchy which the working of the representative principle has introduced into modern States. The only way by which the ancients exercised any control over the omnipotence of the monarchical authority, was by the development of the system of municipal autonomy. It was only in this way that they could set any limits to the exercise of the royal power, which was in its essence absolute, especially in the monarchies which arose out of the kingdom of Alexander, and which, but for the check kept upon it by the municipal system, might have degenerated into a boundless despotism. In monetary as in political matters, the existence of

strong municipal autonomies formed, from the time of Alexander to the Roman conquest, the only serious barrier to the depreciation of money according to royal caprice. A study of the numismatic monuments of the different dynasties of this period of Greek history suffices to show that those which remained most free from this curse, were those in whose States there existed the largest number of autonomous cities, using their own proper coinage as well as that of the sovereign. It would have been impossible, for example, for a king of Pergamos to adulterate the coins which he put into circulation, with any hope of deriving profit from such an abuse of power, since his debased coins would have to endure the competition of the plentiful issue of good money in the free Greek cities included within his dominion. He was compelled, as a matter of necessity, to utter at least as good money as these cities, and if possible to make it a little better, so that his specie might have the preference in commerce. The Lagidæ of Egypt, on the contrary, could easily close their country against the entrance of foreign moneys; they had no municipal privileges to contend with; hence they were but too readily drawn into the snare of taking unlawful pecuniary advantages by depreciating the coinage, and thus transforming the money from a real marketable article into a mere conventional sign of arbitrary and uncertain value. From the latter half of the second century before the Christian era, there was a deep and widespread perturbation through the whole monetary system of the Ptolemies, caused by arbitrary measures of finance, as ill-advised as they were dishonest; and under the despicable reign of Auletes, the depreciation of money, with the dire confusion of public and private property which is its inevitable consequence, reached proportions hitherto unexampled in history. There was a repetition of a similar financial crisis in the Roman Empire, in the third century of our era, and again throughout the whole of Europe in the fourteenth century.

II.

From the Hellenic let us pass now to the Roman world. The royal city had received from the Greeks not only the use of money, but also correct traditions as to its nature. These traditions were still preserved in the jurisprudence of the country, long after they had ceased to be recognized in practice. Thus the definition of the nature and right use of money, contained in a passage of Paulus inserted in the Digest,* is still very satisfactory, although on one essential point it is less exact than that given by Aristotle, and leaves a loophole for false theories:—

"Sales," says this famous lawyer, "began with barter, for as yet money had not come into existence, and there was no distinction between the *merchandise* and the *price*. Each one, according to his immediate necessity,

* xviii. 1. 1.

bartered that which was useless to him for that which he could make of service; for it is often found that one man possesses in superfluity that which is lacking to another. But as it did not always happen that the one possessed what the other desired, and *vice versâ*, a substance was chosen which, from its permanent and universal value, might become the medium of exchange, and obviate the difficulties constantly arising in the system of barter. This substance, to which was affixed an official stamp, was no longer spoken of as merchandise, but as the *price*."

It is obvious that in this definition there is a serious omission. The Roman lawyer explains very clearly what he has borrowed from the Greek philosophers, how the sale grew out of the simple exchange, and how one substance, serving as the common standard of value, came to be adopted as the means of payment; how this common medium of exchange was finally transformed into money, and how the *price* under the form of a sum of money differs from merchandise given in barter. But he has omitted one essential portion of the old definitions of the Hellenic masters, in particular of Aristotle, a portion indispensable to the adequate statement of true monetary principles. He does not say that which the philosopher of Stagira was careful not to omit, that the money which constitutes the *price* is and ought to be primarily itself an article of merchandise, though of a peculiar and privileged kind. Its substance must be "useful in itself" and possessing a real value, corresponding with that for which it is given and accepted as a price; lastly that the official stamp which it bears is only "the outward sign of this intrinsic value," by which public authority guarantees the exactness of the weight and quality of the coin, so as to save the trouble of perpetual weighing. It is by giving this guarantee, that the Government earns the right to enforce by law the acceptance of the coinage for the sum it represents; a right which can only be lawfully maintained when the Government has acted with perfect fairness. The definition of Paulus is as applicable to fiduciary as to real money. There is no protest against the false and fatal theory that the coin, which is accepted as the price, is only a conventional sign of the value of things, and need not have itself any specific value in relation to that for which it is given in circulation; and, lastly, that the official signature gives it its value instead of simply attesting and guaranteeing its actual worth. In fact this false and detestable doctrine, which has come down to the world as such a fatal bequest from the Romans, had long held sway in Rome before the time of Paulus, and was commonly recognized in his day alike in theory and practice. In commenting on the imperial laws, and even on those of the closing years of the Republic, he met with, and was bound to accept as legal verities, dispositions so monstrous as those of the "*Lex Cornelia Testamentaria*," which carried the consequences of this doctrine to their furthest issues.* The princes to whom Paulus tendered his services as a lawyer, those who had received him into

* Paulus: Sentent. Recept., v. 25. 1.

their councils and made him the successor of Ulpian, were the very men who began to exercise to the fullest degree, and without the slightest prudence or precaution, their pretended right to adulterate the public money, justifying their conduct by the sophism that the value of the coin was derived from their own sacred impress affixed to it.

Neither the coins themselves nor the records of Latin historians indicate any mistaken notion on the subject of money, or any attempt on the part of the State to assign to it an arbitrary and merely conventional value, during the whole period when the Republic was flourishing, when a noble patriotism rose above personal ambition, and when the benefits of true liberty were enjoyed. The three successive reductions by which the *as* was lowered from a weight of ten ounces to one ounce, which might seem on a superficial study to contradict this statement, had in reality no analogy with the changes in the *aureus* and the *denarius*, which we shall observe presently under the Empire, during the second and third centuries of our era. These operations were all of a twofold character. With regard to public finance, it was an attempt—far from justifiable, I admit, but regarded at the time as lawful, much as we should regard a conversion of rents—to reduce to a third or to a half the debts of the State, in a time of great public pressure and pecuniary scarcity; and it was an attempt made with the full consent of the people. But with regard to the private circulation of money and transactions between individuals, the diminutions in the weight of the *as* caused no loss or inconvenience, for the only result was to introduce into the money of the State the same relation which had been established in commercial transactions between the value of the two metals then coined in Rome—copper and silver. As soon as the first reduction was made, all the sums in the official reckonings were still stated in copper money; but between individuals, in private commercial transactions, silver money received from abroad, either in the form of coins or of ingots, or struck in Campania in the name of the Republic, was made the basis of operations. Thus no injury was done to private business by the reduction of the money which was still the legal unity, though it had ceased to be in practice the real standard of the value of things; and yet, at the same time, the Government of the Republic derived a benefit of 60 per cent. by paying in *asses* of the weight of one *triens*, or in sums reckoned by that *as*, debts which it had contracted in *asses* of the weight of ten ounces. It defrauded its creditors, but it did not pretend to give to the new *as* or *triens* a nominal value different from their real value as metal. The many passages in which, in referring to liabilities contracted, or payments made, during the intermediate period between the coinage of silver in Rome itself and the reduction of the *as* to a *sextans*, the words *sestertius* or *as libralis** are used indifferently, show

* Boeckh : *Metrologische Untersuchungen*, pp. 396, 397, 414. Marquardt : *Handbuch röm. Alterthümer*, t. iii. 2, p. 7.

that the old *as* of full weight had not been called in nor reduced to a lower than its original value, but continued to circulate side by side with the new inferior *as*, and was accepted by the public for its real value, twice and a half that of the latter coinage. It may even be admitted, with Mommsen, that the first reduction of the *as* did not imply the bankruptcy of the State, which would not have been competent to the financial situation of Rome in the flourishing era of the Republic, between the war of Pyrrhus and the first Punic war. "In fact, as the Romans still employed, in the statement of public accounts, the old *as æris gravis*, equivalent to a silver sesterce, as well as the new *as*, ten of which went to a *denarius*, it is possible that the debts of the State were thus paid in full and without reduction." In that case, as the learned Prussian thinks, "there would have been neither bankruptcy nor depreciation of the coinage in the ordinary meaning of that word, but simply a change in the sign representing the value, or in the *expression* of the value."*

The only act of the Roman people in the noble ages of the Republic, which produced a real alteration in the currency, was the "*Lex Flaminia*," suddenly reducing the *denarius*, which became from that time the true standard of value, from $\frac{1}{72}$ to $\frac{1}{84}$ of a pound. This act expressed the deliberate decision of the nation, to give to the money an arbitrary and conventional value other than that which it could command merely as merchandise. But it must not be forgotten that the Flaminian law was passed when Hannibal was already at the gates of Rome; when the disasters of Trebia and of Lake Trasimene had well-nigh exhausted the resources of the Republic; when there was revolt on every hand, and thus the best sources of public revenue were dried up. In such a crisis of peril the economic laws which ought to govern every issue of money, were lost sight of under the pressing necessity of finding some means to recruit an exhausted treasury, to provide for the demands of the moment, and to lighten the cost of the pay of the troops, while nominally retaining the same figures, lest the announcement of any reduction should arouse sedition and tumult.

But when the immediate peril was past, when in the course of a few years the Republic was again prosperous, it was found that the depreciated silver coins had come into common use, that the price of things had been adjusted by this standard, that the old heavy silver pieces had been gradually withdrawn from circulation by private speculators, to be melted down, and that to revert now to the old standard of the *denarius*, as it was before the Flaminian law, would cause a profound perturbation in the public funds and in private transactions. Thus that which had been at first adopted merely as a measure of temporary relief, something like the minting of siege-pieces, became permanent, and fixed the standard for Roman silver money until the end of the Republic.

* Mommsen : *Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens*, pp. 292, 293.

Nothing is more dangerous than to begin to tamper with money. It is a course on which, after the first step taken, it becomes impossible to stop. The Flaminian law had been proposed and adopted as a last resource, in such a time of pressure that any means seemed lawful to avert the catastrophe. But that law remained a fatal precedent, upon which henceforward was based the theory of the *money-sign*, the doctrine that a legislative decision was sufficient to attach to metallic specie an arbitrary and fictitious value. This theory soon spread among the Romans, and was specially welcomed by the new aristocratic party, which soon took the management of affairs entirely into its own hands. Henceforth it was one of the political and financial dogmas of this party, that the State has the right to seek relief from financial pressure under ordinary circumstances, in the sort of forced loan implied in a depreciation of the coinage. In this matter, as in every other, the fatal germ was deposited in Roman society, by the rise of the oligarchical faction to power. Avaricious and unprincipled, as *parvenus* always are, without any of the virtues of the true-born aristocracy, using the influence of high station only to advance their own interests and indulge their appetites, this monied oligarchy regarded the world-wide dominions of Rome as only a great field to be worked by them for their own unscrupulous and selfish ends. Their economical views were as false as their political aims were petty, egoistical, and blind. By pursuing for their own advantage the system of merging small private properties in the *latifundia*, they brought about the ruin and depopulation of Italy, the destruction, that is, of that which had hitherto been, and could alone be the solid basis of the power of Rome. By means of the theory of the *money-sign*, and of the right of the State to fix arbitrarily the value of money, they produced in the monetary system, not only temporary perturbations of the gravest kind, but they introduced into the world a false principle, the consequences of which were to be felt for many centuries.

The perturbations produced in the monetary system by this doctrine, and in every department of public finance, became more and more serious in the midst of the anarchy and bloodshed of civil strife, of party conflict and personal ambition, in the decadence of the Republic. Left to themselves, without any effective supervision of the higher authorities, those who regulated the coinage, instead of aiming at producing good specie, and shrinking from the fatal consequences that must follow fraudulent dealings in these matters, thought only of making in a short time as much money as possible by the falsification of the coins. The leaders of the party sought to secure the adherence of the populace by helping debtors to defraud their creditors. As in each successive issue of *denarii*, there was a larger proportion of plated pieces, men deep in debt were enabled to free themselves from their liabilities by paying nominally in full, but actually only a half or one third the amount which they owed.

In the year of Rome 663 (91 B.C.) M. Livius Drusus caused the Senate to pass a decision that, in future issues, there should be one plated copper *denarius* to seven of silver.* A few years later, in the time of Cinna, the value of the coinage had become so dubious, as Cicero tells us,† that no one knew precisely what he was worth.

In the year of Rome 670 (B.C. 84) the tribunes of the people and the prætors deliberated on the measures to be taken, in order to remedy this deplorable state of things. An edict of the prætor, M. Marius Gratidianus, instituted offices for the verification of the coinage, suppressed the enforced circulation of the plated *denarii*, ordered that they should be withdrawn from the public coffers, and that *denarii* of a true standard should be given in exchange.‡ The popular enthusiasm with which this act was received, gives some idea of the gravity of the evil to which it brought redress. Statues were raised in all the public places to the prætor who had taken the initiative in so beneficent a reform, and almost divine honours were paid to these statues, by burning incense and wax tapers before them.

Sylla visited Marius Gratidianus with cruel retribution for this popularity. He was a formidable political adversary, and in the eyes of the aristocratic party he had committed a veritable crime in assailing a right of the State, very tenaciously clung to by this party,—the right to alter the value of the coinage. This was a right against which only democrats protested. As soon, therefore, as the dictator entered Rome, all the statues of Gratidianus were overthrown, and he himself, being included in the list of proscribed persons, was put to death with the most barbarous refinements of torture. Sylla, however, had himself the wisdom to make but moderate use of the right of depreciating the currency; but he inserted in the law this fundamental principle of the aristocratic party, insisting with the utmost effrontery both on the theory and its practical consequences. Paulus says:§ “*Lege Cornelia tenetur qui vultu principis signatam monetam præter adulterinam reprobaverit.*” The words *vultu principis* are an addition of the time of the Empire, applying to the coins then struck the dispositions of the “*Lex Cornelia Testamentaria.*” The real gist of this law was that individuals might only refuse false money uttered by private forgers, while they were bound under heavy penalties to receive without hesitation, whatever its weight and name, the money issued by the State and bearing the official stamp. This was to affirm the right of the Government to adulterate at pleasure, since its signature gave an artificial value to the coinage; and resistance to the

* Plin. Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 3. 46.

† De Offic. iii. 20. 80.

‡ Cicero: De Offic. iii. 20. 80. Plin.: Hist. Nat. xxxiii. 9. 132. Mommsen: Geschichte des römischen Münzwesens, p. 338. Mommsen was the first to draw attention to the full importance of the attempt at monetary reform made by Marius Gratidianus.

§ Sentent. Recept., v. 25. 1.

arbitrary power which the oligarchy meant always to keep in its own hands, was branded as a crime.

After the wars, which for many generations had torn the State and brought fellow-citizens into armed conflict with each other on the battle-field, the Cæsarean despotism declared itself first as come to restore order, to re-establish peace, to raise up the ruins, and revive the prosperity which anarchy had destroyed. Cæsar first, and after him Augustus, played the part of peacemakers and restorers in every branch of the administration and in the political life of the Empire, and this good service disguised for the time the annihilation of all liberty and the setting up of an absolute despotism. We find numismatic traces at once of their reforms, and of their usurpations, the consequences of which so quickly undid the temporary good they effected. Cæsar restored the public credit by issuing good money, such as had not been seen in Rome for a length of time, money of pure metal and exact weight; with scarcely any admixture of plated pieces, money which could circulate for its real value, and this measure became one of the principal sources of his popularity. Augustus followed his example, but at the same time took away from the Senate the right of coining gold and silver, reserving this exclusively to the imperial authority, which was to exercise it absolutely without control.

From this time we find the theory that the value of money is arbitrary, and depends solely on the will of the sovereign who issues it, more and more widely and tenaciously held. The constitution of the Empire having become an unlimited despotism, the Emperor, being regarded as a god to whom all things were competent, and whose will was a sacred law, the prince to whom the utterance of the money was entrusted, and who was supposed to exercise a fatherly care over the public wealth, allowed himself to be persuaded, or feigned to believe, that the value of the money was derived from the official signature, the original intention of which was simply to guarantee the integrity of the coinage. The faith placed in the official impress fostered the temptation to abuse it. We know too well the consequences which follow by a necessary sequence from this fatal doctrine, the handmaid of despotism. From the moment when the coin comes to be regarded as a conventional sign, depending on arbitrary authority, the power which created can modify and change it; it may even replace it by other signs, doing away with that which has been strangely described by some Utopians in our day, as "the usurped royalty of gold." As M. Wolowski, an eminent French economist, has truly said, "the permanent hostility of nations, commercial crises, the depreciation of specie, covert bankruptcies, assignats, paper money, hatred of capital, chimerical schemes of financial renovation, such are the dire consequences of false views on the subject of money."

Under a prince so able and so wise as Augustus the mischievous

influence of the imperial prerogative of issuing money, and the doctrine involved in it, did not at once make itself felt, and during several reigns the example set by Cæsar and his nephew was followed. But this was not for long. Before many years of imperial omnipotence had passed away, there succeeded to the throne some of the most monstrous fools the world has ever seen. Hence in less than a century the change of the money of the State into imperial money, and the theory that its value arose from its bearing the effigy of the sovereign, produced a system of adulteration of specie, which went on growing to the very close of the Empire, and which the successors of Augustus utilized largely for the indulgence of their passions and their prodigality. It was then seen, says Vopiscus, that there is no more infallible symptom of the decay of the State than the corruption of the coinage, and that the steps of this decline are marked by the successive depreciations of the money. M. Wolowski has justly observed: "We might always judge of the character of the emperors, by the more or less sound ring of the coins struck during their reign."

The first depreciation of the *aureus* was under Nero, and the same emperor reduced the *denarius* to $\frac{1}{8}$ of the pound of silver, instead of $\frac{1}{4}$, while keeping its nominal value unchanged. At the same time, the proportion of the alloy was raised from five to ten per cent. of the weight of the piece. The very name of the author of these changes, which inaugurated all the imperial attempts of the same kind, suffices to teach us a great and valuable lesson. After Nero, the *aureus* remained tolerably stationary, at the weight fixed by that prince. The silver *denarius*, on the contrary, continued to descend rapidly till the end of the reign of Domitian. Nerva somewhat raised its weight again, but under Commodus the depreciation recommenced and went on even more rapidly than before. It soon became general with money of every sort. Violence, sheltered under the mask of law, assured the success of the frauds, for the fundamental axiom of this policy was the principle, borrowed from the Cornelian law, of forbidding under severest penalties the refusal of the imperial money, of whatever standard or intrinsic value. The application of this principle was carried to the utmost limits of the doctrine of the purely conventional origin of the value of metallic specie. With such a basis for the monetary legislation of the Empire, despotism and bad faith would deem all things lawful; and in less than a hundred years the systematic alterations in the coinage by imperial orders, produced such confusion as was scarcely equalled in the most disastrous years of the fourteenth century.

We will not enlarge on the details of this monetary disturbance, which lasted during the whole of the third century of the Christian era. This is not the place to go fully into it, since my present object is rather to indicate the general facts which relate to the various vicissitudes of the economic theory of money in ancient times. From the date we have now reached, this study may be abandoned. There may indeed

still be found occasionally able monarchs, like Constantius, occupying the imperial throne, who may endeavour to restore soundness to the public finances by giving money of good weight and pure metal. Here and there we may still discover principles of justice and honour, as in the noble words of the edict of the Imperial Exchequer for the creation of *Procuratores Monetæ* of the coinage: "Omnino monetæ integritas debet quæri ubi vultus noster imprimitur; quidnam erit tutum si in nostra peccetur effigie?"*

But all this is dependent simply upon individual probity, and can never have any durable result. It will be vain to create new species of money, to substitute the *solidus* for the discredited *aureus*, in order to have some pieces of a definite value. These in their turn will become the subjects of certain and rapid depreciation. The false theory of the essence and origin of money is henceforth embodied in the laws and firmly rooted in the minds of men.

No one thinks any longer of disputing it, and the reigning princes make more or less use of it in proportion to their unscrupulousness and cupidity. The true and sound theory, always known and practised among the Greeks, has fallen into complete oblivion through a long course of ages, and the fatal error which was the economic curse of the Roman Empire is transmitted to the middle ages, and becomes the source of widespread misery.

Need we call to mind the disastrous consequences, in the young Christian societies of the West, of the doctrine borrowed from the Empire of the Cæsars, that money was simply a sign, owing all its value to its official impress? The infinite diversity of petty powers during the feudal period added to the confusion which had prevailed even under the Empire. Each feudal lord struck some coin, and every monarch made some change, greater or less, in the currency, in order to disguise his actual bankruptcy. It was required that payment to government should be made quarterly, or monthly, in the current coin, and according as the prince was debtor or creditor, he lowered or raised the monetary standard. These nefarious proceedings failed in their end; the bad money, following an inexorable law, drove out the good, and, after perplexing and mischievous oscillations, the value of things was adjusted to the depressed money standard. Hence ensued the disappearance of the good money and the rise of prices, evils which it was sought to remedy by prohibiting exportation and fixing a maximum for prices, measures as unavailing as they were obnoxious.

Errors, frauds, and deeds of violence followed each other in fatal succession, always leaving behind the same result—corrupted morals and commercial panic. The periodical depreciation of the moneys caused universal confusion; the *morbus numericus*, which was described as no less fatal than the plague itself, visited every country. Spain, Portugal, England, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, Naples, Savoy,

* Cassiodor.: *Variar.*, vii. 32.

suffered from it no less than France. Everywhere the old imperial idea of the arbitrary value of money, depending on the will of the sovereign, was hailed by unscrupulous governments, anxious to use it for their own advantage.

It was vain for religion to thunder against these abuses through the Popes* and the bishops, who were not always themselves exempt from the same fault; it was vain for poetry to borrow the pen of Dante to brand Philippe le Bel as a forger :

" Là si vedrà il duol che sopra Senna,
Induce, falseggiando la moneta."

The world continued to suffer from an evil the true nature of which it failed to recognize. The angel of the School, the great St. Thomas Aquinas himself, although, following in the footsteps of Aristotle, he enunciated the true principles of money, contents himself with counselling the sovereigns to make "a moderate use" of the monopoly of the money, "sive in mutando, sive in diminuendo pondus."† Throughout the whole of the middle ages we find only one man who by an effort of good sense amounting to genius, and peculiarly admirable in the midst of the prevailing errors of the time, perceived the true bases of the monetary theory. This was Nicolas Oresme, Bishop of Lisieux, whose name was rescued a few years ago by MM. Wolowski and Roscher from the unjust oblivion of five hundred years, and whom they have rightly declared to be a great economist and the precursor of the deepest researches of modern science in this department.‡ But the wise teachings and the efforts of Nicolas Oresme had no result beyond the reign of his friend Charles V., to whom popular gratitude has awarded the surname of *The Wise*. After the death of this prince the truths which the prelate-economist had brought again into the light, were soon forgotten. The tampering with the money was resumed, practised perhaps with a little less folly and at rarer intervals than in the fourteenth century, but still practised.

It was not till the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that thoughtful and courageous men, in Italy and in England, began to demonstrate again the fallacy of the doctrine which attributed the value of money to the sovereign power; and in France it was not till the Constitutional Assembly of 1789, and the renaissance of economic science, that this doctrine disappeared from theory and practice, and a monetary system was established based upon true principles, upon the notion that a sound coinage ought to have a real value as merchandise, corresponding to the nominal value for which it is current.

Such has been the fatal heritage of calamity and confusion handed

* Boniface VIII., in a letter of the year 1296, reproaches Philippe le Bel, with "monetæ depravatione subditis atque extraneis injuriam fieri."

† De Regimine Principis, ii. 13.

‡ Traicté de la première invention des monnaies, de Nicolas Oresme, publié et annoté par M. Wolowski. Paris: 1864.

down to the world for many ages by an error of political economy, the direct offspring of despotism. In casting a rapid glance over the monetary history of antiquity, we see this great truth brought out on every page, that in order to have sound finances, true money, and a good government, the first conditions are liberty, the right of control, and of discussion; that despotism, if it seems sometimes a reparative agent, and holds out fair promises to material interests which may have been imperilled in the storms of liberty, never brings more than a temporary relief, and inevitably drags a nation down to ruin, by working on false economic principles. All human science ought to have its moral teaching. If the study of numismatics should have no other result than to confirm by irrefragable evidence this important lesson, it would deserve a high place in the category of those erudite labours by which we recover the archives of man's mental and moral history.

FRANÇOIS LENORMANT.

PROFESSOR VON HOLTZENDORFF ON THE ENGLISH COUNTRY SQUIRE.

An English Country Squire, as sketched at Hardwicke Court, Gloucestershire. By Professor VON HOLTZENDORFF. Translated by ROSA GEBHARD. Gloucester : John Bellows. 1878.

AMONG the various English institutions of which International Congresses and Pan-Anglican Synods bring laymen and ecclesiastics from the uttermost parts of the earth to study and discuss the vitality, it is doubtful whether any is so much *sui generis*, so much without its parallel in other countries, as the English squirearchy. Intimately bound up through the accident of family livings with the weal of the Church, as a connecting link by means of clerical younger brothers between the lords of the soil and the working poor, this order, living on its estates, has grown up amidst its rural population, and can sympathize by tradition with the cottage and its inmates more naturally and warmly than the counterpart class in towns ; and it will be found that in social as well as in religious movements, the common sense and solid stake in the common weal of the squire class dispose them to espouse, with moderation and without extravagance, those reforms and ameliorations of society which have in them any root of permanence. And inasmuch as, in its aspect as "The Great Unpaid," the order of the English squires still holds in its hands a very large portion of judicial functions in petty and quarter sessions, and of influence on finance in county, highway, and poor-law Boards, and is likely to continue to do so in no small degree *because it is* unpaid, it may not be uninteresting to many who have more or less contemplated this phenomenon, to take an opportunity of regarding it from a German professor's point of view, which has recently been placed within the reach of the English reader through a translation by a German Frau, long resident in an English country-house, and familiar with the English language and society. Though Professor Franz von Holtzendorff's pamphlet was originally inspired by a visit to a model English squire in his own county so far back as 1861, and his impressions were quickened and confirmed by a later visit half-a-score years afterwards, they apply with very few changes, save in the wake of experience, to the present

time; and besides the interest which the accomplished translator surmises that the English reader will derive from "seeing how this purely English creation strikes the imagination of a conscientious student of the English social and political system who is able to test the efficiency of the work it performs, as compared with that which in Germany is wholly entrusted to official agents," it is to be hoped that another result of the publication in English of the Professor's appreciative criticism may be to inspire the on-coming succession of younger squires, who are occasionally credited, whether rightly or wrongfully, with having less taste and talents for business than their sires; to emulate "the sacrifices and services of a class which has no existence out of England, and of which" (says the translator) "the influences must have so largely contributed to the loyalty and self-reliance of English national life."

It is scarcely necessary to name or localize the typical squire whose work would identify him at once to the mass of his countrymen, and whom, as it appears from the Professor's pamphlet, he dragged only by strong persuasion into publicity. His work, though many-sided, has this element of vitality, that it is single-hearted, steadfast, and unselfish; and the total absence of any leaven of vanity or self-esteem comes out admirably in a conversation in chapter viii., where the Professor interviews the Squire on his early education, and receives a simple and genuine statement, the gist of which is, that very much is learnt in active life, and that all learning should tend to intellectual activity. The Squire's unstrained and modest recognition of the work given him to do in his generation, and his measure of his place in society, is simply that of one who, as a *blunt tool employed bonâ fide in the master's hand*, has done whatever good he has been permitted to do from an impulse external to himself. The passage is eloquent in the singular modesty, which we can well believe that the Professor transferred from the Squire's lips to his paper, and if perused (in pp. 78—80) might guarantee the honest earnestness of his single-hearted reforms. A volume of a somewhat more general range and of a more all-round character, to be perused in connection with the Professor's pamphlet, is the sketch by the late John Wood Warter, Southey's son-in-law, of "The Last of the Old Squires," which was published by Longmans in 1854, and is well worthy a place in every country-house library. Out of these twain we are persuaded that abundance of cause might be shown why an institution sometimes lightly spoken against, and regarded as doomed to be superseded by stipendiaries and doctrinaires, should not perish out of the land, but enlarge its hold on the national confidence. Certainly such was the impression carried away by our German Professor, though he came very much with an idea of studying a doomed and moribund institution; and the chapters which in lively fashion discover and trace the foundations of the more solid structure which he realized, are none the less instructive and edifying for their simplicity.

Thus, not a little to do with the training of the English country squire is the orderliness of his domestic life in its normal development. The German's awkwardness and want of habit at the customary institution of "family prayers" leads him to some lively conversations with the mistress of the mansion where he sought his type of the squire class. As one must expect, he learnt not a little, from "taking the ladies into his counsel," both of the apportionment of the daily routine of duties among the members of a country house, and of the succession of outdoor gatherings and pursuits generally ruled by a system, though an unforced and inobtrusive one. In a charming bit of irony the Professor, who, after a little practice, has conformed or become conciliated to the *family prayers* which to the sons and servants of the house are a venerable usage, essays to sound his intelligent hostess on the still more vital feature of the English Sunday. She, and her sons and husband, might have dilated on the mingling of class with class; on the time-honoured prestige which invests the village church and its weekly and holiday gatherings, making each brother of high and low degree equal in the sanctuary, and so abridging the distance betwixt ranks, when the cottage or cottage hospital has to be visited, the school, workhouse, gaol, or reformatory to be repaired to, for the philanthropic end of dealing with doubtful elements of society, to prevent crime before punishment, and to stay its progress and persistence after. But our Professor deemed the Sabbath un-English, uncongenial with Merry England. He had formed his ideas, doubtless, from the towns; and had thus, perhaps, contracted a prejudice, which other examples have shown us extends to his compatriots, against an *English Sunday in the country*. Let us hope that he learned during his visits to Hardwicke that the reproach cannot fairly lie against the moderate length of services, hymnology, and sermons customary in country churches, which might, with more show of justice, be argued against town and city churches, and interfere with the foreigner's pet and fanciful idea of worshipping nature simultaneously with its God. One does not envy the Professor his inability to grasp the traditional feeling of home and reunion which invests the many-memored village church from generation to generation. Unless we are mistaken it was a poet who was not unacquainted with those on the banks of the Severn in Gloucestershire, who in one of his poems thus commemorates the church where our fathers have worshipped:—

"The very stones
Of old memorial have been dear to me,
Sitting long days on ancient stiles worm-worn,
And gazing thro' green trees o'er grassy graves
Upon the living village, and the dead,
The early and the later tryst that all
Have kept so long and well: or to the pile
Reared by those English whose ancestral feet
Trode the same path their children's children keep
Still hallowed: where the beauty of the vale,
The blushing girl of yonder bridal train,

Walks in her love and joy, and passing slow,
 Salutes unconscious with her wedding skirt
 The gable end no greyer than of yore,
 When by the same dark yew for ever old
 The same grey Time did hold his scythe above
 Her grandame's head, whose silk of long ago
 So rustled on the wall when she went by
 A happy bride, and heard perchance that day
 Tales from wan lips of the far-morning when
 Her mother's mother passed as fair as she."—*Balder*, p. 13.

And this is but one out of hundreds of rural pictures of the associations of an English Sabbath, dear alike to the humblest villagers and to the high-born lady at the hall. Von Holtzendorff's fair instructress expounded with admirable and practical clearness the regulations enforced in a country house, making the Sunday emphatically a day of rest to the whole household, and truly pointed it out that "the disregard of the Sunday divides the whole nation between the contented and the discontented." Surely in the very consideration for servants and dependents inculcated and practised in such English homes on a large scale, is nurtured the sense of responsibility and administrativeness which tends to make the succession of English squires the creditably conscientious and self-sacrificing element in the commonwealth that it is.

It might also, we think, be shown that in the limited visit to town for the season of the squire and his family, and his staunchness to the ancestral dwelling amidst his own people for the larger part of the year, lies part of the secret of his hold on the hearts of the country. Mr. Wood Warter's model squire, Cedric Oldacre, blamed the degenerate custom of "maintaining a town house in splendour and the old country mansion meanly," and "held that the outside show and tinsel of a London life would in another age untie the sympathies of the country, and quite alter the position of the old time-honoured landlords." And yet in periodical and seasonable visits to the metropolis lies the security for that culture and enlarged intermixture with men and society of intelligence which prevents *ruralizing* from becoming a synonym for *rusting*, and subjects the limited autocracy of the "country squire" to the corrective influences of enlarged and enlightened opinion. Another reflection which arises out of the routine training and ordering of the English squire's family and household, is concerned with the excellently wholesome acquiescence in the law and principle of primogeniture which secures to the cadets of a family a home for ever to fall back upon, whilst it surrounds the head of the house with attached and unflinching allies in a body-guard of no hireling character, and promotes the recognition of "give and take" in the study of likes and dislikes, which the Professor thought he discovered in the stopping up of the keyhole of the Squire's smoking-room, that the Lady's nerves might be preserved from every disagreeable sensation. In these and other sometimes minor matters is bred that gradual repression and subordination of self-indulgence which eventuates in a body capable of greater sacrifices for the public weal

than can be expected of paid officials, or of a band of bureaucrats and doctrinaires. Von Holtzendorff jokingly says that, according to the Squire, every German has but three ideas, viz., "smoking, singing, and sabbath-breaking;" but he finds it hard to deny that it is a step in advance towards true cosmopolitan citizenship to have brought under self, even in its lesser and unessential points, and learnt as fully as possible the secret of unbribed usefulness. The Squire's routine of a week's country business embraced a field from which the best paid stipendiary might have shrunk, as far above one man's work:—Board of Guardians, Police and Finance Committees, inspection of County Prison and Lunatic Asylum, Grand Jury work, County and Criminal business at the Quarter Sessions, Supervision of the County Hospital, of the Reformatory School, of the Savings-bank, as well as treasurerships and kindred work on the committees of divers parochial schools and local associations. By habituation in this routine, till it has become second nature, the earnest country squire, though his self-criticism spies no other virtue in himself beyond "donkey-like patience," arrives step by step, and in the course of years more or fewer, at the solution of many problems for the amelioration of conditions of society long despaired of, and this too in the day's work, as it were—if not, as to a certain extent it comes to be, in the day's pastime.

For example, one illustration, elicited by the Professor's scrutiny, at head-quarters so to speak, of the reformatory movement, goes far to show that, in the teaching of experience, *solitary confinement* is not of so much importance, unless in the early stages, as the singling out of young delinquents and daily personal intercourse with them in such wise as to arrive at a knowledge of their characters, to afford them an opportunity of "regaining the forfeited confidence of society," and to make them, what they have in some instances become, the real props of the institution. It seems moreover to be the teaching of experience, similarly elicited, that *agricultural reformatories* "par excellence" are more successful in their results than the *industrial reformatories* of towns; not a little, doubtless, because the glow of cheerful outdoor industry conduces to the recovery of the sound mind in a sound body more than the sedentary work of tailoring and shoemaking. So true it proves, as is found from much of the conversations of the Squire and the Professor on this and many kindred social questions, that the teaching of experience is much more tangible and practical than theory. Psychologists may speculate on the stronger love of nature, and need of natural life inborn in the town child as compared with the country child; but it is the *solvitur ambulando* test, as applied by such practical reformers as George Bengough or Edward Denison in their respective fields, which furnishes results upon which to base solid social cures, and to atone the failures of the earlier reformatory movements. To be *au courant* with the history of these would demand a longer *résumé* of the misadventures, and ill-success, and base ingrati-

tude, which met the early endeavours of Captain Pelham Brenton and the Jew, David Haes, than our space in these pages allows; but every reader will thank us for transcribing a few lines quoted by the Professor from the Squire's lips, relative to Mr. Bengough, the co-founder, with Mr. Barwick Baker, of the Reformatory at Hardwicke, the intensely-purposed young squire and heir to £10,000 a year, who in his twenty-fourth year devoted himself to the definite aim of catching and reforming wild thieves by daily intercourse with them, and then using them as decoys for taming those who were to come after them. George Bengough, it is needless to say, was not permitted to remain many years in his mission of self-devotion; but, in the language of his quondam coadjutor, he speaketh yet and thus. Bengough's work has found its "reward," asserted Baker solemnly:

"Cheltenham alone produced formerly almost as many young thieves as all the rest of the county of Gloucester together. In the year 1852 forty-five boys were imprisoned; four years after, fifty-three. After long endeavours we found out who were the leaders and who the apprentices in crime. We caught the two young master-thieves, and, behold, in the year 1857 only fourteen boys were convicted. Thereupon we turned our attention to the rest of the county with equal success. In the next five years England had been covered with reformatories for young criminals. Investigations of this kind caused a decrease within the same space of time of six thousand criminals annually. It is a great thing to rescue alive one human being who has fallen over a precipice, but far greater yet to prevent *two* from falling over the precipice at all." (P. 39.)

Such men as Baker and Bengough, and, as we before coupled him, Edward Denison, from their bringing-up and habits, have a disposition to value the just mean between mental and bodily exertion, and not to exalt mere learning into a be-all and end-all. In fact the germ of very much of the improvement of recent years in workhouse schools, gaol-work, and elementary education, as respects the young and the adult alike, is to be found, as Professor von Holtzendorff sees and works out in his scheme of mixed manual and brain labour at p. 50 of the pamphlet, in the due balance of hand and brain, muscles and nerves.

A chapter on the "county gaol" affords the Squire an interesting field for discussing the moot question of an unpaid or stipendiary magistracy, and for anticipating the kindred problem of boards of finance. The Squire, indeed, is more caustic than usual when he enlarges, not without much show of argument, on the arbitrary procedure called "Judicial Justice." Perhaps he is over-severe on the knowledge of "books, theories, principles, and systems" which qualifies our judges for the administration of the civil law; but it is not the less a true insight that the discriminative faculty so essential to even-handed dispensing of justice is to be looked for rather in the Court of Quarter Sessions. He is soundly urgent on the enforcement of the rule that a military or naval officer of experience, culture, common sense, and organizing talent—and not the narrow-minded "thief-taker lifted above his level by promotion"—is the best and only fit man for the appointment of "Chief Constable" of a county. With the former

the country squire can meet upon an equal footing, and the experience each contributes to other is a mutual help. When the latter unfortunately holds the appointment, his capacity is tested too often prejudicially by any exceptional disturbance or riot, and is apt to be found wanting at critical periods.

Another part of the Professor's pamphlet gives an insight into the Squire's counsels to the factory hands at Stroud, when assembled at a working men's meeting, and exhibits the sound solid sense of the speaker backed by his *ethos*, and the manifest confidence of the operatives in the fairness and consideration of the English country gentleman. After several salutary lessons on strikes and wages, and deeper deductions from the teaching of poor rates and Poor-law Unions, Baker's exhortation to the assembled hands was as follows:—"Esteem yourselves happy if you can give your children that which no work-house has to offer—hard work, vigorous games, and bodily exercise, with tolerable instruction and abundance of fresh air out of doors."

It is not perhaps to be wondered that the German doctrinaire, having mastered the details of home culture, public school training, field sports, manly athletic exercises, which in our country go to preserve the type of which it was his ambition to depict a specimen to his own countrymen, sighed for a graft of such self-supporting public spirit upon the institutions of Germany. This was his manner of broaching the subject. "Do we not," he facetiously asked, "furnish you yearly to meet your deficit a certain number of young foxes from Germany, which are turned out on English ground? How would it be if you transplanted to Germany a number of young squires, to show your gratitude for those foxes which are so essential to your sport?"

"I am sorry," replied the Squire, "that this exchange cannot be carried out. Your German foxes, which may be more diplomatic than ours in robbing a hen-roost, prove exceedingly stupid in England when they have the misfortune to be hunted. They do not know how to behave, and are real blockheads in comparison with our native fox, to whom it is frequently a delight to outwit the whole pack. As your foxes in England, so our young squires would fare in Germany. They would be distanced by the sons of your privy councillors in Latin and Greek grammar. Your professors would be indignant at their youthful self-sufficiency, and still more enraged if they commenced to row, to box, to ride, and to shoot. The young squires would be expelled from school in case they did not prefer to run away, which they most probably would" (p. 89).

We can confidently recommend the sketch of a model English squire—written by Professor von Holtzendorff and translated into English by his clever countrywoman—as presenting fairly, dispassionately, and concisely the sum of arguments which might be urged upon the typical woodman of the constitution in reprieve or in conservation of so venerable a tree or stock.

JAMES DAVIES.

ON THE MIGRATION OF BIRDS.

THE ancients were wont to study the flight of birds for purposes widely different from ours of to-day. To the old augurs the course of the eagle from left to right, or from right to left, was an omen in the one case of good, in the other of evil fortune.

We of the modern world are more modest. We do not demand that the flight of birds shall be regulated according to our interests, nor seek in their winged wanderings a sign from the gods.

The flight of birds is still a subject of interest to us, not because we expect to find in it a key to the enigma of our own lives, but because we venture to hope it may yield us some clue to the great enigma of Nature, and that, by a careful investigation of the causes which determine the migration of birds, we may get a deeper insight into the workings of Nature, not only in relation to this isolated phenomenon, but to the existence and meaning of marvellous appearances which organic life presents in every direction.

It is not of the flight of birds generally that I intend to speak here, but only of that particular and regularly recurring form of it known as the passage or migration of birds.

The phenomenon itself is a perfectly familiar one, and can scarcely have escaped the observation even of a child. Who has not seen the dark cloud of starlings circling in mid-air around his head, then suddenly dropping down upon the fields; or the flocks of snow geese soaring so high in the heavens that only a keen eye can detect them, and they might pass unnoticed but for the distant cackling that falls upon the ear?

Few of us may have had the opportunity of ourselves seeing how the storks at the end of July gather by hundreds on a marshy meadow, in order to set out, all together and in regular order, for the

journey to their winter quarters; but this curious scene is very familiar to us by description, and we all have a general idea whither it is that the storks wend their flight. They take a long journey, going far into the interior of Africa, at least as far as the Equator. It is not yet positively known in what districts of Africa they winter. Brehm observed them in Eastern Sudan, in September, still on the wing, and in such numbers that they "literally covered the broad level lands by the river side, and, when they rose, filled the whole horizon." The stork does not winter in the south of Europe, so that the North German stork, for example, must make an extraordinarily long journey to reach his winter quarters, and this journey he accomplishes in a few days. He never halts except to take necessary food, but wings on steadily his unbroken flight.

While, however, the migration of birds is thus familiar to us in its outward aspect, it is quite otherwise when we come to investigate the causes of the phenomenon. To the popular mind this is a complete mystery, and even science is far from having reached a satisfactory solution of it. Important advances have, however, been made in this direction during late years, partly through the accumulation of careful observations, but chiefly through the adoption of new methods of investigation; and we may now say, that though some information as to details is still wanting, yet in its general principles the phenomenon of the migration of birds is now capable of explanation.

The first question which arises in relation to this curious natural fact of course is: Why do the birds migrate?

Have they an innate restlessness which will not allow them to settle long on one spot, but compels them to wander hither and thither over the surface of the earth? In many even scientific books of natural history, this restless impulse, this wandering instinct, is assigned as the cause of the migration of birds. In a certain sense, as we shall presently see, this is quite true; but this answer to the question gives really no explanation of the phenomenon, it merely removes it a step further; for we immediately ask, whence comes, then, this wandering instinct? Why do we find it in some birds and not in others? is it of any use to those which possess it? is it, indeed, a necessity of their very existence?

Let us fix our attention first upon this last question, and endeavour to answer it by another. What would become of the birds which make their home with us in summer, but in the winter go "flying, flying south," if we could take away from them the wandering instinct, and so compel them to winter in our climes?

The answer is, they would perish, not from cold, but from want of food. How could the storks live in our countries in winter, when their chief supplies—frogs, lizards, and blind-worms—lie buried in their winter sleep? when they could not, in default of these dainty bits, make a snap at bees, humble-bees, or grasshoppers, or find a meal of

young birds as they so often do in summer? And even if in a mild winter, a single stork could—as it has been known to do—pick up a meagre subsistence, just enough to sustain life, how would this scanty supply suffice for the multitude of birds that inhabit the same district in summer?

Still worse would it fare with our numerous insect-eating birds, the nightingale and white-throat, the redbreast and the swallow. The cuckoo, too, would inevitably die of hunger if he were to attempt to stay through our winter, for his food consists almost entirely of caterpillars, especially the large hairy kind, of which he devours great quantities. These, however, enter the pupa-stage in July or August, in places where the cuckoo cannot get at them, or they bury themselves in the earth for the winter. The cuckoo therefore leaves us in August, while the small insect-eaters, such as the white-throat, the redstarts, and the siskin, stay until September, as they can still find among the garden shrubs, and in hedges, and the fields, worms and insects enough to live upon.

There are, indeed, insect-eating birds which remain for the winter, but these, like the blackbird and the thrushes, either feed upon berries, or if they are purely insectivorous, like the woodpeckers, they possess particular natural appliances, by which they can gain access to their food even in winter.

Thus the woodpeckers feed chiefly on insects which perforate trees. And as these are tolerably abundant, and within the stems are completely sheltered from the cold, they are to be found in winter as in summer. The woodpecker is indeed a real carpenter. With his hard and strong beak he works away at any unsound spot in the trunk of the tree, till he reaches the fresh wood. The largest of our species, the black woodpecker, has been known to split off chips six inches in length, and under a tree in which a bird of this kind has made itself, with all the precision of a carpenter, a home in the trunk, the chips lie scattered about in such numbers that they alone indicate the presence of the nest. Although even for the woodpecker food is much more abundant in summer, since he consumes all the insects that live under the bark of the tree, still his winter supply never entirely fails; he always finds in the wood the fat larvæ of the wood-wasp and wood-beetle, so that he is under no necessity to change his abode. Hence he abides and is not a migratory but a resident bird.

We see then that only those birds have the migratory instinct which in winter could not sustain life without it in the countries where they pass the summer.

The next question that naturally presents itself is: Why should they do this? why should they come to us in summer if they are obliged to leave again in winter? why do they not rather remain in those southern lands which would yield them an abundant supply of food even in winter?

The answer to this is not so easy as it might seem; at any rate it is not so simple as that to the previous question: Why do they leave us in winter?

I shall confine myself for the present to two leading considerations.

The first is that no possibility of life in nature remains unused. Wherever the outward conditions for the existence of a living being are favourable, there for the most part we find life. Every species strives to multiply itself indefinitely; hundreds of thousands are born every year, but far more than half of these perish early because there is not room for all. So long as any country remains unpeopled with bird-life, in which such life might be generally maintained, so surely will the unoccupied ground be quickly taken into possession.

It would be a great mistake moreover to suppose that northerly lands, especially the Arctic regions, offer their winged summer guests but scanty supplies. On the contrary, when the flocks of geese, swans, gulls, sandpipers, &c., which breed there, return in the autumn, they are in remarkably good condition, and have a thick layer of fat under their skin, to the annoyance of the collector, who finds the skinning of his booty perceptibly harder on that account. The Arctic Sea is prolific in the lower animals of every description, as is shown by the extraordinary number of birds which breed on the shores of the frozen sea. We can understand then how even these regions have their bird-colonists.

There is a second consideration which accounts also for the northerly flight of the birds in summer.

It is generally imagined that tropical countries have all the year round an abundant supply of food of all sorts, both for animal and vegetable life. This is true, however, only of certain regions; for the most part it is altogether a mistake. In the interior of Africa whole districts of country are completely dried up; all standing waters and most running streams disappear: frogs, newts, lizards, and snakes, as well as many fishes, bury themselves in the mud, and there take their summer sleep; and even the insects disappear as a body, when the green of the plants is parched by the burning heat, and all verdure withers.

At such seasons even birds cannot exist. Food fails for all which, like the little warblers and the cuckoo, live entirely on insects, or, like most of the waders and water birds, feed only on aquatic animals, snails, mussels, and worms.

We may go further, and say that even for many herbivorous birds existence would be impossible, as for example for the crane. This large, handsome, graceful bird lives for the most part on grain and fresh plants. In Eastern Africa, where it winters in large numbers, it plunders the fields of millet on the plains. But in summer these plains, like most of the southern edge of the Desert of Sahara, are completely

dried up. Hence there is here again an obvious necessity for the birds to seek other climes.

It appears then plain that the migrations of birds are not capricious, or prompted by mere restless impulse; they migrate because they are obliged to do so in order to maintain life; they migrate that they may not starve.

We do not of course mean by this that the individual bird, as we see him to-day, is driven away by the fear of hunger in the autumn; nor do we mean that the bird would wait till all supplies failed, and he began to feel the pinchings of want. What we mean is that there is an impulse within him which constrains him at the right time to migrate; and if we wish to understand the whole philosophy of this phenomenon, we must seek an answer to the further question: Whence comes this wandering instinct in the birds? What is its origin, and what are the stages of its development?

As we have seen that only those birds have this impulse which are liable to a periodical dearth of food, we may naturally suppose that the wandering instinct may have been developed by the periodically recurring scarcity. This is indeed the fact, as the following considerations will show.

We must turn our attention first to those birds which are not strictly migratory, for if we began with the swallow and the crane, we should be driven back on the first question: How did these birds know that at a distance of hundreds of miles lay a country where they could meet with plentiful sustenance, when for the first time they found their food growing scarce at the beginning of winter? and why did they fly such an immense distance, without breaking the journey at any of the many halting-places where they might have found, at least for the time, abundance of food?

The whole question would thus be prejudiced; for in inquiring into the cause of a phenomenon, it is not fair to begin with the investigation of extreme cases, but, on the contrary, with those which approach most nearly to ordinary and familiar facts. We must not therefore, in endeavouring to ascertain the origin of the migration of birds, take as examples the enormous flights of the crane and stork, but must rather ask whether the habit of migration does not show itself in other species in a less marked degree, so that we might be in a position to regard these extreme forms as merely fuller developments of the same instinct, and thus rise from simple and familiar instances to an intelligent appreciation of the whole phenomenon.

This we find to be quite feasible practically.

With respect to the varying fixity of their habitat, birds have been somewhat roughly arranged under three grand divisions, as Resident, Wandering, and Migratory.

The first class comprehends the wood and black grouse, pheasant, sparrows, and titmice, and all those birds whose habit it is not to leave

the place where they have once found a home. To the residents belongs also, as I said before, the black woodpecker. This bird inhabits in summer and winter the same forest tract. But even he shows the first tendency towards the wandering instinct, for in winter he extends his flight through the dark pine forest much further than in summer, and for the simple reason that his food is more scarce, and that he has to take a wider range to find it. In summer every tree-trunk yields him an abundant supply; in winter he has to go hither and thither tapping the hollow wood, till he finds his food. Here, however, we have clearly the first rudiment of the migratory instinct. We have only to imagine such a bird inhabiting a very small and isolated woodland tract, and it is plain that at the approach of winter, he would be compelled to leave this and to fly in search of food to the nearest forest, and when this was again exhausted to seek out another; and thus from time to time the cravings of hunger would make him a wandering bird. In this sense not only the black woodpecker, but many others of his tribe, are also wandering birds.

Thus, for example, the beautiful green woodpecker with the red cap, which usually inhabits small leafy forests, only remains in one and the same place during the breeding season. As soon as the young are fledged he begins his wanderings, and takes up his temporary abode sometimes in forests, sometimes in gardens, and often, in the scarce time of winter, extends his flight to districts where he is never seen at any other time. As bearing on the question now before us, it is important to note that these wanderings are not regulated by any fixed rule; the bird is obviously guided by the necessities of the moment. When food fails him in one place, he flies on and settles somewhere else; and in very mild winters, when food is plentiful, he does not wander at all, but remains in his summer breeding-place.

One and the same species is, therefore, at one time a wandering and at another a resident bird; and there can be no doubt that the habit of wandering may be developed in the resident bird, by the mere necessity of flying in search of food, and that it must have been so developed whenever a species passed from a warmer to colonize a colder clime.

In such a case, certain individuals must first have been obliged to wander about in search of food in winter; as this necessity recurred year after year, the habit would gradually grow; and the individual would act upon it, not only under stress of bitter weather, but also in mild winters, when it might very possibly have sustained life in its summer habitat.

Now we know that habits are hereditary, no less than physical peculiarities. They are handed down from one generation to another, and are the more certain to reappear when they are actually a condition of the maintenance of life in the individual. A green woodpecker, for instance, which should fail to adopt this habit, would in

hard winters simply perish for want of food. Thus with each successive generation, the impulse to wander in winter must have become stronger, and must have grown finally into an irresistible instinct urging each bird to flight at the approach of winter.

This impulse clearly differs only in degree, not in kind, from that which urges the regular migratory birds to their more distant flight. The new feature of the phenomenon which we observe in their case is, that the flight is always in one definite direction.

To the woodpecker it is indifferent whither he flies in search of his winter sustenance; he finds his wood-worms everywhere, in north or south alike. But this is not the case with all wandering birds. If we turn our attention to those which live in winter on the berries in the forests, on bilberries or juniper berries, we shall find that a northerly flight in winter would be of little advantage to them, for deep snow, such as covers the ground in the north of Europe, would completely hide the greater part of their sustenance. Nor is it only on account of the depth of the snow, and the stunted growth of the bushes and trees, that birds like the waxwing and the fieldfare could not winter in high latitudes. The greatest obstacle of all would be the shortness of the days, which would allow so few hours for the search for food. It is clear, then, that if such birds are not to perish, they must seek their winter sustenance in a generally southerly direction.

Here it may be fairly urged that we have not yet shown how the habit of migrating southwards was first formed. The waxwing, for example, which now inhabits in summer the north of Russia, must first have wandered there. How then did the bird know that in winter it must not wend its flight north, or east, or west, but in a southerly direction in order to avoid the deepest snow? We have seen how the wanderings of the green woodpecker gradually grew into a fixed habit, but how came waxwings to learn that in winter they must fly south? how did they know that in southerly lands they would find longer days and more plentiful food? Twenty years ago we could have given no answer to this question. To-day we are prepared with one, because we have become acquainted with a principle not previously recognized, and which has a powerful influence on all the relations of life, determining and regulating them—the principle of natural selection.

Let us suppose, for example, that the waxwing had not yet become an inhabitant of Russia, but was living winter and summer alike in Germany, slowly multiplying, and therefore gradually extending its range further north.

Now we will imagine a flock of these birds to have colonized further north. In the very first winter they would find their food becoming scarce, and would be compelled to wander about in search of it; in this way many birds would perish, all, that is to say,

which had taken a wrong direction. Only those which, whether by accident or by remembering the way they had come, took a southerly course would have any prospect of outliving the winter.

In each succeeding winter, therefore, a selection would take place among the northern colonists, and only those would remain alive which had migrated southward. As these alone would remain to propagate in the next year, this habit of a southerly flight would be transmitted to their descendants, and so a race would arise pre-disposed by habit not to wander hither and thither in winter, like the green woodpecker, but to take one definite direction, namely, towards the south. This brings us, then, to the migratory birds proper.

Among these there are indeed various classes. Between the somewhat irregular southerly flight of the waxwing, and the rapid and perfectly regular migration of the crane or snow goose, there are many gradations. They are, however, only differences of degree which divide the regular from the irregular migratory birds; they are all steps in the same scale, and help to connect the two extremes. We can indeed see at once the causes which have produced in certain species a fuller development of the migratory habit. One such cause is to be found not only in the regularity of the migration, but in the great distance that is traversed in long stretches of unbroken flight.

Let us take, for example, a species of duck living in the south of France in ponds and marshes, and subsisting chiefly on mussels, snails, worms, and the larvæ of insects, which it finds on the water-plants as well as on the surface of the pools. Such is, in fact, the mode of life of most ducks.

This duck, having found a good breeding-place, will remain there summer and winter. It will never be driven elsewhere by lack of food, for in a climate where there is only for a very short time of the year a thin covering of ice, animals can always find sufficient supplies.

But the case would be altogether different if this bird were to extend its range further north, say to any of the Baltic provinces, or in the direction of Finland. There, very early in the winter, a thick coating of ice covers all standing and most running water. There is an absolute dearth of food, and certain death must befall it if it does not make a hasty escape. In such a case it would not be possible, as in that of the waxwing, for the bird to pick up a scanty subsistence, for when once water and earth are frozen as hard as stone, there is absolutely no food for ducks. Nor is it only in the immediate neighbourhood of his home that the earth thus suddenly becomes the abode of barrenness and death; wide regions of the way which the migratory bird has to travel are frozen over at the same time. So it comes that such a bird does not move leisurely from marsh to marsh, but hurries rapidly and in long stretches southward, so soon as the time of scarcity sets in. Let it be granted now that this imaginary species of duck, while spreading itself over the whole of

Europe, has still remained a resident bird in its original home in the south of France, and we have before us all the stages of the development of the migratory instinct in regular succession, from the first wandering to the fixed periodical migration from the uttermost north of Europe to the extreme south.

This is not precisely true of our ordinary wild ducks, because these almost all breed in the north and only take up their winter quarters in the south of Europe, possibly because the thickly populated south does not offer them a sufficiently quiet breeding-place.

In the case of the sea ducks, however, the analogy holds in the main, as also in that of the eider duck (*Somateria mollissima*), the bird which yields the costly eider down. This bird inhabits a very wide region, the whole northern circuit of the earth, from the west coast of Europe, the Channel, and the English and Danish coasts, as far as Norway, Iceland, Spitzbergen, and Greenland. In all this district it breeds and lines its nest with the precious down. The down might easily be secured after the bird had been allowed to breed in peace, but unhappily there has been throughout the extreme north a complete raid upon the nests of the eider duck. In the midst of the breeding season the feathers and eggs are taken, and as many of the old birds as possible are shot, and then it is matter of astonishment that the spoil in eider down becomes less and less every year. Such is the case, for example, in Spitzbergen. On the coasts of Germany, men act more rationally; the birds are spared, and in some cases they have even been carefully tamed, so that they will make their nests in the neighbourhood of houses.

The eider duck is wholly a sea bird; it lives only on the coast, and is entirely dependent on the sea for its food, which consists of the lower marine animals, chiefly mussels and sea-snails, which it fetches up with great skill from the bottom of the sea, often at a depth of 100 to 150 feet.

It can, of course, only live in Greenland, Spitzbergen, and Iceland during the summer, as in winter the sea is frozen. The eider duck is, therefore, in those regions a migratory bird. The eider ducks of Greenland collect in enormous flocks on certain places of the coast, which are especially productive of food; the sea is literally covered with them for half a square mile. They take only a short time, however, to assemble; then they rise into the air, and migrate in cloud-like masses southwards over the ocean, till they reach the British Isles, or the shores of the Channel and France, where the warm Gulf Stream keeps the water open, and here they winter.

I have already mentioned that on the German shores other eider ducks live which remain there throughout the year, and must therefore be classed as resident birds.

The eider duck, however, lives also on the shores of the Baltic; and, as here the Gulf Stream does not penetrate, wide tracts of sea often

freeze. The Baltic eider ducks are, therefore, compelled to wander. They first seek the still open spaces of water, and then are driven on as far as the North Sea. The eider duck of the Baltic is thus a wandering bird; and we find, therefore, one and the same species in the Arctic zone a genuine migratory bird, on the Baltic only a wanderer, and in the North Sea resident;—a conclusive proof that migration and wandering is not an essential characteristic of the species, but a habit which is adopted when the necessities of life require it, and a proof, moreover, that the regular migration has grown out of the irregular wandering in search of food.

So far we have only attempted to answer the questions: Why do birds migrate? and, how did the migratory habit originate?

To both questions we have found a sufficient answer. The birds migrate because stern necessity compels them to do so, and they are not born with an inherent wandering instinct, but learn the habit gradually, and just in the degree in which the influence of climate renders it imperative.

There remains the further question: How do the birds migrate? with what means are they furnished to perform an act so wonderful? How is it possible that after going hundreds of miles, they should find their old nest again? Who shows the eider duck, which takes its flight from the misty shores of the Faroe Islands, the way to its summer home in Iceland or Greenland? By what compass do they steer their course, that, starting from one particular point of the coast, they alight on the little spot of land in mid-ocean, when the slightest deviation from the direct line would carry them hundreds of miles to the right or left of it?

It must indeed be admitted that it is a very marvellous thing to see a cloud of birds pursuing, high in the air, as straight a course, in a certain direction, as a ship piloted by the most experienced steersman with chart and compass, and even more wonderful still does it appear, when the whirring sound of wings is heard far overhead in the dark night.

For a long time it was generally believed that these birds were endowed with a certain mysterious organ of locality, a sixth sense, which we cannot describe more accurately because we do not ourselves possess it. More recently an able naturalist* has suggested the hypothesis that the birds might be endowed with some organ which makes them sensitive to the magnetism of the earth, so that their own bodies indicate to them, like a magnetic needle, the direction of the magnetic pole.

There is always something questionable in assuming the existence of certain unknown organs of sensation in the brute creation. Scientifically we have no right to do this unless the phenomena are incapable

* Dr. von Middendorff.—ED. C. R.

of any other explanation. We must therefore first inquire whether the known five senses may not suffice to solve the mystery.

Even before entering on this inquiry, however, we may set aside the hypothesis of a magnetic sense. Not that it is in itself at all absurd. Just as we and most animals possess organs of sensation which make us conscious of the waves of light and of sound, so it is quite conceivable that there might be animals endowed with an organ, which should make perceptible to them the magnetic currents which flow over the surface of the earth.

But whether there be such animals or not, birds certainly possess no such magnetic sense, for we know now that in their migrations they are not at all affected by the magnetic poles, but simply seek out certain localities. They do not steer their course like a ship, to south or north, south-east or north-west, and keep the same direction till they reach their goal; but they follow certain definite and often winding tracks, and guide themselves by mountains and valleys, rivers, seas, or coast lines.

It has been long a well-known fact in relation to migratory birds which cross the Mediterranean, that they make the transit only at certain fixed points. The first of these crossing places from the west is the Straits of Gibraltar, the second is from Tunis to the southern point of Sardinia, Cape Spartivento, and by Sardinia and Corsica, to the coast of the Gulf of Genoa. A third track is from Tripoli by Malta and Sicily to Italy; and finally there is a fourth in the east of the Mediterranean, from Egypt by Cyprus into Asia Minor.*

Why do migratory birds cross the sea at these precise spots? Is it because by these tracks they most quickly reach land? or because in all these directions they pass over narrow arms of the sea, or over islands which afford them welcome resting-places?

This has been hitherto supposed to be the reason, and for many birds these resting-places are indeed essential; without them some could not possibly accomplish the journey. Even on the comparatively short passage from the African coast to Malta, the smaller migratory birds often perish if they are overtaken by storms.

It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that the birds had chosen these crossing places on account of the islands. If this were the case, then we should see them always taking the shortest route from the mainland to the nearest islands. But it is not so, for the distance from Tripoli to Malta is just double that from Cape Bon, near Tunis, to the western point of Sicily, and at the time of the year when the birds migrate, this part of the sea is often agitated by heavy storms. Why then have not the birds chosen the nearer way?

In order to find an answer we must go back to an earlier time.

In the diluvial period the Mediterranean had not yet assumed its

* Some less frequented tracks are not here mentioned; a description of them may be found in Palmén's excellent treatise, *Die Zugstrassen der Vögel*. Leipzig: 1876.

present form. It consisted at that time of two large separate inland salt-water lakes. On the one side it was cut off from the ocean by a broad strip of land, where now are the Straits of Gibraltar; on the other side the Italy of to-day, with Sicily, formed a land dyke, which was connected with the African coast, and thus divided that which is now called the Mediterranean Sea into two halves. The sea is still perceptibly shallower where this land-connection formerly existed, but there are also other and perfectly clear proofs that the lands bordering on the Mediterranean lay at that time higher than at present by nearly 900 metres. The birds, therefore, making their summer migration northwards at this period, would pass over these broad connecting tongues of land.

Gradually in the course of several thousand years the land sank, and tracts of water at first narrow, but gradually widening, divided Sicily and Spain from Africa. When we consider that the gradual elevation which is going on at present in Scandinavia, for instance, takes place only at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in a century at the most, we can easily imagine that the depression was so gradual that from one year to another it was not perceptible.

The birds therefore, in their yearly migration to and fro, must have passed at first over a broad and then over a gradually narrowing belt of land, later still over marshes and lagunes, then over a small arm of the sea, and finally over broad waters; and yet no one generation may have been aware of any change.

Most probably this is the explanation of the present course of the birds. The land has been gradually withdrawn from beneath them, and imperceptibly their flight over connecting belts of land has been changed into a passage across the sea. The birds did not then fly in the first instance in a certain direction across the open sea, but simply followed the land; as the land gradually sank, however, they did not change their course, and it continues the same to this day, though it is now thousands of years since the land was submerged.

We understand now why the birds do not uniformly pursue a direct line from north to south, or from south to north, but only when this is the direction in which the land-bridges formerly lay; we understand also how it is that we so often find islands on their track, for these are nothing else than the remains of the sunken land-bridges.

This fact throws clear light upon the whole phenomenon, and we have only to reply now to the further question: Why did the birds choose the land-bridges in order to cross the sea?

If we call to mind what we have already observed of the origin of the migratory instinct in the waxwing, and in our hypothetical case of the duck, we shall not be long in perplexity about the answer. For we have seen that the birds did not for the most part choose at all; they had not the remotest idea of crossing the sea when they followed the course of the belts of land northwards; they simply

took the only track by which they could extend themselves towards the north. No bird can make its home upon the water; even the water-fowl have to seek the shore in the breeding season.

If then, at the time when the Mediterranean Sea still consisted of two great salt lakes, we suppose that a species of bird living to the south of it, on what would be now the north coast of Africa, increased and multiplied till its original habitat became too small for it, it would gradually spread northwards—that is, it would follow the then existing belts of land in that direction. If, however, these more northerly climates were only adapted for the maintenance of its life in summer, then in winter it must go southwards again—in other words, it would return to its old habitat. Let us suppose that in the course of centuries the climate became warmer, then it would gradually move its breeding-places further and further north, but would still return in winter by the same way, though by a gradually lengthening journey, to its original home in the north of Africa. By the same track by which this species had gradually spread itself, would its particular generations move backwards and forwards year after year.

We arrive then at the very significant conclusion that the present tracks of migratory birds are nothing else than the old ways by which they originally spread themselves out towards the north.

As we have already seen in the case of the waxwing, the gradual extension to the north of a species was the origin of the migratory habit; but the adherence to certain definite tracks can only be explained on the supposition that the way by which it first moved northward became the habitual line of migration.

We shall now ask what ground we have for supposing that such an extension towards the north was a common and continuous phenomenon for any long period?

We must not forget that there was a time when the animal life on our hemisphere was altogether different from what it is at present.

In the glacial period Central Europe had a colder climate than now, as is shown not only by the vestiges of northern or high Alpine forms of vegetable and animal life belonging to that period, but still more by the dense masses of ice which covered mountain and plain, and which must have caused a very perceptible lowering of the temperature, even if their very existence did not imply an intense degree of cold.

And not only in Central Europe, but south of the Alps also, the climate was far colder in the diluvial period than now. The Atlas, as well as the Lebanon and the mountains of Armenia, had at that time enormous glaciers, of which the moraines remain to this day, and form the soil on which now grow the famous cedars of Lebanon.

We shall therefore not be wrong if we suppose that very many birds, which now inhabit the central and northern regions of Europe,

were at that time wanting, because the climate was too severe for them. They must therefore have come subsequently from the south, and with the gradual raising of the temperature there must have been a corresponding steady but of course very gradual influx of birds to the north. Just in proportion as the ice retreated, would the birds push forward the bounds of their habitat, and in the course of centuries may even have advanced hundreds of miles in this way.*

Here, then, we have the first condition of the development of the migratory instinct—a gradual and steady progress of many species in a northerly direction.

That their progress was carried on in the same lines of route which are followed to-day by the birds in their migration, has been already asserted and partially maintained. Yet further confirmation is afforded by the interesting fact that the tracks by which wandering birds now move to and fro, differ in birds of different habits, that they generally follow precisely the direction which the species must necessarily have taken in its diffusion towards the north.

For the recent discovery of this important link in the chain of evidence we are indebted to the Swedish naturalist Palmén.

It will not, of course, be supposed that we are able to mark out the exact course pursued by each species, but in reference to one small group of birds the evidence is complete, and from this we may fairly deduce the broader conclusions.

We follow, then, the distinction which Palmén makes of four different classes of birds—the coast birds, the birds inhabiting river banks, the marsh birds, and finally the land birds.

In the first class we include all birds which find their sustenance by the seashore; this comprehends all gulls which are not wholly inhabitants of the sea, sailing about over the broad ocean, the eider and other diving ducks (*Fuligula Stelleri*), many species of geese, phalaropes, sandpipers, and swans.

A number of these birds make their nests only in the extreme north, because they are among the earliest to migrate, and some species at the present day take an extraordinary journey southward, sometimes even crossing the tropic, so that they range over a vast area. Let us first trace the course taken by one of these species, in order to get from its breeding place to its winter quarters. I select a tolerably familiar example, the brent or barnacle goose. This bird breeds in great numbers in Spitzbergen and the north of Greenland, in Nova Zembla, and probably in still more northerly and yet unexplored regions,

* It must not, however, be said that the migration of birds dates first from the glacial period. Probably it is of much earlier origin. Many birds were already birds of passage before the glacial period, and some of their tracks point to a still more distant date. As we cannot attempt here anything like an exhaustive treatment of the phenomena of migration, nothing more, indeed, than an explanation of the manner in which it arose, we must not enter on the question at what period of the earth's history the migratory habit may have begun.

as we may conclude from the fact that early in the year great flocks of them are seen flying northwards from Nova Zembla.

The barnacle geese which breed in Greenland fly, like the eider ducks, first to Iceland, then over the Faroe Islands to Britain. Here they winter partly on the west coast of Ireland, partly on that of Scotland and England.

The Spitzbergen barnacle geese fly first southward as far as the west coast of Norway; there they change their direction, and follow the Norwegian coast to the point where it bends to the south; here the flock divides, one half flies over the Shetland Isles to Scotland, the other half follows the coast for some distance further, then leaves it and takes its course straight across the North Sea to the English coast, where they winter.

A third column of the army of barnacle geese comes from Nova Zembla, and from the unknown breeding places yet further north, and these we must follow a little more closely on their way.

At first they also keep pretty much a southerly direction, but presently they turn south-west by the shore of the Arctic Ocean, till they reach the southernmost bay of the White Sea. Here they leave the coast and fly across a whole chain of lakes till they reach the Gulf of Finland. Keeping a direct south-westerly direction they next follow the shores of the Baltic, touch the south of Sweden, and finally cross the narrow land-ridge of Schleswig. Generally they here fall in with the track of various other birds, and hence it is that in Schleswig-Holstein, at the migratory season, such an extraordinary number of birds is seen to congregate.

The particular track which we are following, now leads by the shore of the North Sea to the mouths of the Rhine. Here, in November, the barnacle geese cover the shore in vast numbers. As far as the eye can reach, the shallows or sandbanks left by the ebb tide are peopled by these geese; their cry rises above the roar of the surf. Seen from a distance, they look like one dense wide-spreading cloud of smoke, and they are, literally, like the sands of the shore, innumerable (Brehm). Here, however, the host divides; one half remains on the coast, and follows its course as far as France or Spain, the other goes up the Rhine towards Bâle, then skirting the Alps, it gets into the Rhone valley, and thence to the Gulf of Lyons. Here it again divides, and follows either the west coast of Spain or the French-Italian shore, in order finally to cross the Mediterranean by one of the three tracks we have already described, and so winter in Africa. Some individual birds of the flock, however, stop short on the Italian coasts and winter there.

The same course is pursued on the return journey.

The food of the barnacle geese consists chiefly of mussels, sea-snails, and worms, which they do not fetch, like the eider ducks, from the bottom of the sea, but seek along the coast, especially on the

wet sand left by the retreating tide. They eat also grass and other herbaceous plants, among which they seem to prefer maritime plants, the salt grasses of the sea coast; hence, in the first dispersion they are sure to have followed the coast lines.

This supposition is borne out by the present course of their migrations. There seem, however, still difficulties in the theory that the track of the birds to-day corresponds with that by which they first spread northward. How, for example, is the enormously long sea-passage to Iceland and Greenland to be explained?

It must be at once admitted as unquestionable, that if Iceland and Greenland did not already possess migratory birds, they would never, under their present conditions, receive any from Europe; but in the diluvial period the case was quite different. Even if there was then no unbroken connection of land—a point still open—it is beyond question that at that time the Faroe Islands and Iceland were far larger than now, that the land then lay some 200 metres higher, so that, in any case, the countries were only divided by narrow channels of water. The most recent deep-sea soundings in the Atlantic have given remarkable confirmation of this fact.*

The barnacle goose has therefore here also followed the coast line, and has continued its ancient course notwithstanding that the former connecting lands between Iceland and Greenland have been long submerged.

With what tenacity these old tracks are retained is shown, for example, by the common white wagtail. This species has an unusually wide distribution. In winter the wagtails go far into the interior of Africa; in summer they scatter themselves all over Europe and Asia, some even go as far as Greenland. From this spot they might find much nearer winter quarters if they flew across to the east coast of America, but not one of them has ever been seen on that continent. Every year they still retrace the old track by which they must first have come to Greenland—i.e., by Iceland, the Faroe Isles, and England—and take the same sea passage as the barnacle goose.

If, however, in order to explain the migration to Greenland, we are obliged to assume the not yet fully ascertained fact that there once existed a land-connection, we find ourselves on perfectly safe ground

* According to Professor Mohn, one of the scientific leaders of the Swedish Expedition to the Atlantic Ocean, "there stretches between the Faroe Isles and Iceland a continuous volcanic ridge, which divides the deeps of the Atlantic from those of the Frozen Ocean. Beneath the sea, Iceland stretches south-west to the 60th degree of latitude, and north-west to Jan Mayen. Between Iceland and Greenland the narrow seas (Danemarksstrasse) are shallow, and the connection seems of the same nature as that between the Faroe Isles and Iceland. The southern portion of the deep frozen seas from the Faroe Islands to the Island of Jan Mayen consists of a channel more than 1,800 fathoms deep, which trends northwards, while the northern part, which is more than 2,600 fathoms deep, forms a triangle between Greenland, Jan Mayen, Bear Island, and Spitzbergen. While the water in the Atlantic depths shows degrees of heat to the very bottom, in the depths of the Frozen Sea there are degrees of heat only to the depth of from 300 to 400 feet; below this they only register degrees of cold."—*Frankfurter Zeitung*, No. 96, 6th April, 1877.

when we come to account for the two tracks by which the barnacle goose, and many other birds of similar habits, cross the North Sea in an oblique direction. For this sea is known to have been land in the diluvial period, with the exception of one very narrow arm of the sea, which lay close to the present coast of Scandinavia. Both the tracks, therefore, by which the North Sea is now crossed, describe no doubt the old coast lines, which, at different periods of the diluvial era, formed the boundary of the land towards the sea.

Let us take now a rapid glance at the tracks of the other birds, the marsh birds, river-side birds, and land birds proper.

To the river-side birds belong the species which choose their habitat more or less in the neighbourhood of fresh-water streams—as, for example, the whooper swan, the water-hen, most of the true ducks, the woodcock, some gulls, and many others. Their tracks are very numerous, and as winding as the streams which they follow up from the shore. If our view is correct, if the present tracks of the birds perpetuate the tradition of their first wanderings, then these must sometimes have led over mountain passes. These birds can indeed for a time live well enough in the midst of mountains, if only there are lakes or rivers at hand, in and around which they may find their food. As a matter of fact, we observe many of these tracks leading over high mountains—one, for example, going up the Rhine valley and over the Splügen; another up the Inn valley over the Bernina and Maloja passes to the Italian lakes.

Perhaps the reader may know the fine collection of locally-occurring birds shown by the landlord of the Hotel Saratz at Pontresina in the Upper Engadine. It is astonishing to see what a number of species have appeared in this small and barren district, but the marvel lessens when we know that by far the greater part of them are only birds of passage which in the transit from summer to winter quarters, or *vice versa*, have here met their fate.

With the tracks of the marsh birds we have a general, and in the case of one—the crane—a particular acquaintance. Especially interesting is it to note that these birds, so vigorous on the wing, go round the Alps, and from the Rhine follow the Rhone. They make, therefore, a wide circuit, certainly not because they are incapable of soaring over an Alpine pass, but simply because their ancestral tracks in search of food would not be over the swampland Alps, but from marsh to marsh in the lowlands.

The tracks of the land birds are as yet comparatively unfamiliar to us in detail. We know only that they are very winding and intricate. How could it indeed be otherwise, since these birds had always broad lands before them on which they might alight, not mere strips of land like the sea, river, and marsh birds? They will therefore not have advanced in single file, as it were, but in broad battle array, in one long almost unbroken phalanx. They will have pressed forward

wherever they found conditions favourable to their mode of life, and so a great variety of tracks must have become traditional with them. These, however, converge on some points from all sides, as, for example, in the Alpine passes, and then branch out again.

If, then, we may consider it proved that the present tracks of the birds really correspond with the old lines of their dispersion, the following conclusions present themselves.

To the first question, How can the birds find their way for such distances? we reply, By practice, not indeed the practice of the individual bird, but of the species. This marvellous facility in finding the way has not been acquired suddenly, but very gradually in the course of many thousand generations.

The fact that birds have adhered through such long periods to the same tracks proves that they knew them very exactly, and that they directed their flight to certain localities familiar to them.

If there were an unknown something within them which showed them that the land of their desire lay in this or that direction, then they would fly straight to the goal, over hill and vale, sea and river, to the place of their destination. But this they do not do. On the contrary, they follow all the sinuosities of coast or river; they go up a certain valley, cross a mountain pass at one exact spot, and descend on the other side into another valley, bending their course to all its windings. In other words, they know precisely all the individualities of a certain track, and never willingly deviate from one of them.

Is there, then, a special sixth sense required for this, or do the ordinary five senses suffice? I do not at all see what further is needed than a keen power of observation, above all a sharp eye, which shall allow nothing to escape it that could help to identify the way. and, in addition to this, a very exceptional memory for localities by which the travellers shall be enabled to keep in mind all the features of their long journey. The taking the right direction in each special case will then follow as a matter of course.

We have no right to take for granted the presence of these two essential properties in the migratory birds. But it is easy to show that keenness of vision, as well as knowledge and memory of localities, must have been developing and intensifying in this class for many generations. They would be quickened in the first instance by practice in the parent-birds, and then the sharpened faculties would be transmitted from generation to generation with ever-accumulating force.

It is also clear that this development of the necessary faculties must have kept pace with the gradually increasing length of the journey. For as individual birds went further and further north, so the return journey became longer each year, and a greater number of local impressions needed to be carried in the memory. In other words the birds were compelled to exact heavier tasks from their memory, and

thus by practice to strengthen and improve it. An increased keenness of vision must have been gained in the same way, for every organ is developed and perfected by constant use.

This is the case with ourselves. Who does not know Cooper's narratives of the seemingly marvellous faculty of the Indians for discovering their bearings—how they intuitively find the right course through forests in which European hunters, though familiar with the place, would be hopelessly lost; and how they follow the track of the fugitive foe, though to other eyes he may have left no sign?

In this case we can positively say that they possess no sense which we have not. Their eyes are sharper, their ears quicker than ours, only because long practice has taught them to observe minutely and to retain in the memory a faithful impression of things once seen. By being constantly obliged to thread untrodden ways, they have acquired the faculty of identifying any place in which they find themselves, by the help of a few well-remembered indications.

We note the reverse of this among highly cultivated nations, a progressive deterioration, namely, of the faculty of observing. In what German family of the higher class do we find at the present time thoroughly good sight? and how incapable are very many among us, if we find ourselves in a strange place, of carrying in our mind's eye such a plan of it as will enable us to guide our steps aright?

The young Indian does not possess intuitively an acquaintance with all the features of the neighbouring forest, but at a very early age his naturally keen faculties of observation are exercised by his father, and thus he soon becomes an expert. So in the case of the young bird; it needs to be trained and instructed by its parents as to the track which leads back to the distant winter quarters. Among most birds the old and experienced, those who have often made the journey, lead the way. Not seldom it happens that the young birds show no desire to join the company, and then the mother-bird is seen to make ceaseless efforts to scare her young ones and to urge them forward, to save them from certain destruction. She does not always succeed however. Often the young birds will remain behind, and only begin to wander when necessity compels them. Then, generally, it is too late; a few may perhaps reach places where it is possible for them to winter, but the greater part perish. Such stray birds are by no means rare, and experience agrees with theory, in showing that they are almost always young ones.

But the majority of the young birds follow the old ones, and when they have thus been once or twice over the track they could find it alone, for they bring into the world with them, in a high degree, the organ of locality.

Just as a young Indian is born with a keen eye and talent for exact observation, which enables him quickly to appropriate the results of

his father's experience ; so the young bird, as soon as he cracks the shell, possesses, not indeed geographical knowledge, but a great talent for geography, which enables him very rapidly to learn by heart his geographical lesson, the track by which his race migrates.

It must be borne in mind also, that, in the gradual development of increased powers of sight and memory, natural selection has had an important part. Individual birds of imperfect sight are more likely to lose their way, and to fall victims to some of the dangers of the journey, than those of stronger organism, so that these would for the most part become the progenitors of a keen-sighted and observant race.

The same remarks will apply exactly to the gradually increasing swiftness of flight. This would be produced both by the development of the wing muscles from constant practice, and by the repeated survival of those birds that were strongest on the wing. The necessity for this more rapid flight would also become increasingly urgent, as each year the two extremities of the journey receded further and further ; and we should be prepared to maintain that the rapid flight of many birds, as we observe it to-day, arose out of the exigencies of their migratory habit. Undoubtedly they owe their strength of wing very largely to this cause. If we compare to-day the flight of a hen or even of a sparrow, with that of a swallow or a gull, a peregrine falcon or a crane, how great is the difference ! The one flies with much effort, taking violent leaps from roof to roof, from tree to tree ; while the other shoots through the air at a rate which leaves our express trains far behind. A falcon belonging to Henry II. flew from Fontainebleau to Malta in twenty-four hours. The distance is 210 geographical miles ; thus the bird flew at the rate of nine miles an hour.

The difference between the hen and the falcon in the power of finding its way, and in all the organs, especially those of the eye associated with this faculty, is certainly at least as great as the difference in the capacity for flight.

Those who find it difficult to imagine that the perfect confidence with which migratory birds pursue their course over land and sea, arises only from a fuller development of senses and talents possessed in common by all other birds, should be reminded that in many other not properly migratory birds, the power of finding their way must exist in a remarkable degree.

I spoke, at the beginning of this article, of the great resident of our pine forests—the black woodpecker. Let us imagine that in the midst of a thick wood some one were to show us a tree in which was the nest-hole of a woodpecker, and then, taking us to the distance of a quarter of a mile, were to ask us to find the nest again. I believe there are very few indeed who would be able to do it, and these only after long seeking. Here stand hundreds of stems, not indeed all exactly

alike, but still very similar, and we are not accustomed to pay attention to the minute differences which characterize each trunk.

But the woodpecker finds its nest without any long search, and although its wanderings for food carry it much more than a quarter of a mile away. Shall we then suppose that it has a particular sixth sense? Assuredly not. The tree-stems are, as it were, its working materials; it hews them, examines them, gets to know the trees so thoroughly from crown to base, with all their knotty outgrowths, unsound places, moss and lichen mantles, that by the look of a tree it recognizes at once where it is, and in what direction it must turn in order to reach another spot.

Clearly it must be by a process precisely similar that migratory birds determine their route.

But how can this apply to their long flight over the sea? Surely the indications of the way to be taken must under such circumstances be often wanting. The smaller birds may no doubt many of them miss their way over the sea, but there is one important element of the case which must not be forgotten—the height at which they fly. Every one who is familiar with the sea knows how the identification of, say a distant island, is facilitated by an elevation of the standpoint. Thus from the sea shore of Liguria, the distant peak of Corsica is not discernible; but let the traveller ascend only a hundred feet on the mountains, and in clear weather it stands out with perfect distinctness. But birds fly far higher than this, and when they are crossing the Mediterranean, at any rate, they will seldom or never lose sight of land. They fly, as it were, by the map, for to the bird-perspective land and water, mountains and valleys, must be spread out as in an embossed map below them. To what height birds can fly we have only lately been informed by an astronomer,* before whose telescope, when taking observations of the sun, certain moving black specks suddenly appeared. They were birds soaring to the extraordinary height of 20,000 feet above the earth!

If we now briefly sum up the results we have reached, they are as follows:—

The migration of birds arose out of the fact that they became possessed of countries which could only supply them with adequate nourishment for a certain portion of the year, mainly, therefore, from their colonizing the temperate and Arctic zones of our hemisphere.

This colonizing did not take place all at once but gradually, for, especially since the glacial period, a gradual extension of various species of birds towards the north, from Africa and the Mediterranean, has been steadily going on.

During this slow advance of the species, certain qualities essential to this mode of life, have been developed in greater and greater

* Mr. Tennant, who estimated the height to be "several miles:" see *Nature*, vol. xiii. p. 44.—Ed. C. R.

perfection, as for example, continuity and rapidity of flight, quickness of vision, observation and memory of places. All these capabilities are possessed also by other birds, but generally in a much less degree. The migratory birds are not endowed with any mysterious sixth sense.

We see, then, how in this case Nature attains great results by what seem insignificant means. Practice and habit are the magical agencies by which, in the course of long ages, the bodily and mental capacities of birds of this species are so enhanced, that it is only after long and careful investigation we can convince ourselves that they are not endowed with some special and peculiar power.

We have thus another proof to what a remarkable degree the organic faculties may be developed, and how largely they may be influenced, both in degree and direction, by the circumstances and conditions of the life.

Let me quote in conclusion words of Goethe's, which are peculiarly applicable to our subject, and which seem to anticipate the results of science. "As the eagle by soaring in free air and among rocky heights adapted itself to soar, so the mole fits itself by habit for the loose surface earth in which it lives, and the seal for its element the sea."* And, so we may add, out of the habits and exigencies of their wandering life, have arisen the marvellous faculties of our migratory birds.

AUGUST WEISSMANN.

* "So bildete sich der Adler durch die Luft zur Luft, durch die Berghöhe zur Berghöhe, der Maulwurf bildet sich zum lockern Erdboden, die Phoke zum Wasser," u. s. w.

CO-OPERATIVE STORES AND COMMON SENSE.

A RECENTLY published volume* tells a good story of a tremendous Irish faction fight, caused by two tipsy comrades leaning a little too confidently against a gate, which, unfortunately happening to be unlatched, flew open and let both parties fall. Each sprang up, maddened with the notion that he had been savagely felled to the ground by his neighbour, and the *causa teterrima belli* was at once supplied. Though the cause was a delusion, the fight was a fact, with which in due course the proper authorities had to deal.

I think the instance is fairly illustrative of the violent paper war which has been raging on the subject of "London Traders and Co-operative Stores." The parties to the contest, which has become a very embittered one, are, I imagine, very hazy as to the immediate cause of their quarrel, though very hearty in its prosecution.

Co-operative Stores have existed in London any time these last twenty years; we have now and then heard a low muttering of far-off thunder, or been irradiated with a passing flicker of sheet lightning, as one after another has complained of organized competition, by the amateur, as the saying is, against the professional trader; but we have not had such a thunderstorm before. And the reason is not very far to seek. It is not really because competition such as described is wrong in itself, as some writers on the subject seem to think, but because the present is a time of special commercial depression, that this grievance has just now come to such a head. Trade has suddenly gone back, like the gate from its hinge, and set the two classes by the ears. We need hardly wonder at or blame the combatant who has fallen undermost in the contest, if he strike and strive and struggle with a little more wrath than reason.

* Leaves from My Notebook. By an Ex-officer of the Royal Irish Constabulary. Dean & Co.

My object, in the following pages, is to examine, so far as possible, the arguments on each side of this question, which has become such a burning one, at rather more length, and perhaps for that reason with rather more fairness, than can well be accomplished in the short compass of any newspaper article, however ably written. I hope the doing so may contribute a little towards simplifying the future discussion of the subject, by eliminating once for all a number of fallacies and arguments based thereon which cannot bear the test of common sense. And, to show that impartiality on the subject is not antecedently impossible in my case, I venture to mention that I write as a person belonging to, and making use of, no Co-operative association whatever.

We are met on the very threshold by a logical difficulty, that, namely, of finding words in the language capable of rightly defining the two contending parties. And the existence of this difficulty is a clear proof that there is far less antagonism between the two than the clamour the subject has excited would imply. I must for comprehension's sake call the two parties in this dispute "Tradesmen" and "Co-operatives" (though all are tradesmen and most are co-operative), and the two systems discussed the "Retail" and the "Store," though both sell by retail and both hold stores.

I am aware that much of what I shall have to say may have been said already, by one or another, and can but hope by this essay to supply the lens to other people's shining, and by focussing their radiance to throw some clearer light upon the subject in hand.

For shortness' sake, I limit the subject, as the newspaper discussion of it has practically limited itself, to Co-operation in the grocery trade; in connection with which I purpose to consider: I. The unreasonableness of some upholders of Co-operative stores as opposed to ordinary Retail trading; II. The unreasonableness of some tradesmen's views as opposed to Co-operatives; III. The true cause of the dispute; IV. The prospects and perils of the older branch of the trade; V. The remedies suggested by the Tradesmen; and VI. The real remedy.

I. I will first point out some directions in which the ordinary grocer has a right to complain, not of the Co-operative system itself, but of some of its upholders.

1. It is not unreasonable to say that any privilege given by law to a Co-operative Association acts, to a more or less extent, to the disadvantage of the ordinary trader. The idea seems very general that these privileges have much to do with the greater comparative success of the former than the latter. But when we come to examine the real extent of the alleged privilege, we must be surprised at its small importance; for exemption from income tax on profits is, after all, the only legal privilege which, as a Friendly Society, a Co-operative Association enjoys. I am not concerned for a moment to uphold this privilege: on the contrary, inasmuch as the intention in granting it at all to

Friendly Societies was really to promote thrift among the poorest classes, no reasonable man would say that an association of persons for the most part comfortably provided could make any fair complaint if the privilege, in their special case, were withdrawn. I think means ought to be contrived of effecting this change in the case of such stores as the "Civil Service," "Army and Navy," and kindred associations, and I have no doubt that such a change would be accepted by such associations in a spirit of fairness.

But the removal of such an exemption would be, after all, no removal of the cause of complaint. It would not raise the prices or affect the profits of the stores in any way likely to influence the condition of the ordinary trader. As a fact, not one of them would cease to agitate if assured that the stores would henceforth have to pay three or four pence in the pound upon their realized profits. Though it might remove the sentiment of injustice felt, it would not remedy the evil alleged, on the part of the ordinary trader.

2. An allegation made by some upholders of "Stores" against the ordinary trader, though hardly worth notice, had better be disposed of. It is this, that, as a general rule, articles sold by "traders" are adulterated, and are sold pure by "stores." There can be no more undemonstrable assertion; a vast majority of the articles sold by each class are, and must be, absolutely identical in quality; and that such a statement should be rashly made argues a singular ignorance of the difference between production and distribution. The question lies, not between manufacturer and consumer, but between distributors of two different sorts, both of whom, in numberless instances, purchase from the same manufacturers goods of the same quality, which it could never be worth *their* while to adulterate at all.

So much for alleged adulteration. But I must note in passing a statement, in this connection, that "all tradesmen dealing in articles of food are liable to the visits of (adulteration) inspectors, *but not so the stores.*"

It is hard to believe that any such exemption as this exists, or should exist for a single hour.

3. The grand fallacy entertained by advocates of Co-operation is this, that any man who expects a larger profit on the sale of an article than another man demands, must of necessity be a rogue and a cheat.

There is no idea more common or more erroneous. The very persons who thoughtlessly hold and assert this opinion are continually ready to act in a manner diametrically opposed to the view without considering themselves in the least degree dishonest. Take the case of doctor, lawyer, parson, or half-pay captain, who has a horse to sell. Will he talk to the purchaser thus: "I paid so much for this horse, I add thereto his further cost while in my possession, interest on my outgoings, and five per cent. profit; more than this I feel it wrong to ask; less than this would make me in a business sense a loser?" Nothing

of the sort; he will simply and quite honestly get the highest price he can for his horse; nay, many a one will very frankly say, "I like this horse very well; he suits me admirably; but I am quite ready to sell him, *if I can double my money.*" The case is just the same with the trader. He is quite fairly at liberty to ask as much as he pleases, so far as the morals of the matter are concerned; it is the policy only of the matter which prevents his putting a prohibitive price on the wares he has to sell, in the face of a fierce market competition. Otherwise Dick Whittington, whose wealth was founded on the sale of his cat, deserved a cat of different kind, rather than to be thrice Lord Mayor.

Besides this there is often, on the part of the established trader, a money value solid and real, if difficult to estimate, in his experience and reputation. A man buys in a leading thoroughfare from a skilled optician a pair of eye-glasses which cost him seven shillings. He sees a pair exactly similar as he walks through some back slums of London, and buys them (this is a true instance) for two shillings! How ready he will be to say, "The established optician is a cheat!" But he will modify his view on consideration of the circumstances. The optician has a large and costly stock always ready to suit every purchaser. He has a costly shop to keep up, and skilled assistants to pay. The customer, especially if inexperienced, has the great advantage of the skilled tradesman's professional knowledge, and perhaps takes up half an hour of very valuable time, which is not put down in the bill. With great care and trouble, and with absolute accuracy, he is provided with the very thing he requires, furnished on the reputation of a man who has a character to lose. On the other hand, the buyer sees the cheaper article by the merest chance; and by another chance he finds in the little stock of the cheap dealer a pair of glasses of his exact number (which important matter, be it remembered, he has learned from the optician); he may pass the cheap shop fifty times again without finding there the very thing he wants; he may write for it, but in vain. The bargain he bought may have been out of a "job lot," sold perhaps by a fraudulent bankrupt far under manufacturing cost, or even stolen by a dishonest shopman.

The same considerations apply in a greater or less degree to all trading; the man who asks too large profits may be a fool, but is not necessarily a rogue.

4. The ordinary trader again has really a great practical grievance. It was wittily illustrated some time ago in one of our comic papers. "War to the knife!" represents a smiling parsoness in the village-grocer's shop, exclaiming, "Oh! Mr. Figgins, what *has* become of your assistant, with the nice tenor voice? I have not seen him lately in the choir." And Mr. Figgins answers, "No ma'am; not likely, ma'am; I've parted with him, since the Rector and the gentry choose to get their groceries from the Co-operative Stores!" Every choir in England (and, I hope, every choir manager too) laughed heartily over

the pleasantry, but the laugh was certainly on the grocer's side, for no one could deny that Mr. Figgins had the best of the encounter. And this would not have been so but for the general consciousness that the grocer had a grievance.

And the grievance is this, that people for economy will deal habitually at the stores, and for convenience will take advantage, occasionally, of the ordinary tradesman's stock. The course does not seem fair, on the face of it; though the occasional buyer may say the tradesman would sooner sell him something than nothing. If the grievance be pushed too far, the tradesman may, however, remedy it himself, by simply refusing to accommodate those who merely use him for convenience. This he does not do, however, the desire of profit preventing his refusal; but at the same time, human nature being illogical at best, his very accommodating the customer is likely to intensify his murmurings.

5. And in another respect the ordinary trader has cause to complain. Some customers ask him to make special deductions on their accounts for ready money, and suppose they should then expect to get goods at "stores" prices. And, having done this, they regard the fact that they pay him half-yearly or quarterly as equivalent to paying ready money. The thing is quite a fallacy. To get goods at "stores" prices they have no right to expect deductions from accounts at all, for they should have *no account whatever*, beyond a receipt for cash in exchange for goods. This is ready-money dealing, and Co-operative dealing in its strict sense; quarterly payments, however punctually made, are but modifications of the credit system after all. And some customers go further still in unreasonableness; because they imagine some people keep tradesmen years waiting for money, they feel so virtuous in making quarterly or half-yearly payments themselves, that they not only expect what really is credit, though they fancy themselves ready-money customers, but *they ask for discount as well as credit*. No wonder that the ordinary tradesman feels a sense of hardship at their hands.

6. Again, many people fancy they may reasonably keep "ordinary tradesmen" waiting for their money, if willing to pay simple interest at 5 per cent. when they do find it convenient to liquidate their bills. This is another gross fallacy. A trader, having capital sunk in stock, shop, and business, may, if receiving ready money, justly expect to turn that money over many times each year and realize a profit on it every time he reinvests it in his business. Or else, why should he not lend all his capital to customers at 5 per cent., and live on the interest, without the trouble, worry, and risk of keeping up and attending to a business at all? No one dreams of asking a tradesman in set terms to lend out his capital at 5 per cent., but many a customer, by *taking* what he thinks ordinary credit, simply treats the trader's business capital in this very way, and, perhaps unconsciously, inflicts upon him by doing so a very serious injury.

Again the remedy lies in the traders' hands; if they had the courage to insist, as a condition of credit, upon interest at 20 or 30 per cent. on accounts only paid annually, a vast part of this grievance would be done away, with the hearty approval of all reasonable men.

7. I think this consideration will show that to cry out as some do against the dishonesty of tradesmen because many of them are willing to sell for cash at 20 per cent. under credit prices, is really neither wise nor fair, nor consistent with the actual practice of those who make the objection.

So much for some of the faulty assumptions on which much unreasonable abuse of the "ordinary traders" has been based.

II. I turn now to my second head of examination—the unreasonableness of the views of some "ordinary traders" as opposed to those of "Co-operatives." And be it said at the outset that I no more saddle these illogical statements and opinions on the whole class of "Grocers" than I do those I have already examined on the whole class of "Co-operatives." They are, doubtless, *individual* utterances; but they must be still, to a certain extent, representative ones also, as suggesting, if not setting forth, the opinions of at least imaginable fractions of the whole class whose complaints are passing under review.

1. The fallacy which is fundamental to the whole discussion had better be first exposed, that, namely, which assumes the grocers' trade to be a "close one" in any sense of the word.

We find this erroneous notion underlying a vast part of the correspondence, and betraying its presence by such occasional terms as "*legitimate trade*," "*established tradesmen*," "*professional distributors*," "*regular tradesmen*," as applied to the "ordinary trader" class, with the implication that contrary terms are fairly applicable to all employed on Co-operative principles; that the managers of stores are not rightly "*established tradesmen*," that they are "*irregular*" or "*unprofessional*," and that their trade is "*illegitimate*."

But the assumption must be challenged at once. No trade can be called *illegitimate* till it be proved contrary to law; or "irregular" till it be proved to have broken acknowledged rules; nor can traders be called "unprofessionals" without some authoritative definition of the profession; nor a mode of transacting business be called "the established" mode, until we be shown, first, who established it, and on what authority; and, secondly, that the conditions of such establishment are immutable.

I mention this matter prominently, because great difficulty is caused in any discussion by want of clearness in terms. The *Daily Telegraph*, which certainly "struck oil" in the way of public interest by tapping this subject, and liberating the vast up-spout of controversy we are examining, though impartially illustrating both sides of the question, yet, in its very running title, day after day admitted without suspicion the fallacy I am here exposing. The heading of its daily issue of cor-

respondence with the words "London Traders and Co-operative Stores" was a misnomer, to begin with. The phrase is comprehensible, of course, as a statement of the subject, though the word "Storekeepers" instead of "Stores" would be more accurate; but, even thus amended, such a term practically begs a much more important portion of the question than might be at first supposed. For Co-operative Storekeepers are, and have been for many years, "London tradesmen" just as much as any other class, and have, so long as trade is free, as good a claim to the title as any other section whatever of the community. The question then to be discussed is really one between two different branches of the same legitimate trade, not, as some would have us believe, between legitimate trade on the one hand and piracy on the other.

2. This view disposes of another fallacy, that the "Retail Trade" has any "vested interest" at all. The phrase is a favourite one, but like many such is often merely used to round a sentence without the least thought of a meaning. If the retail trade have vested interests, we must ask who vested them, when, and in whom. Members of professions have vested interests, assigned, limited, and protected by law; and, except under certain conditions, definite and indispensable, a man may not act as a doctor, a barrister, an attorney, or a preacher in the Church of England. But there is no qualification requisite to enable a man to open a grocer's shop. Any one man may do it, and any set of men may do it. And it is exactly what every grocer who now formulates his complaints against his so-called illegitimate rivals did himself in his time. He opened a grocery establishment in opposition to some grocer or grocers who must have been previously supplying the customers whom he himself applied his best efforts to gain over.

3. Another fallacy to be briefly touched is that held against associations for trade existing at all. Of course no one *says* they should not, but their arguments imply it. We are told the individual cannot compete against the combination. The capital of one man tries in vain to cope either in purchase or distribution with the capital of a multitude, and we are meant to infer that trade associations are wrong things. But the same objection applies to every association, and, had it been valid, would have found us without a railway, a gas lamp, or a water supply throughout the kingdom, and have left Great Britain in these days a mere magnified Pitcairn's Island, instead of placing her in the very forefront of modern advance. In a word, to assert that individuals cannot compete with companies is wrongly regarded as proof that companies must go, instead of as proof that individuals must associate.

And yet no grocer would seriously use this argument, as it has been used, if he thought how absolutely two-edged it is. For nearly every one of the grocers who complain are working their business either by the aid of partners' capital or of bank capital *in combination*

with their own—if they have any; every one who takes a partner or borrows from a bank, makes his shop literally a "Supply Association," differing from the "Civil Service" or "Army and Navy," not in its principles but in its practice, not in the nature but in the method of its transactions. This, in passing, disposes of another fallacy in terms that seeks to establish a non-existing difference between a "shop" and a "store."

4. "Well," it may be said, "there is truth and reason in this; perhaps association of capital may be a necessity, and, if necessary to us all, not altogether an iniquity; but you have incidentally touched the tender point, in saying the two trades differ not in nature but in method. This is what we really object to, the method the stores use for the establishment and transaction of their business. In the first place, the capital of the stores is found by members of the Civil Service."

In other words, it is held oppressive and unjust that such persons should be shareholders in an undertaking which competes with the ordinary grocer's business. Now, would a grocer, seeking funds to develop his business, refuse the co-operation of a capitalist because he happened to be a Civil Servant? Or, as the appeal seems made to Government as the employer, let us take the case of a grocer's assistant, instead of a State servant, and see how the assertion would look. Such a man takes a situation, attends to his master's business at least well enough to elicit no complaint; saves some money, we will hope, and sees what he thinks a good investment for it. Now because he is engaged all day in his master's shop, will he admit the master's right to forbid his buying, with his own money, a share in any undertaking? Certainly not. Then why ask Government to exercise on those in its employ a coercion which he himself would never dream of applying; and which, had it been applied to himself when a shopman, would have hindered his living to become a grocer now, and argue against Co-operative trade?

So much for shareholding in Co-operative stores by any person in any employment. Let us examine next the objection against "amateur" management, especially by Civil Servants.

At the first blush one would suppose the keen, well-trained business man would rejoice in such a condition of the contest; that he would say, "I know my business far better than any amateur, and can do it with more success." Strange to say, we find he has no such confidence at all; and this striking fact makes us doubt whether at heart he have any fear or jealousy of the unskilled and inexperienced entering the lists against him, for he surely will not fear a rival *because* the rival is void of skill or experience.

But the next stage of the objection is this. The amateur is something more than an amateur; he is an amateur in the grocery trade in one point of view, and a clerk in the Civil Service in another. Is that so really potent an objection? As a clerk in a Government office he must

be able to read, write, and probably (in some offices at least) be familiar with rudimentary arithmetic. But surely most tradesmen nowadays can do as much. It is difficult to see the special hardship on the trained shopkeeper which this state of things entails. Where, then, does the objection lie? In the fact of men otherwise provided for meddling in the trade of other men who make their living by that trade.

This sounds plausible enough at first, and seems to gain further support from the further consideration, "We are taxed to support these men, who turn round and take the bread from our mouths."

Let us do the traders justice; these feelings are not at all unnatural, and, instead of intensifying them by ridicule, we should labour to dilute the sense of wrong by showing from what fallacy it arises.

In the first place, the grocers really pay a very small share indeed of the salaries of Civil Servants (if it can be proved that they pay any), and a letter published in the controversy shows a most erroneous idea of the amount of such salaries to be prevalent. The writer calmly states, to show how Civil Servants are overpaid, that "last year the salaries and expenses of the Civil Service amounted to over £13,000,000, more than £259,000 a week." But he failed to give the further information, that the sum he named includes the whole "Miscellaneous Civil Service *Expenditure*," of which the "salaries and expenses" form only one class out of seven, and amounted to a little over £2,000,000. It is as if the writer were to give a return of his whole year's expenditure, and say it had all gone in servants' wages.

Granting, however, that the nation, and presumably the grocers, as units in the nation, pay the Civil Servants, it is done, not as a favour to the servant, but as a means of getting the national work done. If the Civil Servants do their appointed work, their appointed wage is their due; if they neglect it, let them be dismissed; but the fact of their receiving wages from the whole nation, for work which the whole nation thinks worth paying to have done, puts them under no obligation to a single fraction of the nation, who contribute like others by national compulsion, and would not give a farthing to the Civil Servant's salaries either of favour or free will.

But, the objectors go on, the Civil Servants are paid for their work; that work is as much as they can do, and they should undertake no more; or it is less than they can do, and they should be either paid less or work longer.

Was that the grocer's own idea when a shopman or an apprentice? No, surely; shutting-up time, he felt, brought him liberty. If he had an exceptionally good voice, he would have thought it a tyranny had his master forbidden his singing in a concert-room, as unfair competition against singers with no daily occupation; or, if clever at figures, had he been forbidden to use his evenings in keeping some neighbouring tradesman's books, as competing unfairly with some professional accountant.

And as to this matter of competition by persons otherwise provided being unfair, surely some people of the clerk and writer class may say, that, more than any other traders, the grocers follow (and that not after, but even during business hours) an additional trade, their doing of which, doubtless, limits employment of other and unprovided persons; nay, actually that they carry the war into the enemy's country, and do so to the prejudice of a section of the Civil Service itself! For if all tradesmen, and notably all grocers, would carry out the principles some of them lay down in this debate, a vast number of the letter-carriers, who are Civil Servants, would have to be placed comfortably in little local post-offices, which grocers make no scruple of establishing in a corner of their shops as a means of attracting customers.

I touch only, to pass over, the allegations made that Government time is spent by Civil Servants in doing Co-operative work. No proof is offered for its truth. And if proved it would be an argument for the heads of departments to look more strictly after Government clerks in office hours, but none whatever for Government itself to interfere with their servants' liberty of using their own time as they please.

I may say, finally, as to the fallacy that a Government servant ought not to be engaged in the management of a Co-operative store, that very few indeed, out of many hundreds, have the least active concern in management; that there appears no reason whatever why they should not have, if they choose; that it would be contrary to every principle of liberty, individual or commercial, as Englishmen understand the word, for Government to do so; and that, if it did, the places in the stores of deposed Civil Servants in active employ would be filled, by retired ones possibly, but filled in any event, and that the case of the grocers against the stores would remain entirely unaltered by the enforcement of the desired restriction.

5. Passing from objections to persons engaged, actively or passively, in Co-operative trade, we come to sift objections to the principles on which their trade is carried on. "We object," the grocers say, "to the plan of retailing almost at wholesale price; the margin left between wholesale and store, between producer's and distributor's prices is too small to allow the latter to live; this must be modified, or trade is at an end."

Now that this is an absolute fallacy is plainly proved by another complaint of the grocers, very loudly uttered, namely, that the stores, established with a view to extinguish intermediate gains, *really make large profits*, besides selling at unquestionably low rates. What does this prove but that such a trade can thrive and grow, can pay fair salaries to its servants, build or rent vast premises for its stores, nay even revel in plate glass, elaborate architecture, and lavish decoration, and yet realize profits the amount of which may well excite vexation in the minds of traders whom they rival and outdo?

In a word, this whole supposed grievance is expressed by saying, "We object to be undersold;" and the grocers who use it, as some of them frankly do, forget that this objection also has a double edge. For every retail grocer is ready to undersell his neighbour at every opportunity. The competition for custom, in other words the struggle for existence, causes this willingness. Every man who advertises either the excellence of his goods or the lowness of their price, as compared with the goods and prices of others, is, in so many words, asserting that he has no scruple to undersell his fellows in price in order that he may oversell them in quantity. There can, therefore, be nothing logically wrong in the fact of one trader underselling another.

6. The next fallacy in the matter is that the stores carry this principle too far. That is, however, entirely a question for the trader himself; if the principle be unimpeachable, the degree in which it is exercised becomes a matter, after all, of individual discretion. What would any trader say if any authority on earth presumed to forbid his parting with his property on any terms he chose? But a practical answer, too, may be given to this sentimental objection. A number of individual tradesmen in London publish price lists like the Civil Service, and actually undertake to supply customers on Civil Service terms, without our hearing, through this whole discussion, one syllable uttered against *them* as equally betrayers of trade rights, and inflictors of gross injustice, with the Co-operative dealers. And I will answer this point, too, by an appeal from the theory enunciated by the retailer to his own practice. For hardly a tradesman in London dreams of paying full retail price himself for articles he buys for home or personal consumption in other shops than his own. He takes advantage, without scruple, of his trade knowledge, to supply his own wants at absolute wholesale price.

7. This leads me to notice another fallacy—namely, that Co-operative stores are established in order to crush the ordinary retailers. They were established clearly not to injure distributors, but to benefit consumers; every grocer who ever opened a new shop may just as reasonably be supposed to have done it out of sheer hostility and hatred to other grocers, though he feel in his heart his main purpose was to earn honestly his own living, and, so far as was consistent with his doing so, to let all others live as well.

8. Another fallacy lies in the assertion that dealers at Co-operative stores are doing an injustice in using their influence to induce others to follow their example.

The shareholders possibly, but scarcely the mere ticket-holders, can be accused (for it is an accusation) of having an interest in doing this. And if they do, to what does the wrong amount? Only at most to that which every grocer is ready to do to fellow grocers, in asking any customer of whatever class to recommend him to his friends, and a wrong, moreover, if a wrong at all, immensely exceeded in degree by

a grocer who gives commissions to housekeepers and douceurs to servants in order to enlist their influence, often most unduly, in securing their master's custom at their master's cost—in other words, in picking their master's pocket.

9. Another fallacy lies at the root of the grocers' demand that if Civil Servants be permitted to manage Co-operative Stores only Civil Servants should be allowed to deal there. This would better the case in no whit; if "ticket-holders" were turned out to-morrow from every Civil Service store, the result would be to send them as customers to other Co-operative associations professing no connection with any Civil Service, and the grocers proper would be no better off.

III. Having thus endeavoured to clear the ground by exposing a number of fallacies on both sides of the discussion, we come to examine the real cause of the ill-feeling of the retailers against the Co-operatives. It is not the fact of co-operation; nor the fact of opposition; nor the fact of public servants engaging as shareholders, or as managers in trade; nor the fact of being undersold; nor the belief in a malevolent antagonism; nor the fact that Co-operatives unduly recommend "stores," that causes all the bitterness; for all these are the natural and necessary concomitants of each and every trade which can be called an open one; and, as I have endeavoured to show, there is not one of these directions in which the retail traders themselves are not perfectly willing, as well as perfectly free to act. The sting of the whole matter lies in the *success* of the Co-operative system, not in its existence, and this fact appears to me so naturally vexatious and depressing to retail traders as to claim from the public the greatest forbearance with outcries, for the most part heartfelt though illogical, wrung from this class by the evident and unquestionable success of a method of transacting business which, unless it revolutionize, must eventually ruin their own.

This undeniable success is founded on one axiomatic principle of all trade which assertors of the various fallacies I have been examining do not care to notice, namely, that men will buy in the cheapest market; that an instinct of self-interest, inherent in the sense of possession, makes every man who has money to spend prefer, if he can, buying an article for one shilling to paying two for it; and that this instinct is so strong that any man of common sense must practically scout as fallacious any argument the effect of which would be to make him act, either by choice or compulsion, in contravention of that axiomatic principle. If this were not so, money or commodities of any sort would cease to be a measure of value, and trade itself would come to an end. But as this principle underlies all trade, something else must be found, acting in combination with it, to account for the great comparative success of Co-operative stores with microscopical separate profits, on the one hand, as against the old-fashioned trade with its seemingly huge margins for money-making

by the distributors, on the other. This other something is the principle of ready-money dealing, the deliberate introduction of which has produced all the striking results in debate. When we take this special point into account we understand the true terms of the controversy without difficulty. The contest is not between class and class, or between man and man, but between system and system, between cash and credit. X

And be it carefully noted that the Co-operative movement, in adopting the rule of cash payments, without which it could never have succeeded, has introduced no innovation. It has merely recurred to earlier, simpler, fairer, and sounder principles of trading, which later, more complex, and more perilous practices of trading had obscured. The credit system had grown to such an extent, in its risks, its abuses, its recklessness, and its injustice, that common sense and common patience at length revolted from its tyranny. We should not blame the retailers for the condition to which their system had grown. They had no motive to change the direction in which they found it, and, if its abuses have grown really intolerable, these men must be regarded as victims rather than as culprits, as deserving of sympathy and counsel rather than of reproach and ruin.

IV. And this brings me to the fourth topic I undertook to deal with; the prospects and perils of the so-called Retail Trade.

Their discussion need not detain us very long. The prospects are bad, and the perils imminent. The retailers themselves are unable to shut their eyes to this fact, and the very loudness of their outcry is a measure of the extent of their alarm; while on the other hand, the unreasonableness of their complaints plumbs the depth of their perplexity. The outer world has discovered the secret on which the prosperity of their system was based, has learned to weigh its merits and its claims, and has found them wanting; has been offered and has accepted a better and a fairer system in its place, and everywhere is casting off submission to the old and stern prescription. It is not at all that tradesmen are dishonest and must suffer for being so, but that consumers have had their eyes opened, and revolt against the injustice inflicted on them by the old system, which made the honest ready-money customer pay the bad debts of the dishonest spendthrift; they always felt the injustice, which they had no power to repel; the introduction into Co-operative trade of a clear, direct, and complete remedy in the form of cheap supply for ready money, was far too simple and too fair to fail of hearty acceptance. To use a homely proverb, the cat has been let out of the bag, and is gone forth with such speed and vigour that all the wit or wrath of man will fail to get her in again.

Therefore the retailer's trade is in danger, apparently only on the side of the monied classes, which deal in luxuries, but really also on the side of the poorer classes, which deal in necessities.

For, while the newspaper discussion was at its height, a Conference

(to which none of our disputants have referred by a single word) was held between the representatives of the Southern section of the Central Co-operative Board of Great Britain and representatives of working men's clubs in the metropolis, the object being to consider in what way the establishment of Co-operative societies, such as exist in Rochdale and other towns, might be promoted in London. And a motion, "That it is desirable to extend to the working classes of London the advantages of co-operation," was unanimously agreed to.

It is vain to argue that because there are differences of method between the Rochdale and the Civil Service types of Co-operation, the former will be less injurious than the latter in its effect upon the old-fashioned trade. The one professes to sell at the ordinary retail price, while the other, as we know, sells at a very small advance on the wholesale price, but the Rochdale system after all distributes all the profits at the year's end to the consumers; so that, whichever process be used, the ordinary retailer's profit goes into the consumer's pocket instead of into the distributor's, to whom, in the end, each system works an equal disadvantage, since a foot measure is equally shortened by the cutting off of an inch, from whichever end the inch be taken. Thus we see, and with much reasonable regret for very many worthy men among their number, that the "retailers" as a class are in an evil case, and their future profit in great danger of very serious diminution.

V. Let us inquire then what means they themselves suggest to meet and remedy these adverse and menacing conditions. We shall find them for the most part (setting aside the action of Government on their behalf, for which they agitate, as I think quite vainly) to be mere temporary, partial, and ineffective expedients, suggested, not by any real malice, but by the flurry and bewilderment of what I hope to prove an altogether unreasonable feeling of despair.

Several writers, as we have seen, suggest the exclusion of "Stores" from any "Friendly Society" privilege. This is a fair measure, and will doubtless be accomplished somehow, but it is no more a remedy for the disease than a corn-plaster is for a broken leg. Others, just as little to the purpose, threaten to agitate for the general reduction of Civil Servants' salaries, as if having less money would make the Civil Servants more willing to pay high prices than before. Others, again, menace members of certain classes with general ill-will and enmity, for presuming to buy in the cheapest market, as the grocers do themselves; as if showing of ill-will were after all a rational way of attracting and winning custom.

Some turn their attention to the producing class, and propose a general strike of retailers against all manufacturers who supply Co-operative stores. What an outcry about intolerant tyranny we should hear if, to take a far stronger case than theirs, the medical profession resolved to ostracize every chemist who sold a patent medicine! Others, again

(perhaps it is fairer to say an other), point out that the destruction of grocers' trade will leave so many houses empty that taxation will fall short, forgetting that the power of taxation is distressingly elastic, and that the savings made by purchasers at cheap rates would make the occupiers of all but the shut-up houses better able to bear an increased share of taxation. Lastly, one writer suggests that all the retail grocers in London should strike for a week, and teach the public how indispensable they are. How would it be if the lesson failed? if it forced even their present customers into the stores in self-defence? The experimentalists would be in the position of the man who cut his throat to put an end to his headache.

Some, finally, in accordance with a resolution passed at the representative meeting in Westminster of January 20th, would urge Government to take from Co-operative Associations all titles of *prestige*, such as "Civil Service," "Army and Navy," &c.; forgetting that to remove from such organizations that only condition of membership by which their operations are now limited, would throw them open to every comer, and practically amount to remedying a dribbling leakage by flinging the floodgate down.

Every one of these unreasonable suggestions really helps to injure the grocers' case; not one of them, not all of them together, if adopted, can remedy the disease, which originates not in the combinations of interested men, but in the conditions of trade itself and in the very nature of things.

VI. Let us turn to the true remedy. What I have already written indicates it very plainly, and it is no discovery of mine, since it lies open as a finger-post on the very highway of common sense which leads to all commercial profit. Two systems have been tried; the one succeeds, the other fails. The success of the one or the failure of the other is altogether wrongly attributed to the principles and conduct of the men engaged on either side; for I have shown that these are identical, every trader's principle being to get as much profit as he can by lawful means, and every one's practice to use his own judgment in carrying out his business. All traders have the same object; the whole difference lies in the mode they use to effect it. What is the common-sense deduction? Not that because the system of one succeeds, the trade and the livelihood of the other should perish; but that because the system of the one is undeniably best, both parties should adopt it. The credit system cannot stand against the cash system, now that the outside world has learned the advantage of the latter; then surely the true remedy lies, not in contest as to causes, but in change as to practice; and the true issue of the conflict must be the reform, not the ruin, of the "retailers'" trade.

The same tradesman who offers the suicidal advice that the retailers should shut up shop for a week, very unconsciously, in the utterance of his despair, sounds a clear note of hope. He supposes the horrible

case of London being without retail "grocers," and left entirely to "stores," and asks, "How many of such stores would it require to meet the convenience of the public over such an area? *Their number would be legion.*" Exactly so; but he should rejoice to think the legion is already assembled, and that his own name is on the roll. If he see that the "grocers" *must* be effaced (unless matters change), and their places be taken by "stores," surely the obvious thing is that the *legion* who now complain of Co-operation, and whose services still are necessary to the public, should resolve to "make head against a sea of troubles, and, by opposing, end them."

Let them, in the true sense of obviating misfortune, face, not flee from their destiny, and still keep their customers, and still occupy their place. Let them, in short, turn their "shops" into "stores," by adopting the altered system in which, after all, as I have tried to show, lies the *whole* logical difference between the two. Let them make cash their rule and credit their exception, instead of trying to live on, under altered conditions, in the old exploded system of making credit the rule and cash the exception.* Their public will not care whether they co-operate or work singly; whether they call their business a store, a shop, an establishment, or a company; nor will their public ask or care whether their business be managed in or out of business hours, by civil or uncivil, official or unofficial representatives of the capital invested, for not one of these things really concerns the general public to the value of a rush. But customers will care to be assured, as a very condition of their dealing, that it is possible for the tradesmen they employ to give them the best goods on the lowest terms, and that ready-money buyers need no longer be mulcted for bribes, bad debts, and losses consequent on giving trust or keeping accounts for people who defer their payments.

The only way in which this can be done is for the trader to insist on what is the true value to him of the money he has to wait for if he give credit. Why, if this should be 50 per cent., need he be afraid to say so? His stating the fact would startle takers of credit into reforming *their* system too. We know that discounts are sometimes publicly taken off to the amount of 30 and 35 per cent. for cash, which really proves the ready-money trade to be worth so much equivalent interest to the retailer.

If the "retail traders" agreed on this among themselves, they would be "combining" to some good purpose; the strife would have an end; all, in the essence of their business, would be working on the same principles, and I believe would get their fair share of custom.

* It is of no purpose against this to say that great Co-operative Associations *must* annihilate smaller combinations of capital or men, so long as this fact remains—that the Civil Service Association itself started, not as a gigantic Minerva, springing perfect and panoplied from the brain of Jove, but as a feeble ordinary infant, like any other infant, born in the ordinary way into ordinary trade; and its great development is due not to the fact of its birth, but to the excellence of its diet, not to the advantages of its structure, but to the soundness of its system.

and of profit; they would be supplying the public needs in accordance with what experience proves to be the public wishes, and without doubt to their own advantage too.

The credit system of retail has got its death-blow; but it may linger long, a torture to itself and a weariness to its friends. The "retailers" have it in their power to shorten this period of agony by combined and cordial effort; let them try Co-operation in this direction, and they will be more patient of its use by others; they will really thus, while snatching their own interests from peril, confer a vast benefit on society at large. For they will make the main mass of consumers live "before the world" instead of "behind the world," to the incalculable increase both of healthy trade and of individual peace of mind.

That the case of the "grocers," or of any retail trade similarly circumstanced, is not desperate at all may be gathered from history, which, as we know, is apt to repeat itself. This whole battle was fought out years ago in a trade or profession whose interests came less closely home to the public, and awoke proportionately smaller public attention—I mean the publishing trade. The battle of the booksellers was fought on exactly the same issues as we have been discussing; with a result exactly such as I have ventured to predict. The booksellers changed their system, for they were sensible men—and the bookselling trade was *not* ruined. Let the aggrieved grocers of to-day do the same; let them exchange a bad system for a good one, and they will not only save, but regenerate their trade, and have no need for lamentation; let them cling to the wrong system, and they will have no right to lament, since they immolate their interests themselves on the altar of their prejudice.

I should hesitate, however, to offer such assurances as consolation to the retail traders, if they were the mere theoretical fancies of a plain country parson, whose meddling in the affairs of business men of any class must seem at best presumptuous. But I can fortify my statements by an appeal to facts. *The thing I suggest is done already.* Many retail grocers have reformed their system, and *not one of them complains* (or, strange to say, is complained of by his fellows); on the contrary, their unanimous report tells a story of success which should cheer the ordinary retailer's heart and encourage him in reform. There is many a retail grocer in London who with his own cash or his own credit, in his single name, without the sounding suffix of "Company" or "Association," sends out a ready-money price list quite as low as the Civil Service Stores, does an enormous business, builds himself spacious premises, and earns a delightful dividend. The men who have not tried have no more reason to say to the men who have tried and succeeded, "Success is impossible," than a person who never entered the water has to assure Captain Webb or Professor Beckwith that no human being can swim.

WILLIAM LEWERY BLACKLEY.

ANCIENT EGYPT.

II.

SIDE by side with the Fourth Dynasty, the Twelfth, the great family of the old Theban line, looks insignificant if measured by its monuments. The solitary obelisk which yet stands on the site of ancient Heliopolis, the beautiful sepulchral grottoes of Benee-Hasan, and a few interesting fragments of small temples, are all that are seen in Egypt as monuments of this family. The city of Thebes, which gave its name to the Dynasty, shows scarcely a trace of its rule. But if we remember the evident concentration of the whole forces of the nation in the vast sepulchre of each monarch of the Fourth Dynasty, and the many records that show the diffused activity of the later line, we begin to form a fairer judgment. Still more when we read the memoirs of the great men of this second age, and take note of the activity of its kings in executing works of national usefulness, we reverse our first judgment, and find that Egypt under the old Thebans had made great strides in civilization beyond the highest point reached by the pyramid-builders. The vast artificial lake of Moëris is a startling proof that the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty had larger views of the true welfare of Egypt than those who went before them, and had the energy to throw the whole force of the people into works that this foresight suggested. Theirs was the golden age of ancient Egypt, probably never before or after as prosperous as under their rule, not even, indeed, in the richest age of its Muslim rulers.

The founder of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhat I., probably a successful military chief, made his son his colleague with equal royal power. This has often been done by founders of a new house. It was the policy of Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Antigonus thus to secure a doubtful succession. The custom was, however, continued by Amenemhat's

successors, and this implies a certain degree of weakness in the royal power. It is, however, spoken of in the same terms of awe as before. Saneha, in the well-known story of his life, a most interesting Egyptian text, tells us how he returned after flight from his country and long residence at the court of a foreign king, and coming into the presence of Amenemhat, fell on his face, and with what kindness the terrible Pharaoh restored his courage. The king's last words to his son and colleague give us a better picture of his true power, while they confirm Saneha's evidence of his kindness.

The *Instructions of Amenemhat* form the oldest book of royal advice. Copied out under the Nineteenth Dynasty, they were then so famous that no less than six texts of the whole or part have come down to our time. The form is that of a dream in which the deceased king counsels his son: the character of the record is so true to the thoughts of a living king, and so beyond the courage of a subject, that it can scarcely be doubted that Amenemhat was himself the author. The writer speaks as one whose life's object was the welfare of all his subjects, especially the poor and unprotected. He reminds his son of how he had raised him from being "an eater of rations" to the throne. He tells him to be better than "the Graces" his predecessors, to maintain concord with his subjects, not to isolate himself, keeping no society but that of the nobles, but to be careful of new associates. He tells him how he owed his own popularity to his protection of the weak and the afflicted, from what plots and bad counsels he had escaped, how they had ruled together, how he had aided his son in the suppression of seditions, in assisting the people in time of famine, how he had protected him against those who would have taken advantage of his youth. He recites what he had done—how he guarded the boundaries, won the love of the people by his care of them, how he hunted the lion and captured the crocodile, how he subdued the nomads around. Then he describes his tomb, "adorned with gold," its roof coloured with ultramarine, the "passages" of stone, bound together not unlike the treasure-house at Mycenæ with "metal hooks," "made for eternity, time shrinks before it." Now he is one of the happy dead doing honour to his son, having already begun prayers for him in the celestial boat of the Sun.

At this time the throne had lost some of its power, but the art of government had been learned in the school of adversity. The memoirs of the great men of the age fill in the picture drawn by the founder of the Twelfth Dynasty. In the great stele of Mentuhotep, prime minister under the second king of this family, we find how one person was at the same time, as Dr. Brugsch remarks, minister of justice, of the interior, of public works, of worship, and perhaps of foreign affairs and of war, the Pharaoh's *alter ego*. He, too, especially glories in "having protected the poor and defended the powerless." Nothing more marks the change in the relations of the crown to the nobility than the

appearance, in place of the royal kinsfolk who compose the aristocracy of the Pyramid age, of men raised by royal choice to the first posts, as well as of a class of great landowners, whose succession to local governments seems to have been almost a matter of course, though needing the king's approval.

The series of excavated tombs at Benec-Hasan, in Middle Egypt, give us, in their wall-paintings, the every-day life of these great men, for they are the sepulchres of nomarchs and governors. The state of society is very much that of the Pyramid age, with a greater degree of luxury, and we have a hint of the foreign relations of Egypt in the representation of a band of Shemite settlers coming before the nomarch, a subject which illustrates, though it certainly does not represent, the settlement of the Israelites in Egypt.

The interest of the time is, however, in the great public works of the kings, and their endeavours to extend the Egyptian territory. The welfare of Egypt depends on the annual inundation of the Nile. A very low inundation causes famine, a very high one is a disastrous flood, and it is not seldom that the utmost level of the river little exceeds that which portends famine, or falls little short of the scarcely less fatal flood-height. There are, moreover, many tracts in Egypt which the inundation never reaches, unless the water is raised by artificial means, and by such means the inundated lands may again be irrigated so as to produce a second and third harvest. Thus the regulation of the inundation, the construction of canals and reservoirs, are the main methods of benefiting Egypt, naturally an agricultural country. It was to these objects that the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty turned the force of the nation. Most of all, Amenemhat III. executed the greatest ancient work of engineering skill, the most useful one to the country ever carried out in Egypt, the Lake Mœris. About seventy miles, measured on the course of the river, to the south of Cairo, the low edge of the western desert opens and forms the entrance to an oasis, fertilized by the waters of the Nile, which are conducted into it by a canal having many branches, and which finally empties itself into a great inland lake. As we now see this oasis, the Feiyoom, we observe that much of its soil is unwatered and unproductive, though marked by the signs of ancient plenty. This is because the great hydraulic work of Amenemhat has been allowed, since the Muslim rule of Egypt, to fall into decay and ultimately to disappear. It was only in the present century that its remains were discovered, and its true site fixed, by M. Linant, a French engineer, to whose surveys we also owe the excellent map of Egypt published in Lepsius's "*Denkmäler*."

The Lake Mœris lay in the south-east of the Feiyoom. It was bounded on the south and east by the natural elevated edge of the oasis, on the other sides by great dykes which may still be traced. Its shape was thus irregular, but some idea may be formed of its size from the fact that had it been square each side would have measured

about twelve miles. Evidently the construction of this vast work was aided by the natural shape of the country, and it is possible that it needed but little excavation; yet the construction of the dykes of the strength necessary to keep a vast body of water from falling into the lower level to the north-west must have been a work of prodigious labour. The object of the lake was to receive the waters of the Nile, and convey them as it became desirable over the country around. It was also turned to good account as a fish-preserve.

M. Linant, the discoverer of the Lake Moëris, argued strongly in favour of its restoration. This would involve the destruction of three or four villages, and the loss of about 40,000 *feddâns*, or somewhat more than as many acres, while it would immediately render cultivable 800,000 to 900,000 *feddâns*, a space equal to a quarter of the land in Egypt now under cultivation. Yet more, this vast reservoir would serve as a valuable means of drawing off the waters of the excessive inundations and emptying them into the Lake of El-Karn at the north-western extremity of the Feiyoom. It would thus modify the dangerous effects of the highest inundations, and this much might indeed be effected by existing canals and a sluice, which was used for this purpose after the Lake Moëris had disappeared. The simple work of restoration upon the ancient lines has not the showy pretensions of other modern projects, but it would far more benefit Egypt by producing results which would form a means of measuring the far-sighted policy of the old king Amenemhat, who, we may hope, is actually commemorated by his great work, the name Moëris being possibly derived from his pre-nomen.

It is not in Middle Egypt alone, especially favoured by these Theban Pharaohs, but also in Nubia, that we must look for the records of their care for the welfare of their country. At the Cataract of Semneh, in Nubia, not far above the Second Cataract, are rock-sculptures of Amenemhat III. and of a later king, carefully registering the annual maximum height of the Nile, which led to the discovery of a curious change in level at a later time. A great barrier at Gebel-es-Silsileh, near the ancient Silsilis in Upper Egypt, between Thebes and the First Cataract, gave way or was cut through, and the level of the Nile between this barrier and Semneh fell to an extent which deprived the valley throughout that space of the full benefit of the inundation. This occurred before the Empire.

At Semneh, Usurtesen III., the immediate predecessor of Amenemhat III., was worshipped as the founder of Egyptian power in Ethiopia. Here he built fortresses and set up boundary-stones. Their inscriptions tell us that this was the southern limit of Egyptian territory, and one of them is further curious as prescribing the conditions on which negroes could pass this point. The name used for these neighbours of Egypt is always applied in Egyptian texts to pure negroes, and it would thus appear that at this time (two thousand years or more before

the Christian Era) the Nubian population was not Ethiopian, using that term for the mixed races, but Nigritian. Later we find undoubted Ethiopians of the Somálee country, and perhaps also Arabia Felix, as tributaries of Egypt.

It is characteristic of this bright period that its monuments show an advance in architectural taste. With the abandonment of the massive structures of the Pyramid age there arose an instinctive desire for beauty in art. It is now that we first find, at Benee-Hasan, the elegant many-sided columns which have reasonably been called proto-Doric. The general impression all the works of art of the dynasty give us is that of refined elegance. If the tombs of great men are more costly than before, it is because their power and wealth were greater, and therefore private works could bear a larger proportion compared to those of the king.

The Twelfth Dynasty has left one puzzle for archæologists and critics, the famous Egyptian Labyrinth. It was built by the king to whom the Lake Moeris was due, and stood in its immediate neighbourhood. Professor Lepsius excavated the site, and found a great number of very small chambers. Unhappily they were in a very dilapidated state. It is quite possible, however, from these remains that Herodotus is right in saying that the Labyrinth contained three thousand chambers, half under and half above the ground. There is a general agreement among ancient writers that it was a true labyrinth in the Greek sense, perplexing to the visitor. They also state more or less distinctly that it was connected with the Egyptian provinces or nomes, each of which had its place of meeting here, as Strabo says, not only for religious but for legal purposes. The few fragments of inscriptions discovered by Lepsius throw no light on this subject, nor has anything else been discovered tending to clear up its mystery. We find nothing in Egyptian documents resembling the Greek assemblies of confederate states. If the Egyptians ever had a general assembly of the nature described by Strabo, we should certainly find some native notice of it. It is quite evident that the intention for which the Labyrinth was constructed was long maintained, and if so anything so markedly peculiar as a deliberative assembly would have left its record in the memoirs and letters of the ancient Egyptians. It is most probable that the priests met here only for purposes of sacerdotal law. At the same time, such a general meeting-place may well have been the centre of political action on many occasions like the case of the Dodecarchy. Perhaps it was neutral ground. Dr. Brugsch draws attention to the curious circumstance that in the lists of the nomes of Egypt that of the Feiyoom is omitted. These lists belong to an age at which the worship of the crocodile, and the divinity with the head of that animal, Sebak, to whom it was sacred, had fallen into disfavour, almost throughout Egypt. He argues that the exclusion took place on religious grounds, but the Tentyrite nome where the worship of the

crocodile also prevailed is not thus excluded. Of course the question will be decided when the earlier lists come to light. In the meanwhile it is possible that this nome was a neutral territory not reckoned among the provinces, like Columbia in the United States, as holding the meeting-ground of all the nomes where perpetual neutrality prevailed.

Was the Egyptian labyrinth the parent of that of Crete? Pliny says that it was. The most complete representation of the Cretan wonder on the coins of Cnossus has, as Bunsen has pointed out, a family likeness to what the Egyptian labyrinth must have been. The name was almost certainly adopted from Egypt by the Greeks; why not the form? The Egyptian labyrinth was still kept in repair as late as the end of the monarchy, not long before the subjugation of Egypt by Alexander. We need not go back a thousand years before the Trojan age, to the time of its foundation, for the influence on some early Greek architect. It may be conjectured that such a primitive builder would have caught at the idea of a vast structure of great renown constructed of a multitude of small chambers, thus attaining great dimensions in the easiest manner.

With the builder of the Labyrinth and constructor of the Lake Moeris, the Twelfth Dynasty wanes. Two short reigns, the last that of a queen, brought it to a close, and we find ourselves on the brink of another chasm in Egyptian history. At first there are a few stepping-stones, the scanty records of another Theban line ruling all Egypt; but the marks of decline are manifest. Was Egypt already engaged in a struggle with foreign invaders, or did the Labyrinth really mean political innovation, which led to domestic dissension? These questions cannot yet be answered: all we know is that in course of time the later Theban kingdom, whose sovereigns were ephemeral in their reigns, came to an end, and that then or before, scarcely later, a great catastrophe occurred which, though the chief calamity of ancient Egypt, ended in the establishment of the Empire. This was the invasion and conquest of Egypt by the Shepherds.

The third great period of Egyptian history which now opens has left its records not at Memphis or Thebes, but at a third great site, Tanis in the Delta, the Zoan of the Bible. Here the excavations of M. Mariette have yielded results as interesting and unexpected as those in the Troad and at Mycenæ. We now know the race of the Shepherds and their place in Egyptian history, not that chronological place which students are still looking for in vain, but the place in the series of influences which form the true history of each country. Much we have now to unlearn, many old theories to discard, but at length there is a sure base on which discovery and inquiry are building up a solid and lasting structure.

The story of the conquest and rule of Egypt by the Shepherds, the great convulsion which overthrew the old kingdom, and by stirring

national feeling brought the Empire into life, is told in a large fragment of Manetho's history given by Josephus. Until lately it was accepted without question. But the discoveries of M. Mariette, and the researches of other scholars in ancient Egyptian documents, have shown that this story, though no doubt in many respects correct, contains such serious errors, that it is not to be trusted where the monuments and other Egyptian records are silent and cannot be cited to confirm or correct it. We have only to lament the vast erudition that has been diverted from the fruitful study of the earlier documents for the vain attempt to build history of these unsound materials, and to ask how it can be that the Egyptian historian, generally trustworthy, here fails us. Probably the true answer is that Josephus, writing controversially, and wishing to make the Shepherds the same as the Israelites, has wilfully altered his authority. In an age of entire indifference to any but Greek and Roman history, when, moreover, books were only published in manuscript, and it was a serious matter to write, perhaps from Rome to Alexandria, to verify a passage, authors were not as safe as now. Certainly Josephus is not beyond suspicion of dishonesty. His character of Titus is contrary to the general tenor of history; and if Dr. J. Bernays is right in conjecturing that the ecclesiastical historian Sulpicius Severus has preserved in epitome a lost part of the fragmentary fifth book of the Histories of Tacitus, we have a direct contradiction of the favourable portrait which Josephus draws of his patron, from the hand of a historian who had a much finer sense. If Josephus were capable of so bold a falsification of contemporary history, when nothing but the protection of the reigning family could save him from confutation, it would not be difficult to understand that he would not have hesitated to tamper with the work of an almost unknown historian dealing with a remote age. But the passage is so self-contradictory, and so contradicted by what follows it, that it may be that Josephus had an inaccurate copy of Manetho before him.

The proper mode of dealing with this difficult but most interesting period of Egyptian history, the age, as far as we know, of the first great war, the first inroads of the Easterns into Egypt, is that of M. Chabas, who has collected all the native documentary evidence. His main results may here be given with such additional evidence as may be gleaned from M. Mariette's discoveries. M. Chabas's paper is an admirable criticism of the written data: he does not, however, deal with the not less valuable evidence of art.

We may begin by discarding the time-honoured name Hyksos. The etymologies given of it in the fragment of Manetho cannot, as M. Chabas has noticed, have been given by any one acquainted with the ancient language, and the name is not found elsewhere. The appellation in Manetho's list, "Shepherds," is more probable, and leads

us to the Egyptian Menti-u by which these foreigners seem to be called, and which certainly means "Shepherds," though it is not certain that this is its sense when used ethnically. Unfortunately the word Menti-u is a generic term. It belongs to a class of appellations given to the hereditary enemies of the Egyptians, which usually, if not always, have a wide extent. Thus it occurs with the Amu or Shemites (?) and the Negroes (Chabas, *Papyrus Magique Harris*, 49). In an inscription by an Egyptian priest who was a partisan of the Persians, Darius Codomannus is called ruler of Menti, and the Greeks and Persians are called the Ionians (the corresponding Egyptian word having a wide extension) and Menti (Brugsch, *Geogr. Inschr.* i. 40, 41. Pl. lviii.). Thus, the Menti-u would seem sometimes to mean nothing more definite than Asiatics, as Dr. Brugsch suggests. At present we can go no further in this line of inquiry.

For the race of the Shepherds we must look to other evidence. The great result of M. Mariette's researches at Tanis, or Zoan, is that this was a chief city, probably the capital, of one of the Shepherd dynasties, whose sculptures, though appropriated by later kings, have a distinctive character of their own, which gives us the national type. This type, as M. Mariette remarks, is still preserved in the population of the neighbouring country, whose peculiarities had already attracted the notice of ancient travellers, as we may judge from the novelists Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius. The type on the Shepherd monuments is distinctly Shemite, of a character distinguished from that of the Assyrians, as seen on their monuments, by a more marked cast of features. It represents the same vigorous muscular race, a race with far less refinement but much more energy than the Egyptians.

If there were any doubt that the Shepherds were Shemites, it would be removed by the numerous Semitic geographical names to be found in the east of Lower Egypt, and by the circumstance that under the Nineteenth Dynasty, between two and three centuries after the expulsion of the foreigners, the Semitic element in Egypt was so strong that it became the fashion not only to use Semitic words in place of Egyptian but even to give Egyptian words Semitic forms.

Although we thus know the race of these invaders, we cannot tell to what branch of it they belonged, whether they were Phoenicians or Arabs, Manetho suggesting both, or whether they migrated from beyond the Euphrates. The later geographical use of the terms Menti-u and Menti suggests Asia to the exclusion of Arabia, but of course does not forbid the notion that they were Arabs of Syria or Mesopotamia.

It is easy to speculate on a dynastic change which may have caused a migration to Egypt, or to suggest conditions pointing to the possibility of a regular invasion by a powerful Asiatic state, but these are mere conjectures which can produce no trustworthy results. And it may be added that we are equally without a trace of the later history of the Shepherds who left Egypt. It may, however, be that but few

really went away in a body. Manetho's account may be exaggerated. All we know from trustworthy sources is that, after the final conquest of the foreigners in Egypt, and apparently while still at war with them, the king of Egypt took the city of Sharuhana or Sharuhen in southernmost Palestine. This gives the direction of the march of the Shepherds out of Egypt, which is that which we should expect they would have taken. We are unable to illustrate this event from the Bible. It is, however, worthy of notice that the group of Rephaite tribes were settled in Southern Palestine, and that in the Book of Numbers the Anakite (or Rephaite) city, Hebron, is apparently connected, in its foundation, with that of Zoan.

We cannot yet conjecture the details of the history of the Shepherds in Egypt, or the duration of their dominion, for it is not until about its last century that we have a basis of fact. It is probable that the first conquest and early rule was marked by the violence of which Manetho speaks. There is in this period an absence of monuments which is strong negative evidence of an age of suffering. The dislike with which the Egyptians speak of the Shepherds cannot, however, be said to prove anything. It is their customary tone as to foreigners, and would not be least strong when these were foreign enemies ruling Egypt.

It is probable that the Shepherds ruled all Egypt until a national rising caused the war of independence, which, after many years, ended in the expulsion of the foreigners by Aahmes, or Amosis, the head of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Manetho's statement as to the extent of the foreign rule and its termination in consequence of a revolt led by a king of the Thebais, is confirmed and illustrated by a most interesting Egyptian fragment contained in a papyrus, which probably told how that conflict arose. This document relates how the Shepherd-king Apapi ruled all Egypt, and having determined to worship Set alone, built a temple and instituted festivals. He accordingly sent a message, evidently on the subject of this religious innovation, to Sekenen-ra, Prince of Upper Egypt, a Theban Dynast, not here designated by the usual titles of the Pharaohs. It appears that the foreign chief conceded the admission of the worship of Amen-ra in his new temple. The deliberations caused the greatest anxiety to the tributary Egyptian prince. It may be that much more is meant than the local worship of the territory occupied by the Shepherds, but of this we cannot be certain. The story breaks off, the ancient scribe having begun to copy another document.

In the ruins of the great temple of Tanis M. Mariette found the name of Apapi with the titles of an Egyptian Pharaoh. The story of the Egyptian papyrus is confirmed by the circumstance that at this period Set was the chief object of worship here, whereas as late as the time of the Thirteenth Dynasty, probably not long before the Shepherd-invasion, his position was held by Ptah.

The chronological place of Apapi is probably not more than a century before the expulsion of the Shepherds. M. Chabas argues that of the three kings bearing the prenomen or official name Sekenen-ra, the one mentioned in the papyrus was the first, and the last was the immediate predecessor of Aahmes, the conqueror of the strangers. He notices the significant fact that, while each has the same prenomen and the same name Ta, the epithet following the name increases in force with the second and third, the three being called, "the great," "the very great," and "the very victorious."*

There can be very little doubt that the outline of the war of independence is thus shown. The papyrus relates how a difference on a religious question arose with one of these kings, whom we may reasonably conjecture to be the first of the three bearing the name Ta, and the Shepherd-king Apapi. He raises and maintains the standard of revolt; the next king wins greater successes; the last of his line expels the Shepherds out of all Egypt except the north-east, leaving the completion of the enterprise to Aahmes, or Amosis, head of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The story in the papyrus would seem to show that the Shepherds, having adopted Egyptian civilization, selected Set the god of Lower Egypt, who was also supposed by the Egyptians to be the special protector of their eastern enemies, and thus identified with Baal. This was, however, accompanied by an innovation, the attempt to exclude all other worship at the chief temple, perhaps in all Egypt, as though Set had been selected to represent the Baal worshipped by the Shepherd tribe. The institution of new festivals is a proof how thorough the innovation was.

So much we may infer as to the origin of the war of liberation. Another document relates its close. This is one of those memoirs which are the most truly historical and valuable of all Egyptian records, that of Aahmes, son of Abna at El-Kab, on the site of the City of Eileithyia. Aahmes relates that he was born in this place under the reign of Sekenen-ra, whom M. Chabas decides to be the last of the three kings having that prenomen. He then records his services under Aahmes, head of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and his successors. He took part in the siege of the stronghold of the Shepherds, Avaris, attacked by water and land, which fell before the fifth year of the king's reign, who then passed into southern Palestine, and captured Sharuhana.

From the simple recital of Aahmes we learn that the last effort of the Shepherds was not so important as Josephus states it to have been in his citation of Manetho. The king's rewards were given for the capture of a few prisoners. Nor do we hear anything of an

* According to Manetho Apophis was either the last or last but one of the Shepherd Kings of either the Fifteenth or the Seventeenth Dynasty. Thus it is not impossible that he placed Apapi immediately or two reigns before the Eighteenth Dynasty.

honourable capitulation being granted to the Shepherds: on the contrary, the city is taken, and the war is carried on into Palestine, evidently in the form of a pursuit.

This is all we as yet know of the events of the Shepherd-dominion. The happy discovery of a new memoir, or another historical papyrus, may add to these facts. As yet there is no other point that may be discussed without risk of confutation from new documents, the constant fate of speculation in Egyptology; but it must be added that to have proved the high civilization of the Shepherds towards the close of their rule, and their influence in Egyptian history, is a gain far more valuable than any amount of detail.

In nothing has Manetho, as reported, been so signally contradicted as in the proofs the monuments of the Shepherds afford that latterly the foreigners accepted Egyptian civilization. The result was of the greatest consequence to Egypt, for it firmly planted there a strong Shemite population, which was vigorous enough in quality, although assimilated to the nation in manners, to give back to the Egyptians, as a kind of return for the evils of conquest, a new element of thought and language. For a time after the subjugation of the Shepherds we have no trace of them; probably the early Pharaohs of the Empire, those of the Eighteenth Dynasty, repressed the strangers from a natural fear of their reasserting their power. The next line, the house of the Ramessides, comprising the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, had no such policy. It has even been suspected that their worship of Set, the divinity of Lower Egypt and especially also of the Shepherds, and the tendency to a Semitic rather than an Ethiopian type in their portraits, indicate that they came of a stock partly of Shepherd origin. They rebuilt Tanis, the foreign capital, and greatly beautified its chief temple. Connected with this policy is the fashion already noticed prevalent among the scribes of this time of Semiticizing Egyptian. Curiously enough this influence and sympathy is connected with a great literary activity. In no age do the Egyptian scribes seem to have been so prolific. The Egyptians were always literary for the sake of preserving history; at this time they appear to have been literary for the mere pleasure of writing. In our present state of knowledge, the contrast between this and other times is most remarkable; and if later discoveries do not modify the facts, we may consider the literature of the Ramses period as having been fertilized by Semitic literature, as the Latin in the last days of the Republic and the beginning of the Empire owed its development to Greek. Of course it might be said that the foreign writers or speakers who changed for a time the Egyptian style, and probably influenced it permanently, were dwellers beyond Egypt, but it is far more likely that they were settled in that country. It is, indeed, not probable that they were either enemies or newly-conquered subjects. It is far more likely that they were fellow-countrymen speaking another language and with a

literature perhaps unwritten of their own. No race has been more literary but less monumental than the Shemite. The most destructive criticism must allow a great antiquity to Hebrew literature. The Arabs must have cultivated poetry for ages before they wrote out their intricately measured odes. If the Shepherds in Egypt had this true Shemite faculty, the problem before us receives its solution.

The Shepherd period has another remarkable characteristic in its influence on the Egyptians. It was the real cause of the Empire. A national war of independence formed the military qualities that, when the country was free, could no longer resist the desire to carry the national arms into the enemy's land. The Egypt of the Empire is no longer the Egypt of the old Memphite and Theban kings: extension of territory is desired, not only for purposes of commerce, but also for the gratification of ambition. A material aid to these designs was afforded by the introduction of the horse and the war-chariot. Both are unknown in Egypt before the Eighteenth Dynasty; both are used by its first king, at least in the final campaigns against the Shepherds, and thenceforward became common. There can be little doubt that the Shepherds brought the horse into Egypt, and so afforded the Egyptians a means without which they could never have made distant conquests.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

THE LONDON MEDICAL SCHOOLS.

IN the *Fortnightly Review* for January, there is an article by Mr. William Gilbert, on the London Medical Schools, which has excited just and general indignation among those who are conversant with the subjects to which it relates. The foundation of the article is an attack upon the medical students of the metropolis; of whom Mr. Gilbert says that there is "no class or profession of young men who come more frequently into collision with the authorities, or exhibit more frequent instances of ungentlemanly behaviour. . . . It has been computed that during the past year . . . no fewer than four hundred, out of the two thousand medical students in London, have come directly or indirectly under the notice of the police. It has further been calculated that more medical students have misconducted themselves in the metropolis during the last winter sessions than the students of all other professions put together, not excluding those of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge." Mr. Gilbert continues, that "some cause must exist for the present unsatisfactory state of things, and if the subject be rightly considered, it will very probably appear that the fault lies considerably more with the teachers and the bad organization of our medical schools than in the natural manners and habits of the students themselves." The rest of his article is an endeavour to show in what way the defects of the medical schools serve to bring about the evils which he professes to deplore.

It will be observed that Mr. Gilbert does not assume any personal responsibility for the statements condemnatory of medical students to which he has given publicity; since he only tells his readers that "it has been computed," or "calculated," as the case may be. He does not inform us upon what *data* the computation or the calculation has been

based; nor even whether the arithmetician who has worked out the result is a resident at Colney Hatch or at Hanwell. Moreover, the statements actually made are so worded that no one can be quite sure what they are designed to convey. It might be contended that every old lady who is helped over a crossing comes "directly," and that every member of the community comes "indirectly," under the notice of the police; and hence it is of course possible that Mr. Gilbert, or the authority on whom he relies, may have intended nothing more than to lay down an universal and harmless proposition. The general reader, nevertheless, will undoubtedly infer from the passages in question that medical students are ill-conducted young men, and that a large proportion of them, no fewer, indeed, than four hundred out of two thousand, came under the notice of the police in a single year, as actual or probable disturbers of the public peace. In this, their obvious and plain meaning, Mr. Gilbert's assertions are not only grossly inaccurate, but they are destitute even of the shadow of a foundation.

It is obvious that no medical student can come into collision with the police in any serious manner without the fact being immediately made known to the authorities of his school; and, even in the most trivial cases, the story is sure to leak out in the course of a few days. As the result of inquiries addressed to the dean of every school in London, I find that there were in attendance at the several hospitals, during 1878, 2,441 students, of whom only ten are known to have come under the notice of the police in the ordinary sense of the phrase. There was a disturbance one night outside the Criterion, with a little general pushing and a few arrests; there was a case of intoxication; there was an alleged assault, in which the accused was committed for trial, but the bill was thrown out by the grand jury; and so forth. I have asked the Chief Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police whether the statistics of his office would lend Mr. Gilbert any support; and I am informed in reply that the authorities at Scotland Yard have "no special information on the subject." As far as the police themselves are concerned, the very existence of those whom Mr. Gilbert represents to be almost a criminal class is absolutely unknown to them.

The experience of hospital teachers with regard to students is diametrically opposed to Mr. Gilbert's statements, and is such as might be expected from the circumstances of the case. A student, at the commencement of his hospital course, would be at least seventeen years old—there being nothing to be gained by beginning earlier—and is generally more. Unless already matriculated in some university recognized by the examining Boards, he must have passed an examination in writing from dictation, in English grammar and composition, arithmetic to decimal fractions, geography, English history, the two first books of Euclid, algebra to simple equations, and Latin. All the

foregoing subjects are compulsory, but the candidate has also to pass in from one to four of the following, according to the nature of the professional qualification to which he aspires, namely, Greek, French, German, mechanics, chemistry, botany, and zoology. In its simplest form this examination, which is conducted by the College of Preceptors, is intended to afford evidence that the years of school-life have not been misspent, that the candidate has received what may fairly be described as a liberal education, and that he is capable of deriving benefit from more special instruction. The students who have passed the preliminary examination, and have commenced their professional training, may fairly be arranged into four groups. Of these, the first is composed of young men whose homes are in London, or who reside with near relatives who are capable of exercising some supervision over their proceedings. The members of this group are in large proportion the sons of medical men engaged in London practice, who look forward to joining or succeeding their fathers in the family connection, and who, as a rule, have too much at stake to be either idle or vicious. The second group, also a large one, consists of men who are already graduates in arts of Oxford or Cambridge, or American or colonial licentiates in medicine or surgery. These are older than the rest, are fully aware of the value of time and of the necessity for work, and contribute a most valuable element to the public opinion of the students as a whole. They are industrious themselves, and they would promptly repress any habits among their companions which were obstacles to industry. A third group consists of men many of whom would also belong to the second, who live independently in lodgings, but who have personal or family friends residing in London, with whom they can find the society and amusement which they require in their hours of relaxation. The fourth group, a small one, consists of those who are not so provided, who have no friends in London, and who are therefore more than others exposed to its temptations. Many of them do extremely well; but, human nature being what it is, it is not to be wondered at if a few find the attractions of the music hall greater than those of the hospital. Temptations, in some shape, come to all of us sooner or later; and the power to resist them is one of the conditions which determine the survival of the fittest. They constitute by no means the least valuable part of the discipline of life; and, in the medical profession, the members of which are constantly placed in positions of the gravest responsibility, students cannot too soon learn to be self-reliant. If it were possible to keep all medical students in leading-strings, it is something more than doubtful whether the practitioners of the future would be better for the process. An attempt in this direction has been made by some parents and guardians, who have placed the young men for whom they were responsible either as residents in one of the collegiate establishments which are attached to certain hospitals, or as boarders

in the house of a teacher. I am not sure that the results of either course have been such as to encourage its universal adoption; but, at any rate, the experiment has only been tried at present upon a small minority of the students as a whole.

In any large number of young men there will of course be some who are irreclaimably idle, foolish, or vicious; and among the students of every profession there will be some who are mentally or morally unsuited for its peculiar requirements, and whose work is therefore irksome to them. Making all due allowance for these facts, it is the opinion of their teachers that medical students are fully as intelligent, industrious, gentlemanly, and well-conducted as any other young men of the same social position. They would not thank me if I were to claim too much for them, but my own belief is that they are better than others, partly because many of them are older than the average of students of other professions, and partly because the nature of their duties is particularly well calculated to foster and develop a sense of duty and of responsibility. This belief has been amply confirmed by the testimony of those who, coming direct to a hospital, either as pupils or as teachers, from one of the Universities, have been able to compare the students whom they had quitted with those whom they joined.

It seems proper to add that Mr. Gilbert, before writing down the rash words which I have quoted, does not appear to have made any attempt to discover whether or not they were true. The authorities of the larger medical schools have not heard of him as an inquirer concerning the industry or the conduct of the pupils; and in one instance within my knowledge, in which he sent a proof of his article to a surgical teacher, this proof was returned to him with a strong condemnation and denial of his statements. If he had but taken the somewhat obvious precaution of asking one or two questions at Scotland Yard, he would probably have seen reason to distrust the calumnies to which he has been too ready to give credence.

I think there can be little doubt that Mr. Gilbert's notion of a medical student is derived from his recollections of his own youth (I am informed that he became a member of the College of Surgeons forty-nine years ago); refreshed by a recent perusal of the histories of Mr. Bob Sawyer and of Mr. Benjamin Allen, or of that so-called "Biography" which was contributed by the late Mr. Albert Smith to some of the early numbers of *Punch*. His mistakes and difficulties are fairly comparable to those of Rip Van Winkle, on his return from the mountains to his native village. Prior to the commencement of the preliminary examination, which came into operation in 1861, medical students were not nearly so well educated as they are in the present day, and were consequently far less refined in their habits and in their tastes. They were examined only at the close of their hospital studies, and much less severely than now. For the first few

sessions, therefore, the day of appearance before the examiners seemed still distant, and present enjoyment something which might safely be pursued. Perhaps, too, there was a disposition on the part of magistrates and other authorities to look leniently upon the peccadilloes of medical students, to regard them in some sense as privileged persons, or at all events as persons for whom many excuses might be made; and hence arose a custom of which they have long complained, and to which reference has lately been made in the *Times* by a writer who used the signature of "Medicus." Dissipated shop-boys or lawyers' clerks, and disreputable young men generally, when brought before a magistrate, were wont to describe themselves as "medical students;" and although two or three questions would have shown the description to be incorrect, these questions were seldom asked, presumably because it was nobody's business to ask them. It is in this way, and, I believe, in this way only, that a reputation which has long ceased to be deserved, even if it were ever deserved at all, has clung to medical students in the minds of the unreflecting. It is nothing less than a grave social offence to write in such a manner as to bestow new life upon an expiring and groundless prejudice.

It is not my purpose to follow Mr. Gilbert generally into details; and, in the few remarks which I have to make on the subject of medical education, I shall presently lose sight of him; but what he has printed about the maternity departments of the London hospitals is too serious to be left without explicit contradiction. He says: "In the midwifery class of St. Bartholomew's Hospital pupils are prohibited from attending midwifery cases while engaged in their studies in the dissecting room. *At many other hospitals this is not the case*; but on comparing the returns among this class of patients, it will be found that such deaths in St. Bartholomew's hospital are not more than half those of other hospitals where these excellent regulations are not put in force." So far is the above passage from being accurate, either in what it states or in what it implies, that, as a matter of fact, the rule in question is strictly enforced in every hospital in London. There is not one at which the pupils who are attending midwifery are permitted to work either in the dissecting room or in the *post-mortem* room. The latter would be a source of much greater danger than the former, because bodies for dissection are so prepared, by injecting them with preservative solutions, that no harm is to be apprehended from them; and injury to the students themselves, from the "dissection wounds" which were once so justly dreaded, is now unknown. None the less, the rule is enforced, and it would almost enforce itself as far as the dissecting room is concerned, because dissection and attendance upon midwifery are duties which fall into different periods of the student's career. As regards the mortality, I have obtained extended statistics from every hospital in

London. Excluding St. Bartholomew's, I find that there have been 67 maternal deaths in 17,066 cases. This is at the rate of 3.9 per 1,000. The Royal Maternity Charity, which works among the same class as the hospitals, but by means of educated midwives under careful and systematic medical supervision, had a mortality in its eastern district, between the years 1828 and 1850, of 220 in 48,996 cases, or precisely 4.5 per 1,000. From 1875 to 1877 inclusive, the deaths in this charity, according to the Registrar-General, were only 2.33 per 1,000; but I am not sure whether this does not exclude all those which, although coincident with childbirth, were not attributable to it, and which are included in the former return, as well as in the returns sent to me from the hospitals. Taking England and Wales as a whole, the maternal deaths amount to about 5.3 per 1,000 of the births; and, although the Registrar-General deprecates this as an excessive mortality, it is at least evident that none of the excess is justly chargeable to medical students. The mortality of the St. Bartholomew's patients, instead of being lower than that of other hospitals, is a little in excess of the average of them all, excepting in the single year 1876, when it was below the average; but either the high or the low mortality of any year may be due to so many causes, such as the accidental occurrence of necessarily fatal complications, or even the temporary conditions of living in the area from which the cases are derived, that the facts have no other value than as illustrations of Mr. Gilbert's deplorable inaccuracy.

The general arrangements of the maternity departments of the London hospitals, allowing for slight differences of detail, are as follows. Under the principal teacher, always a man of eminent position in his calling, there are, according to the size of the school, one or more paid assistants, legally qualified practitioners, selected on the score of character and fitness. Students of a certain standing, who have received the necessary preliminary instruction, are placed upon the list of attendants upon lying-in women; and each student is required, by the regulations of the examining boards, to attend from ten to twenty cases, according to the qualification he desires. At most hospitals, twenty cases can be attended within a fortnight or three weeks; and students get the work over as soon as they can, in order to be set at liberty for other duties. The summons from a lying-in woman goes to the qualified assistant in charge at the hospital, and he passes it on to the student next upon the rota, who is required to remain within easy reach of a call. No student is allowed to go to his first case alone, but always either with another student, who has already had some experience, or with the qualified assistant; and in case of any difficulty, the student in charge is enjoined to send for the qualified assistant without delay. He, if he finds the case to be a serious or threatening one, sends in his turn for the head of the department. It follows that the patients are sure, in the event of

there being any danger, to obtain the services of a consultant of the highest class; while in all ordinary cases they are looked after far more carefully, both during and after delivery, than they could be by any means which they could themselves command. There need be no appeals, such as Mr. Gilbert describes, for subscriptions in aid of these departments, which are maintained at no further expense than the stipends of the paid assistants; and it would be difficult to conceive any form of gratuitous medical service which accomplishes, even independently of its educational value, so much good at so small a cost. An eminent accoucheur writes to me, "The aid of our students in this way is eagerly sought by the poor; and, wherever a hospital school comes into competition with the Royal Maternity Charity, the work of the latter dwindles. This is a fact which a glance at the London map of the areas of work will prove. Thus, the vast bulk of the R. M. C. work is in the east of London, where there is only the London Hospital to compete. In the south, where there are Guy's and St. Thomas's, the R. M. C. has abolished its district. It is literally beaten out of the field; and in the west, where many schools compete, its cases are much under one thousand a year." The suggestion that students should go to the lying-in wards of workhouses is one which appears to me to be open to many and grave objections.

At this point I take my leave of Mr. Gilbert, with the concluding remark that I must not be understood to assent to anything which he has written merely because I have not expressly contradicted it. The truth is, that I should despair of being able to convey, to readers not possessed of technical familiarity with the questions in debate, any adequate conception of the almost countless number and the almost infinite variety of the misstatements which the article under consideration contains. They include the essential elements of the sensational stories, they embrace principles as well as details, they extend even to the careful misspelling of the names of persons whom the author desires to mention, and they follow one another in unbroken sequence from the first page to the last, statement by statement, sentence by sentence, almost line by line. A well-known medical teacher has observed that he could not have believed it possible for human ingenuity to compress so many into so short a composition; and with this view of the matter I can most unreservedly agree. Even when some stray assertion chanced to be accurate, it is generally so unfortunately worded as to be misleading.

The actual conditions of medical education in London, as they are known to us who are occupied in the work, have grown up slowly, like so many other of the arrangements of this country, by the gradual adaptation of existing machinery to new requirements; and in many respects they are not such as would be framed if all had to be con-

structed anew. Before a hospital can have a medical school it must be "recognized" by the examining bodies as possessing sufficient material and means of teaching; and, within my recollection, one of the London schools has been closed, in consequence of the "recognition" of the College of Surgeons having been withdrawn. It is further necessary that each lecturer should be recognized, the effect of this provision being to prevent the same person from lecturing upon different subjects. The examining bodies are to some extent under the control of the General Medical Council, which is composed of delegates from them all, with the addition of six representatives of the Crown, and which, from time to time, issues recommendations as the results of general agreement in the desirableness of certain changes or reforms. The hospitals, and the schools of medicine attached to them, are compelled to provide students with the means of fulfilling the requirements of the examining bodies with regard to attendance upon lectures and practice, clinical teaching, and so forth; and these requirements produce an almost complete uniformity of method all over London. The students who go up to the College of Surgeons, as nearly all do, are examined in anatomy and physiology at the end of their second year, and in surgery and pathology at the end of their fourth year, the two being called respectively the primary and the pass examinations. The demands of the former examination throw dissecting mainly into the two first years, and those of the latter examination throw work in the wards mainly into the two last years. As for other subjects, their order, and the division of time among them, are governed by considerations of obvious convenience, which are everywhere alike, and which produce everywhere the same results. At every school in London students of the same standing would be found occupied with the same things. If the schools were not thus fettered by regulations, the competition among them would probably declare itself by differences in the importance which would be attached, by different teachers, to lectures and to tutorial instruction.

The schools themselves are strictly adventure schools, the property of the medical officers of the hospitals, and with which the governors of these hospitals have nothing to do, except on a basis of mutual agreement concerning the facilities which shall be given for teaching, and the services which shall be rendered by students in the wards and in the out-patient departments. The buildings in which the work is carried on are generally the property of the hospital, and the tenure by which they are held is a matter of agreement. At St. George's, for example, we pay rent to the governors on such a scale as to render the buildings an excellent investment of the funds of the charity. At St. Thomas's, the school pays nothing for the buildings beyond the parochial rates which fall upon them. At St. Bartholomew's, I have heard that the buildings are given free of charge. If so, this is only an indirect way of paying the physicians and surgeons for their

services ; because, the pupils' fees at St. Bartholomew's being as high as elsewhere, the profits of the school must of course be comparatively greater. It is not to be wondered at if the medical officers of hospitals where the governors are less liberal or less enlightened, or where they take a different view of their duties with regard to the expenditure of the funds committed to them, should sometimes be disposed to grumble at the advantages which the school at St. Bartholomew's, thus favoured, is supposed to afford to its proprietors ; but, after all, this is a private matter, which has nothing to do with medical education. The other schools, which are not subsidized, return a sufficient profit to enable them to be kept open ; and that is the only part of the question which need be considered in this place. At University College, indeed, the medical staff has very greatly assisted the hospital by surrendering for its maintenance a large proportion of the fees paid by the students.

There are certainly ample reasons to render it legitimate for any hospital to subsidize the school attached to it ; and these reasons are furnished by the assistance given by students in the daily work. In the first place, the presence of students, their questions, their criticisms, and the constant necessity for endeavouring to make everything clear to them, are the most powerful imaginable stimulants to the medical staff, whose work is done in circumstances of publicity which render it almost impossible for them to be either careless or hasty. In every hospital there are many appointments held by students, such as the offices of assistant house physician and assistant house surgeon, the assistant registrarships, the dresserships for in and for out-patients, the clinical and *post-mortem* clerkships, the assistantships in the special departments, obstetric, ophthalmic, aural, dental, and the like, which represent an enormous amount of work done gratuitously for the institution, and without which many of its most important functions would cease to be fulfilled. It is not too much to say that the services of the students save every hospital many hundreds, and the larger hospitals even thousands, every year ; and on this ground alone, although a poor hospital may decline to subsidize its school, a rich one may certainly find abundant justification for doing so. In truth, as was shown by "Medicus," in the letter already mentioned, the hospital and the school interpenetrate one another at almost every part, so that they should properly be regarded as forming a coherent whole, and not in any way as rival institutions. The department of pathological investigation, of inquiry into the nature and causes of the changes produced by disease, which can only be carried on in hospitals, and which is actually carried on in subservience to the requirements of the students, is of the greatest possible advantage to the public ; and the indirect benefits which flow from the schools, as perpetual sources of skilful and accomplished medical practitioners, are incalculably greater than the direct benefits produced by the treat-

ment of the patients who are received. Where the latter, the direct benefits, affect hundreds, the former, or indirect benefits, affect thousands in a similar manner. It is the very reverse of the truth to say that incurable patients are dismissed from hospitals on account of the demands of teaching; because the impulse to dismiss them comes always from the lay governors, and never from the medical staff. It is the custom, I believe at every hospital, and certainly at most, for the governors to call upon the physicians and surgeons for special reports upon all patients who have been kept more than two or three months; and it is often difficult to get permission to retain such patients in the wards, even when there is every desire to do so. Where many sufferers are awaiting their turn, it is felt that the prolonged occupancy of a bed by the same person involves an element of unfairness.

It is entirely an error to suppose that the student officers of hospitals have any responsibilities imposed upon them which they are not fit to bear, or in which their shortcomings are likely to be injurious to patients. The students appointed to such posts have usually, indeed I believe invariably, passed their primary examinations, and are always carefully selected, often by competitive examination, modified, it may be, by the knowledge which the authorities possess of the personal characteristics of each. They do not pay for their appointments, although in a few cases those who reside in the hospital may be called upon for a contribution towards their board. If they were drawn by open competition from other hospitals, it is manifest that the important element of personal knowledge would be wanting as a guide in selecting them. When appointed, their work, such as the dressing of injuries for example, is done under the direct supervision of the house surgeons, who are legally qualified men. The whole system, from first to last, is an endeavour gradually to accustom the pupils to the duties which it will be the business of their future lives to discharge.

The results of examinations, especially in any single year, afford an exceedingly fallacious test of the work done by and in a school, and afford no test at all of the comparative merits of any two or more. The aim of the English examining bodies has for a long time past been to raise the standard of their requirements, and to stimulate teaching by keeping ahead of it. The examinations are conducted by several persons, and include several distinct branches of knowledge. Failure in any one of these cannot be atoned for by proficiency in others; and thus, for example, it may happen that a change in the teacher of physiology in a given school, and the appointment of a successor who may be fully competent in all essential respects, but who has yet to learn the best way of imparting what the examiners want, may for a time occasion the rejection of a large number of the pupils of that school at the primary examination of the College of

Surgeons. The appointment of a fresh examiner may exert a similar influence upon all schools; and, especially for the primary examination, there are always students who underrate the severity of the tests to which they will be subjected, who present themselves against the advice of their teachers, and who often increase in wisdom by experience. The only true ground of comparison among different schools would be gained by ascertaining the proportion of students from each who fail ultimately and altogether; and it must be remembered that, although examinations are the only means of testing knowledge which we possess, the test is admittedly an imperfect one, and the teaching which would make the best practitioner would not necessarily be that which would impart the greatest facility for answering questions. The character and skill of the bulk of English practitioners furnish the best answer to any vague or general condemnation of the methods by which they have been trained.

There is, however, a reform greatly desired by the profession, and for the want of which the Duke of Richmond's Bill broke down in the last session of Parliament. In former times the license to practise of any examining body extended only to that division of the kingdom in which the examination was held; so that a Scotch or Irish license was waste paper in England, and *vice versa*. By the Act of 1858, all this was changed, and a license granted in any part of the kingdom now holds good in any other part. The result is that there are in Great Britain and Ireland nineteen different corporations with a power to license, and that some of them are believed to compete for the patronage and the fees of the students by the simple expedient of bringing down their examinations to the level of the humblest capacity. Certain Scotch and Irish Boards soon discovered that the Act of 1858 had opened to them a new source of income in giving diplomas to English students who were going back to practise in England, but who, for any reason, had no desire to face an English Board of Examiners. The questions asked of such candidates are duly printed after each examination is over, and are invariably of the most searching description; but it is manifest that the severity of an examination, whether in Great Britain or in Calcutta, depends rather upon the answers which are accepted than upon the questions which are put. The English corporations—that is to say, the Universities, the Colleges of Physicians and Surgeons, and the Society of Apothecaries—after careful and prolonged consideration, and by many concessions to one another, framed what was called a “conjoint scheme” of medical education and examination, upon which they all agreed to insist as a minimum requirement for a license to practise. This scheme, devised by some of the most learned practitioners in the kingdom, and carefully considered in every detail by those who had full knowledge of the whole subject, cannot be carried into effect in England until its adoption is rendered universally compulsory in

Scotland and in Ireland. Until this is done, the idle and ignorant among the English students would be able to set the English corporations at defiance, and to go to more indulgent examiners for their degrees. The Duke of Richmond jocosely proposed to make the adoption of the conjoint scheme permissive in the sister countries; that is to say, to leave the peccant corporations in the undisturbed enjoyment of their undoubted right to shut their doors in the face of fees if they were so minded. The Bill was ultimately amended by the insertion of the required provision; but, in the meantime, other difficulties had arisen, and it was perforce abandoned. There is ground for hope that it will once more be brought forward in the coming session of Parliament; and, if the adoption of the conjoint scheme should ultimately be carried, the medical education of the United Kingdom will be rendered uniform, and will be everywhere of such high quality that it will leave little for reformers to desire.

R. BRUDENELL CARTER.

CONTEMPORARY LIFE AND THOUGHT.

IN RUSSIA.

ST. PETERSBURG, *January 14th, 1879.*

Political Agitation among the Students.

THE event of the day is the political agitation among the students. These disturbances have been very much exaggerated in the reports, not only abroad, but also in Russia itself. Down to the present, at any rate, there is nothing in them at which to be seriously frightened. Their worst aspect is the wrong the actors in the disturbances do themselves; instead of devoting the precious time of youth to earnest studies they are busy trying to solve problems beyond their powers. For this wild end they risk every day seeing the doors of the universities closed to them, and being denied their career. But youths do not much trouble themselves with thoughts of the future, and the spirit of *camaraderie* easily draws them away to any folly. Unfortunately for Russia, this feeling does not confine itself within the limits of one school or university, but has spread till it has attained the proportions of a general *solidarity* among the students of the whole country. Whenever a disturbance arises in any one of the schools, be it in the south, the west, or the east of Russia, deputies are sent to other universities and a concerted action is planned.

The first impulse of the recent troubles was given at the Veterinary Institute of Kharkow, and it may be as well to go a little into the details of what is known of the occurrence.

The official report of the case is somewhat puzzling. It states that one of the professors, by name Jouravsky, in order to further the progress of his pupils, instituted evening lessons for those who wished them. The diligent students welcomed the innovation, but the lazy ones felt dissatisfied at it. The professor received several anonymous letters, containing threats which were to be carried out in case he did not immediately give up these lessons; which were avowed to be mortifying to grown-up students, since they put them on the same level with pupils of secondary schools. He showed the letters to the students favourable to his method, and they begged him to go on, not paying any attention to them. Then the opposition had recourse to violent measures. Assembling in great numbers at the next public lesson of Jouravsky, they interrupted him, making a dreadful noise. At last they drove him out of the room. The authorities naturally interfered and arrested the culprits, who were brought before the University Court.

When things had gone as far as this the students of the University sided with their fellows—the Veterinaries. Further, an unfortunate circumstance occurred serving to fan the flame,—the offended professor was admitted among the judges to whom the case was submitted. This seemed so unfair to the accused that everybody was shocked. The authorities sought to excuse the irregular proceeding by alleging that Jouravsky alone could give them all the particulars of the affair. But such an explanation was felt to be unsatisfactory. The professor ought, no doubt, to have appeared as a witness, but, being a party

concerned, he had no right to sit as judge, and the students were not to blame in protesting against it. Nevertheless the fact of being right in theory did not help them in practice. Their petitions and meetings had for their only result the increasing of the number of the arrested, and the closing the doors of the University of Kharkow against the innocent as well as the guilty.

But here, before going further, it should be added that, side by side with this official cause of discontent, there exists another secret one, which is really still more sad than the first. This is the old, deeply-rooted, national hatred between Russians and Poles, which time, hitherto, has been unable to cure, and the traces of which are very easily to be found in the provinces of the west. Professor Jouravsky is a Pole, and the Russians on that score nourished a bad feeling against him, seizing the first pretext to offend him.

As soon as the agitation had reached its height, and the University was closed, deputies from the students were sent to Moscow and St. Petersburg asking for assistance. At Moscow the students were not disposed to mix themselves in the affair, but at St. Petersburg the youths showed a more lively interest in the movement. Supported by the students of the Medico-Chirurgical Academy—who are known to stand always at the head of every revolutionary agitation—the leaders drew up a petition to the *Cesarevitch*. On the 30th November (old style) they assembled in great numbers and proceeded to the Anitchkow Palace. As that day was the jubilee of the Technological Institute, it was at first thought that the procession was bringing their congratulations on that occasion, and the policemen accordingly let it pass. However, as the line kept increasing in number, and was seen taking another direction, the police grew anxious, and its head, General Zourof, went in person to parley with the procession. Being very politely asked what they wanted and where they were going, they answered that they purposed to present to the heir of the throne a petition in favour of their fellow-students of Kharkow. To this Zourof replied that the time was ill-chosen for going in multitudes to the Anitchkow Palace, the Grand Duchess then lying in childbed, and the Grand Duke being absent from town. These arguments prevailed, and the deputation consented to entrust the prefect with its petition and to separate.

Meanwhile, however, the police, frightened at this stream of students pouring incessantly townward, fancied they could stop it by disconnecting the bridges on the Neva which join the scholastic quarters with the central streets. The University, as well as the Medico-Chirurgical Academy, lies on the left side of the river, and once the bridges are separated communication between them and the other parts is cut. In this way the procession, which had passed over to the right side, could receive no more reinforcements, but it was also made impossible for it to return home,—without mentioning the inconvenience caused by such a measure to the peaceable citizens. In fact, while Zourof was requiring from the young men he parleyed with the promise to go home, his subordinates were taking pains to hinder them from keeping that pledge. Very soon a sort of panic seized the whole town, and the most incredible tales circulated through it during that day and on the day following. It was said that the students had openly revolted, that shots had been heard, and that a fight was going on in the streets. In reality, nothing more than what is above related had occurred, and, as soon as the bridges were put in order, the students willingly dispersed.

But on the next day, a much more serious event took place at the Medico-Chirurgical Academy. The young men assembled there, wishing to know the result of their petition to the heir of the throne. Hearing that General Zourof was paying a visit to their directors, they sent a deputation to him, begging for an answer. Zourof, who, in his fright, had undertaken an irregular mission, not having the right to present such petitions to members of the Imperial family, was puzzled what to do next. However, he went to the students and made them some vague excuses, alleging that the *Cesarevitch* had not yet given any answer, and that the reply would be immediately communicated to them as

soon as it was given. The students contented themselves with these assurances and withdrew. But on reaching the street they were instantly surrounded by a mob of their fellows, who had been waiting for them, and wanted to hear the news. The police, afresh alarmed, ordered them to disperse, and as they did not obey quickly enough, troops were summoned. When they saw themselves being pushed about by the military force, which does not feel graciously disposed towards rioters, they really revolted, and with the cry, "*Arrest us all!*" turned back to the Academy, crowding the halls and the passages. One hundred and forty-two of them were arrested, while in the fight which ensued many were severely wounded and bruised. It is true that the official report flatly contradicts this last part, denying both the fight and the rumour of there being any wounded, but eye-witnesses persist in affirming the correctness of the rumour, even naming the surgeons who were told off for dressing the wounds of the prisoners. At any rate, the whole town talked about these things as of facts beyond doubt, and the official statement found but few believers.

After this the state of affairs at the University grew worse, and the rector felt obliged to put a stop to the meetings held there, which were becoming more and more loud and frequent. Though the Professor Beketof (who is actually the rector) has always been one of the most popular men among the students, being known for his liberal views and his humane treatment of the young men, his exhortations this time were useless. It is even reported that in their excitement, the young men, forgetting all they owed him, not only were deaf to his voice, but insulted him. True this is denied by the professors.

The last event of this series of troubles is the surprising demonstration made some days ago by the students of the Roads and Communications Institute. The school had always enjoyed the fame of being inaccessible to political agitation. This favourable circumstance was held to be a special merit of the actual Minister Possiet, within whose province the school was included. His friends proclaimed as loudly as they could that personal influence, or the lack of it, has much to do with all such disturbances, and that good pedagogues know how to prevent them. They refused to recognize in these movements the character of a moral epidemic,—which they clearly are,—and ascribed them all to the awkwardness of the chiefs. Now that the epidemic has gained access to their own sanctuary, they must at last see that it really exists. The students of the Institute went in their turn to the Minister, and presented a petition, the contents of which are but imperfectly known. General Possiet explained to the deputies the illegality of their proceeding. These deputies again boasted of having spoken rudely to their chief.

While all this was going on, the Government naturally thought of new measures of repression. But all that its representatives could devise was the issuing of a proclamation applying the articles of the penal code which concern meetings and riots in the streets to the school buildings, and ordering the police to assist the school-directors at their request in restoring order in the halls. How far such a measure will prove effective it is not easy to say. It is the old story—while everybody agrees that something must be done, nobody knows what course to take, and only criticizes somebody else. Happily calm is nearly restored now; but in the beginning of these troubles the panic was great. For a week or more every mention of them in the newspapers was forbidden, and, as always happens in such cases, the tales spread through the town were much worse than the reality. Since official reports have been issued, the public feeling has grown more rational, and people have ceased to expect every day a revolution.

Discovery of "the Horse."

In my last letter I gave a full account of the hunt for the assassins of General Mesentzef. Since that time the search has been crowned with just one success, which at first sight was full of promise. This was the capture of

the horse, the identical steed, which had carried the murderers out of reach. It was found in one of the St. Petersburg Tattersall's, where it had been stabled for a whole winter. The story is told differently, but the version most current is the following: Among others arrested, was a suspicious individual who affirmed himself to be a peasant named Joukovsky, from the province of Viatka; but a bill was found in his pocket for the keeping of a horse and a cab at the Tattersall's. On his being confronted with the master and the grooms of that establishment, they recognized him to be the coachman of a gentleman to whom belonged the carriage they had in keeping. They said that the vehicle had been in their custody for several months, and that every day it had been taken out for driving by this pretended coachman, whose awkwardness had always shocked them. In the evenings he always brought it back. On the 4th August the grooms observed that the steed came back particularly tired, but they did not think any more about it. Since that date nobody had claimed the horse, nor paid for it, and the eye-witnesses who saw the cab of the murderers profess that the carriage and the horse are undoubtedly the same.

This revelation was interesting at first, but it, alas! did not go further, and the hope of its leading to the capture of the assassins has again faded. The detectives and the magistrates are quite sure of the horse's identity, but unhappily it does not speak, and nothing is to be gained by their unsupplemented knowledge. As to Joukovsky, he denies every connection with the crime, and no real proofs are brought against him. The murderers are most likely far out of reach, safely hidden in foreign countries; and if the horse could speak, he very likely would tell his judges as much, advising them to let alone a search so desperate as this has become.

A New Monthly Paper of the Reds.

However, along with the capture of the horse, the police rejoiced in another discovery, still more important. At last, the printing office of the revolutionary party was found, and this mysterious press, which had given so much annoyance to the Government, was to be effectually stopped. The official triumph was immense, and for some days this event became the favourite talk of the circles more or less behind the scenes in State secrets. Such things, naturally, do not get into the daily papers, but they quietly spread, and everybody soon knew that the Reds were deprived of their means of propaganda. The general astonishment was all the greater when a few days later a new publication from the same quarter suddenly saw the light. This time it was not a proclamation or a pamphlet that the party issued, but the first number of a monthly paper, named *Zemlia i Volia* (Country and Liberty). The confiscation of their printing office, and the loss of their compositors, seemed to have had no deteriorating influence upon this publication: on the contrary, the sheet showed a manifest improvement over the preceding ones. It was written in a much better style, printed with much greater care, and its contents displayed a variety of subjects much beyond that to which the public of this party had been accustomed. Besides the usual political and social leaders, it contained poetry (of a sarcastic kind, in which the Emperor and his agents were laughed at), a feuilleton, the chronicle of the day, and advertisements. On the first sheet appeared the cost of subscription, with the information added that the money was to be paid to the persons known by the readers; a notification which is, perhaps, the most curious thing in the paper. The leading articles show coolness and moderation compared with other writings of the kind. In them the proceedings of the Government, as well as those of their own party, are closely discussed, and a sort of truce is proposed under certain conditions. Violence, it is pretended, is repulsive to the revolutionists, and they only resort to it in extreme cases. In fact, as we have before explained, political questions and forms of government are nearly indifferent to this party,—their aim being a purely social and economical one. What they profess to want is nothing short of the

increasing of the happiness of mankind by an equal distribution of riches and the emancipation of the labourer from the capitalist. If the Russian Government will let them quietly pursue this propaganda, not annoying them by arrests and persecutions, they promise in their turn not to recur to open rebellion, nor to political murders. The latter, they assert, do not enter into their programme, but they are obliged to defend themselves when they are attacked, and that is the only mode of revenge open to them. With respect to a Constitution being granted, it would do them more harm than good, and they have no reason to wish for one: the majority of the representatives would belong to their foes, and they would lose the friends whom they find nowadays among the party of the discontented. A good deal of satire is expended on the existence of their underground press, despite its interdiction. They tell the reader to be on his guard, for he has become a great criminal by only perusing their pages, and warn him that he is going to commit a still heavier sin if he advises any friend to look into the paper and convince himself of the absurdities preached there. It will be interesting to see if the paper will really appear with the promised punctuality, and how long it will last.

Administrative Changes.

A new and important change in the Administration took place last month. The Minister of the Interior, General Timaschef, has resigned his post, and been temporarily succeeded by his adjunct, Makof. When I tried in my first letter to sketch the political parties now in existence in Russia, I marked out the Minister Timaschef as one of the firmest props of the Conservatives, or, to put it better, of the Reactionaries, and nothing occurred subsequently to change his mind. He remained true to his views, and to the last continued to persecute liberty of thought and of the press. He belonged also to the old military school of the Emperor Nicholas; he had been educated in the Page Corps, and he considered the most severe discipline as offering the greatest benefit for mankind. All that tended to lessen or to mitigate the despotic power of the monarch and his functionaries was viewed by him as a serious danger for both the State and the people, and he did all in his power to stop this bad tendency of our age. However, in spite of all his measures the Reds, far from being crushed, pursue their activity, and if the censorship succeeds in silencing Liberal views, it endeavours in vain to stop the revolutionary propaganda flourishing by means of the underhand press. Disgusted with these failures, General Timaschef preferred leaving his post. In such cases a ready pretext is always furnished by a plea of bad health, and, speaking generally, there is hardly a minister who resigns for any other cause. We shall not be taxed with exaggeration by well-informed persons, if we affirm that in our period there hardly has been a minister less popular than General Timaschef, and that this feeling towards him was shared by his colleagues of the Cabinet. The Liberals saw in him one of their worst foes, the Press knew that he was bent on giving it the least freedom possible, and the bureaucratic hierarchy often found him unpleasant and exacting in his ways. Everybody criticized and blamed his acts, for he had but few partisans. Nevertheless, when it became known that he had resigned, the members of the Cabinet, in company with other high functionaries, made him an extraordinary ovation. They went in a body to his house to give him a solemn farewell and to express their grief at his leaving his office. General Timaschef could not help being touched, and he answered in the same style. The event, which was meant by its authors to remain private, got speedily into the papers, and thus it came to pass that unusual honour has been paid to a very unpopular minister.

As to his successor, it is not quite certain if Makof will retain the post, or if he is only a bird of passage. He is comparatively young for such an office, and there are other candidates with better claims to it. Among them the late Minister of Justice, Count Pahlen, and the actual General-Governor of Bulgaria,

Prince Dondoukof Korsakof, are often named, but the Emperor's mind being closed to the public, conjectures have no solid grounds to rest upon. In his views Makof is much more a Conservative than a Liberal, and we do not think that the cause of liberty and of progress would be much furthered under his administration. If his tendencies had been otherwise he could not have achieved such a brilliant career under the protection of Timaschef. However, being younger and a true bureaucrat by nature, he will show himself more flexible than the adherents of the old despotic school, and if the wind turns to another quarter, he will easily follow the new direction. Generally speaking, personal changes exercise much less influence in autocratic governments than might be supposed. Things go on pretty much the same despite the opinions of the chiefs, and as soon as a man has attained the post of minister, he looks down from it on the nation with nearly the same eyes as his predecessor. Therefore, this change, though very interesting to the Russian bureaucracy, is not of much import to the nation at large, and outside St. Petersburg people care but little for it.

Recent Criminal Trials.

The number of criminal cases which have lately been tried before our courts asks notice on several grounds. Some of the cases deeply affected the public mind, disclosing as they did social sores of different kinds, as well as the dark side of our modern civilization. The pessimists, who are every day increasing in number, gladly seized the new weapons furnished to them by this series of crimes, hoping to silence their few adversaries, the optimists, and never was the old theme of human perversity so publicly discussed as during that time.

The characteristic feature of all these cases lay in the fact that they took place in the refined circles which are supposed to be beyond the temptations of vulgar crime. The general opinion prevalent in the educated classes is that the penal code is exclusively made for low people, and everybody is surprised to see it needed in the upper classes. Among the trials three are particularly curious, as giving a true picture of manners and modern life.

The first is that of a lady named Goulak-Artemovsky, accused and convicted of forgery. The story of this lady, now sentenced to banishment in Siberia, is very instructive. Having lost her husband and possessing only a small fortune, she could not resign herself to the humble life she had thenceforward to lead. She was pretty, intelligent, had most fascinating manners, and a great supply of energy; she thought that these endowments were sufficient to help her to a brilliant career, and she determined to step out of obscurity and play a prominent part in the world. She knew that the display of riches, a house furnished with taste and luxury, and presided over by a charming mistress, will always gain a welcome from society, never too eager to scrutinize the sources of display. Her *salon* soon became known in St. Petersburg, and if the ladies belonging to the aristocracy were slow in accepting her invitations, the gentlemen had no such scruples. She knew how to make them feel at their ease, and to amuse them. Play, music, excellent suppers, and so on, awaited them at her house, and she could soon boast of the easiness with which she caught and also kept her birds.

But this was only the first step. It was not enough to have learned how to open a grand house; the chief problem was how to procure the necessary means for going on at that rate; and there our lady began to use her wits. The high functionaries whom she enticed to her house were meant not only to flatter her vanity by their presence, but to be of practical use. A gentleman has seldom the courage to refuse the favours a nice lady asks him after a fine supper, and public business is more quickly decided in a *salon* than in the office. Thus Mrs. Artemovsky undertook the management of private business which required the sanction of the Government, and naturally received large fees from the parties concerned. In Russia the regulation and the interference in private affairs by the State are still very great, and nearly every commercial

undertaking needs the consent of the Administration. To obtain it, people instead of taking the straight way, which is very long, resort to secret paths, which are much shorter. Interest plays the leading part in such things, and every one is intent on gaining a private interview to ask for an exception in his favour. Secret agents are in great request, and there is nothing extraordinary in finding women among them. The lady we speak of had great ability for such work, and at her trial she boasted before the court of the many affairs she had managed successfully, and the profits she had made out of them.

Unhappily for her, the gains did not grow as fast as her expensive wants, and she was obliged to add new sources of revenue. After accepting the office of a secret agent, she undertook that of a banker, discounting fictitious bills. She proceeded in the following manner: Young men, quite destitute of means, but having rich parents, were induced or bribed to put their names to bills for considerable amounts, which were afterwards presented to their fathers, accompanied by a threat of impending imprisonment for debt. In most cases the fathers found themselves obliged to pay, or to make an agreement with the creditors. One of these young men appeared at the bar as a witness, and his testimony was very characteristic. Questioned by the judges, he confessed openly that his debts amounted to nearly one million, while his property was estimated at *three roubles*! It was indeed sold for *one*. He had not the least idea of the number of bills he accepted, and never looked at their sum; he generally did it out of complacency, though he sometimes got a small sum for it—a hundred roubles, for instance. He had nothing to lose, and felt indifferent to the embarrassments to which his old father might be subjected.

Simultaneously with these performances, the lady sought the acquaintance of rich men whom she could take advantage of. With that purpose she invited Nicholas Pastoukhof to call on her, and soon made a conquest of him. Pastoukhof belonged to the tradesman class. He had a large fortune, but lacked the education customarily given in the upper classes, and by nature was very timid. At the start he dared not refuse any proposals made to him in the fashionable drawing-room of his hostess, and he lost eighteen thousand roubles at cards. Later, he fell in love with the charming widow, and asked her hand in marriage. She declined his offer, unwilling to lose her independent station and her liberty by becoming the wife of a merchant. She did not want to break with him, but her disappointment was bitter when she saw him completely estrange himself from her, and when she was not admitted to him during a long illness. It ended in his death, and after her refusal she never saw him again. But as soon as he was dead, she hastened to send to his brothers bills amounting to the sum of fifty-eight thousand roubles, which she pretended were for money she had lent him. She was so sure that the brothers of the deceased, who enjoyed the fame of generous and honourable men, would not begin a scandalous process for such a trifle, that she did not even take the trouble of copying Pastoukhof's signature, and put it down in another handwriting. This time she was mistaken in her calculations. The Pastoukhofs, who knew the bad influence she had exercised over their brother and the grief she had caused him, refused to be her dupes, and declared that the name on the bills was forged. The case was brought before the court, and the lady could not prove her innocence, despite the interest she excited and the witnesses who deposed in her favour. The signatures had not the slightest resemblance to the handwriting of the deceased, and, besides this, it was proved that he never gave bills, having at his disposal as much ready money as he wanted. She was pronounced guilty, and her dazzling career came to an abrupt close.

The second notable case, tried at the court of Kharkow, has more than one point of resemblance to the first, though the crime committed was much heavier. The Doctor Kovaltchoukof, one of the best physicians of that town, was treacherously murdered last winter. After being missed three days his corpse was found locked up in the room of an hotel, whither, it became known,

he had been summoned to assist a traveller, who had likewise disappeared. Though the traveller had taken the name of Baron Stengel, the police soon discovered him to be no other than Gregory Besobrasof, a member of the aristocracy, and son to a highly-honoured senator. The criminal was arrested at St. Petersburg, where he had thought himself in safety; and, after some vain attempts at denial, confessed his deed.

His career is much the same as that of a great number of men belonging to his station in life. Accustomed from his infancy to luxury, and having no notion of work or self-constraint, he supposed that ready money ought always to be supplied to a gentleman, and that it was unbecoming for one to have to calculate his expenditure. At the end, his father's fortune, when divided between him and his elder brothers, fell below his expectations, and he quickly expended his funds. After that, being unable to work, and knowing only the military service in the guards, which requires more money than it repays, he naturally resorted to borrowing. He kept up the practice as long as it availed, but there came a time when no more loans were to be had, and the situation grew critical. His creditors pressed upon him, and his ordinary resources were quite exhausted. He had attained the age of forty-eight, and he was weary of the life he led; it was high time to put an end to it. While in this frame of mind he met in the Crimea a handsome woman. Learning that she was the wife of Doctor Kovaltchoukof, and that she did not live with her husband, he remembered having heard in passing through Kharkow that the doctor was a rich man and an usurer. This was enough for him; he soon formed a plan for restoring his fortunes. First of all he sought the lady and easily won her good graces. As she intended to return to St. Petersburg, he claimed the privilege of accompanying her. On the road they got so well acquainted that when they reached the capital her gallant knight proposed to stop at the same hotel, taking there one apartment. At the inn they were supposed to be a married couple, and the truth did not come out till later.

This intimacy set up, Besobrasof thought that it was time to remove the obstacle which hindered his marriage, and he went to Kharkow, bought an axe, and with it killed the unfortunate doctor. However, before perpetrating the act, he remembered that he held no promise of marriage from the woman he was going to make a widow, and he imagined that it would be a clever way of securing her consent to compromise her. Accordingly he despatched to her a mysterious telegram under a false name, informing her "that the deed had been put off, but would be accomplished the next day." It had in part the effect he expected, for as soon as he was arrested for the crime a strong suspicion fell also on the widow of the deceased; she was apprehended in her turn, and accused of participation in the crime.

During the trial, however, her innocence was proved beyond any doubt. One of its strongest evidences lay in the fact that she had no inheritance to expect after her husband's death. His fortune, much smaller than was supposed, had been bequeathed to his children by another marriage, and she perfectly knew it. Why then should she contrive to murder her husband, who never interfered with her behaviour, and lived some hundreds of miles from her? But the clearer her innocence appears, the more unaccountable is the crime of Besobrasof. We see in it a striking instance of the giddiness, and of the complete absence of reflection, which are fostered by the education given to our upper classes. This man shows the same inability in the planning of crime as in the management of his whole life. He thinks that if he has gained nothing in the right path, he has only to step out of it to grow rich. He believes that a murder must solve the problems which harass him, and he forgets even to obtain the necessary information before resorting to it. He does not know Kovaltchoukof's fortune—he only vaguely heard about it, and he equally omits to ask if the lady will marry him when a widow. The same childish giddiness is seen in the means he employs to hide himself. Besobrasof clearly thought himself very clever because he gave at the hotel a false

name, and, after having slain his victim, locked the door of his room, taking the next train for St. Petersburg. He forgot the existence of photographs, and did not suppose that, his connection with the deceased's wife being known, the police would instantly suspect him. He commits this dreadful crime with the only result of finishing his unhappy life in the mines of Siberia, and dishonouring a name of which his family had till then been over-proud. (This branch of the Besobrasofs are not related to another Besobrasof, member of the Russian Academy of Science, and known throughout Europe as a political economist.)

If the two cases of which we have spoken have a likeness from arising in the same social circles, and being prompted by the same motives of cupidity, the third case presents a somewhat different aspect. Greediness plays no part in it, though the *tableau de genre* it discloses is no less sad.

A youth of seventeen, named Nicolas Posnansky, son of a colonel of *gendarmes*, died suddenly last spring without any serious disease having preceded his death, and the French governess of the family, Marguerite Jugean, was charged with having poisoned him. This event frightened the higher society terribly; all families keeping governesses could find no expressions strong enough for their indignation. They expected this monster of a criminal to undergo an exemplary punishment, and only grieved over the abolition of the penalty of death, which ought to be inflicted in the case. Their astonishment and anger were proportionately great when the impatiently expected trial finished by the acquittal of the foreigner who had so infamously abused the trust committed to her. However, the reading of the report of the trial soon dispelled this feeling.

The story it disclosed was as follows:—The family life of the Posnanskys was unfortunately of a type not uncommon in Russia. The father was completely absorbed by his official duties, hunting after Nihilists, and not caring in the least for what was going on in his own house; the mother, thinking only of amusements, passed her mornings in making calls and her evenings at theatres, parties, and clubs; the children were abandoned to the care of hired servants and governesses. The eldest son, Nicolas, laboured under the additional disadvantage of not being his mother's favourite. Endowed with a lively fancy and a precocious wish to learn things beyond his age, he had nobody to counsel him, and to give a good direction to his ambitious designs. At the time the French governess entered their house he was fourteen, and his intellectual and moral growth had attained an unhealthy development. Marguerite felt a profound pity for him, and offered him her friendship, which he gladly accepted. But she lacked the seriousness of mind and the sound knowledge which would have been necessary to rule his unsteady ideas, and their friendship changed into love. The feeling between a woman of forty and a boy of sixteen could not be of long duration. It passed, and was succeeded by a sheer disgust of life in the boy's mind. Nothing can be sadder than the expressions of it found in the diary of the boy read before the court. The political and social questions which he treats and solves according to the Radical doctrines do not make so deep an impression on the reader as the avowal of atheism which he adds to them, and the expression of his sorrow for the faith he has lost. He writes, that he does not believe any more in God, nor in man, and especially not in women. Such confessions, coming from a boy of his age, tell eloquently the sorrowful story of his childhood and his adolescence.

When he died suddenly during the night, after an illness which gave no idea of danger, and which had been noticed only by the governess, nobody at first thought of ascribing it to foul play. But some days later, his father learned that a political denunciation had been handed in at the secret police against the boy, and he recognized the handwriting to be that of Marguerite Jugean. That was enough to arouse suspicion. From that moment the parents believed that he had perished by poison, and that jealousy prompted the governess to give it to him. The corpse was submitted to a close autopsy, and some

traces of morphia were found. Then it was stated that the governess had been near him on the evening before his death, and had even brought him his physic, asking others not to go into his room, but let him sleep. These were the charges brought against her, and, as was said before, the jury did not find them sufficiently made out for a verdict of guilty. There were no proofs of the jealousy which alone could have actuated her to such a crime, and, indeed, was it likely that a woman of forty would kill a boy out of jealousy? The indignation with which the public at first heard of the supposed crime turned gradually from the foreign governess towards the parents, especially to the mother. Why, people asked, did she keep for years a person whom she knew to be in love with her son, and entrust to her the care of her children? If she did it only to be at liberty to amuse herself and to lead an easy life, she had no moral right afterwards to complain of the foreigner, whom she kept because she was cheap. Perhaps, this case will serve as a lesson for other families, and that is the only comfort to be derived from it.

A Scandal in the Press.

Our publicists have accustomed us to view their frequent changes of opinion without very lively surprise, but the palm of such mobility undoubtedly belongs to Katkof, the editor of *The Moscow Gazette*. One never knows what he will say next, nor what cause he may defend. One may, however, be sure that whatever be the subject he chooses he will treat it with fire, not sparing his anger against his adversaries. During the last few years, the public has seen in him a great many of these metamorphoses, and has learned at last to discover a connection between them and the personal mutations of ministers or other high functionaries. At the bottom of what seemed inexplicable to those who had not the key of the riddle, lay a very plain rule of conduct. So long as a minister gratified Katkof and proved useful to him, his politics were unconditionally approved in the columns of *The Moscow Gazette*. From the moment the same minister became guilty of some personal offence, or, more certainly still, if he resigned his portfolio into distasteful hands, his acts met with nothing in those pages but the severest blame. Nevertheless, there had existed hitherto a few departments as to which Katkof remained true to his primitive programme, and one of these was the economical domain. He had shown himself from the beginning an adherent of sound principles in political economy, and had ardently preached, among other things, the restoration of the metallic currency. No organ of our press has lavished so much eloquence upon this subject from the epoch of the Crimean war down to last year, and none has accumulated such a heap of logical proofs and arguments demonstrating the harm of over-issues of paper. The bosom friend of Katkof, his best contributor, and co-editor of *The Moscow Gazette*, the deceased Leontief, specially devoted himself to the working out of these problems, and put his name to the discussions. A good state of the finances, according to his opinion, was not attainable so long as the metallic currency was not restored, and the price of paper money remained subject to continual fluctuations. When the Minister of Finance again had recourse to these means of filling the Treasury exhausted by the expenses of the last war, Katkof criticized him severely, asserting that any other course would have been preferable, and that loans, either foreign or domestic, and the increase of taxes, are less injurious to the country than the over-filling of the market with paper.

It is only a few months since that time, but there has occurred a change in the administration of finances, General Greig succeeding to Reutern in that post. Suddenly, without the least warning or preparation, *The Moscow Gazette* made a prodigious leap from one extreme to the other. It put forward a new view, declaring that the war, so far from having been ruinous to the country, had promoted its prosperity, and this thanks to the issue of paper money. The export trade has increased, industry and trade flourish, and, if the exchange is against us, and our rouble undervalued abroad, that has no influence

whatever on our domestic transactions, and it is absurd to care for such a trifle. Russia clearly wanted the supplies of paper money which the needs of the war caused to be issued, and there is no call to stop them because they are disadvantageous to those who travel in foreign countries, or who want to buy foreign goods.

Such views, appearing in the columns of Katkof's organ, caused as much surprise as anger. There ensued violent polemics, which are far from being ended, and the whole St. Petersburg press joins in the combat. Katkof's irritation is growing worse every day, and, according to his custom, he has transferred the fight from the domain of theory to that of personal attack. Abandoning principles, he has declared war against the economists as a body. To hear him, Russia never counted more bitter and dangerous foes than the men of science who warned her against economical fallacies, and our Government committed the grossest errors when it paid attention to their voice. In holding such language, Katkof seems to forget his own past, or else he deliberately throws mud on the best part of his former career. Among the economists he now injures his best friend occupied the first place; and such a defection is really a thing not often seen. What would the deceased Leontief say to it, if he could come back to life for a moment? With what feelings would he look upon such black treason?

While everybody is wondering at such an audacious turning round, some persons search for the cause of it. It may be a wish to please the Emperor, whose mind is troubled by the financial difficulties of the moment, and who is glad to be told that the war has not impoverished but enriched the nation. Also, it may be the desire to attract attention, to gain popularity among the tradesmen, with whom this theory is a favourite one, and to increase the number of his readers. Neither of these motives does honour to Katkof, and even if he gains subscribers, that will be a poor compensation for the respect he loses.

T. S.

CONTEMPORARY LITERARY CHRONICLES.

I.—LITERATURE OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

(Under the Direction of J. BASS MULLINGER, M.A.)

THE most generally interesting contribution to our mediæval literature, during the last few months, is Mr. W. R. Clark's *Savonarola* (*Savonarola and his Times*: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge),—a study of a career which is characterized, in at least one important respect, by a departure from mediæval traditions. To most English readers the volume will suggest a comparison with Milman's brilliant essay, to which, somewhat singularly, Mr. Clark makes no reference. No writer, certainly, ever approached the subject so well qualified as was Milman, both by intellectual sympathies and extensive learning, for appreciating the man and his age. A life-long study of the preceding fourteen centuries enabled him to discern, almost at a glance, those contending influences of independent thought and tradition of which Savonarola was the living expression. On the other hand, Mr. Clark has had the advantage of Professor Villari's almost exhaustive researches in connection with his subject, which had not appeared at the time that Milman wrote, and these he has turned to excellent account; in fact, it is very rarely that he ventures to differ from his guide. The work by which Milman was mainly influenced in his conclusions was that of M. Perrens, who, in his estimate of Savonarola, somewhat leaned to the sceptical view. Professor Villari's tone, on the contrary, is that of almost unqualified laudation; like Padre Marchese, who looks upon Savonarola as "the greatest man of his age, and of many other ages," he holds that his hero was "alone truly and profoundly religious in his age." This lofty estimate is accepted, almost unreservedly, by Mr. Clark; although to those unpossessed by what Macaulay termed the *furor biographicus*, it may seem that neither the career, the writings, nor the portrait of Savonarola are suggestive of a character of quite such heroic proportions. It is, however, interesting to note how completely the most recent research reverses the earlier verdict of writers like Bayle and Budæus, who concurred in looking upon Savonarola as a low and ridiculous impostor, who richly deserved the fate with which he met; and it is remarkable that these strongly opposed conclusions appear to have resulted not so much from a difference of opinion with respect to the facts as to the construction to be placed upon them. It is, for example, undeniable that Savonarola distinctly laid claim to powers which enabled him to foretell the future,—that he exercised an unbounded licence in his interpretation of Scripture, so that its imagery and prophecy were alike explained by reference to the events of his own day,—and that by the sanction which he gave to the superstitious belief in trial by ordeal, he furnished his adversaries with

the weapon by which he was himself defeated. But while these facts are generally admitted, they have been explained by one class of writers as crafty devices whereby he sought to establish his hold on the reverence and belief of his followers; by another class, as simply manifestations of a sublime and genuine though overwrought enthusiasm which imposed even on itself. The latter is, of course, the theory adopted by Mr. Clark. To those familiar with the facts of Savonarola's public career, it will probably seem that he has endeavoured to keep the above and other more ambiguous features too much in the background. He has, however, told the whole story clearly and effectively, and the pains which he has evidently taken to explore everything relating to his subject fairly entitle him to exercise an independent judgment in his conclusions.

An excellent little series treating of the Conversion of the West (*The Continental Teutons*, Very Rev. Charles Merivale, D.D.; *The English*, Rev. G. F. Maclear, D.D.; *The Celts*, do.; *The Northmen*, do.), also published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, is designed to furnish, in concise but interesting narrative, the main outlines of the history of the early evangelization of the western European nations. Considering the prolific character of this kind of literature, it is somewhat remarkable that these instructive and eventful experiences in the older Teutonic history have so long been allowed to remain comparatively unknown to the majority of readers. The facts brought together in these little volumes have hitherto (with the exception of those relating to our own country) been discoverable only by the consultation of costly and voluminous works. The volume by Dean Merivale forms a kind of introduction to the whole series. It commences with a sketch of the German religion and German institutions, derived from the familiar descriptions of Tacitus, and then passes on to describe the characteristic features of Latin Christianity as they first became known to the Teutonic races through the Christian element in the armies of the Empire. The succeeding chapters are severally devoted to the labours of Ulphilas, the apostle of the Goths, in the region now known as Roumania; of Severinus, in Noricum; of Nicetius, St. Lupus, St. Aloysius, and Columban, in Germany; and of Boniface among the western Franks. The "Forcible Conversion" of the Saxons is the subject of another and far less pleasing chapter. The last two chapters, on the Moral Influence of the Empire, and the Influence of the Latin Ecclesiastical System on the Northern Nations, are somewhat more recondite in their treatment; and the extensive learning of the writer, combined with his thorough knowledge of the period, has enabled him to invest even these brief sketches with much of interest for the scholar as well as for the general reader.

Dr. Maclear's volumes are less discursive, but are excellent specimens of graphic and animated narrative. That on *The English* traverses comparatively familiar ground; but the facts contained in *The Celts* and *The Northmen* will be new to many. The materials for the last volume are chiefly derived from the Sagas of Snorri Sturulson, with which the literary labours of Mr. Laing have made English readers to some extent acquainted. Snorri, who wrote in the thirteenth century, was far from being an eminent example of Christian graces; but his narrative is of considerable interest from the fact that it is not the work of a Latin ecclesiastic, and appears to have been written in comparative freedom from Latin influences. We see from its pages that the work of conversion, as carried on by these ancient kings of Norway, was hardly more genuine in its character than that of the Saxons by Charlemagne. "You may drive men to baptism," Alcuin had long before said to Charles, "but you cannot make them take a single step towards religion." And so these energetic rulers of the North, with whom Mr. Carlyle has recently made us in some measure acquainted, found it. The means by which Olaf Tryggveson and Olaf the Saint enforced the acceptance of Christianity by their subjects, show us that men in those days were ready to suffer mutilation, torture, and even death rather than renounce their ancestral Pagan faith. When, however, the new religion had once been recognized in its true features, the effect on the national character was immense. Dr. Maclear very happily compares the notable change that came over King Cnut after his conversion with that produced by the same influence on the whole Scandinavian race.

In the absence of much that is of historical interest in the productions of the English press, the attention of students may be directed to two works of genuine

merit that have recently appeared in France—the *Huss et la Guerre des Hussites* of M. Ernest Denis (Paris: Ernest Leroux), and the *St. Louis* of M. Wallon (Tours: Mame et Fils).

If we except the account given of Huss in the thirteenth book of Milman's "Latin Christianity," there is no good work on the great Reformer in the English tongue. A clever but very pretentious book relating to the whole Hussite movement appeared in 1863 at Boston (U.S.) from the pen of Mr. Gillett; but it was sadly wanting in accuracy, and was characterized by that tone of compassionate superiority which writers of a certain school are too apt to assume when they come to treat of præ-Reformation men and events. M. Denis's treatment of his subject, it is hardly necessary to say, is conceived on a larger scale than Milman's limits allowed, and he has been able to devote more attention to the special literature which recent research has made known. As a piece of historical writing, his production is one of rare merit, showing an admirable sense of proportion in the treatment of details, while the characters—those for example of Sigismund, Zbynek (the Archbishop of Prague), Jean de Jesenice, John XVIII., Michael de Causis, Pierre d'Ailly, and Jean Charlier de Gerson—are delineated with a care and skill of no common order. Both contemporary and modern authorities have been systematically consulted, from the artful and plausible misrepresentations of Æneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the hostile manifesto of Hajek de Libocan, and the venomous pages of Cochläus, down to the masterly researches of Palacky, Tomek, and Höfler; and the materials thus gathered have been woven into a clear and graceful narrative, which offers on several important points material modifications of prevalent theories.

Did Huss originally derive his inspiration from Wyclif? M. Denis thinks not. He refers back the whole movement to the scandal created by the corruption and inordinate wealth of the Church, and the consequent efforts of other Reformers in Bohemia, such as Conrad Waldhauser, Mathias de Janow, and Thomas de Stitny, to bring about a more satisfactory state of things. *Wyclif aurait pu ne pas écrire, la réforme bohémène n'en aurait pas moins donné le signal de l'attaque contre le système religieux du moyen-âge.* As for the story that Wyclif's doctrines were imported by the servants of Anne of Bohemia on their return from England, he shows that, while Anne died in 1394, the theological treatises of Wyclif (the *Dialogus* and the *Trialogus*) did not find their way to Prague before 1402. When they became known, however, their influence was considerable; and the adherents of Huss were spoken of as "Wyclifists" long before they bore the name of their fellow-countryman.

In discussing the effects of the great exodus of the German students from Prague (he estimates the numbers at something less than five thousand), M. Denis admits that none of the universities that arose out of that memorable disruption approached the Bohemian university in its influence as a scientific and literary centre. "Their influence," he says, "remained provincial in character; but this intellectual decentralization, so far from injuring the general development of Germany, became, by the creation at different points of new centres of mental effort and activity, one of the most effective agents in her progress, and imparted to her civilization one of its most notable features." The whole of this chapter brings out very clearly the close connection between the struggle at the university and the efforts of the party of reform throughout the Continent to bring about the assembling of the Council of Constance, and affords a remarkable proof of the relevancy of university history at this period to that of Europe at large.

As regards Huss himself, it is clear that he was very far from being a doctrinal reformer. His views in relation to the sacraments, the invocation of saints, and Virgin worship, were in perfect harmony with those of the Church of his day. His heresy, if such it could rightly be described, resolved itself into two points—the advocacy of greater freedom for the individual in the right of the private interpretation of Scripture, and a more uncompromising enunciation of the doctrine of Predestination than that of St. Augustine.

The second and larger part of M. Denis's work is devoted to the history of the terrible Hussite War, terminating with the battle of Lipan in 1433. The tenth and eleventh chapters are admirable specimens of masterly and well-condensed narrative, whether it relate to the contests of the assembled Council at Basel or to those on the battle-field. M. Denis calls attention, in particular, to the remarkable ability and learning displayed by the Bohemian delegates at the Council,

completely outshining the orthodox party, at this time no longer supported by the genius of Gerson. The incidents of the "Terreur Taborite" are also told with much vividness and descriptive power. Those acquainted with Palacky's "*Geschichte der Böhmen*" will already have a certain familiarity with the contents of this portion of M. Denis's volume, but can hardly fail to derive considerable pleasure from renewing their recollection of the facts through his charming and lucid French. To the majority of English historical students these pages will afford equal delight and instruction. In the meantime, the production is especially notable as evidence of the soundness of the theory which advocates the establishment of travelling fellowships in the English universities. M. Denis owes his familiarity with the Czechish literature, and the leisure which has enabled him to write the above work, to the adoption of that theory by the authorities of public instruction in France.

Very different from M. Denis's work is the gorgeous *St. Louis* of M. Wallon. On M. Wallon's merits as an author it is unnecessary to dwell. Without any marked brilliancy of style or originality of conception, he possesses a wide erudition, mature judgment, and the power of setting forth the results of his researches in terse and felicitous narrative. The success of his volumes on *St. Louis*, with their accessory illustrative chapters on the civilization of the period, has suggested the adoption of his work as the vehicle of a series of splendid illustrations of mediæval art. The present edition accordingly contains, interspersed with the text, upwards of two hundred designs of the architecture of the period,—ecclesiastical, military, and domestic; of its sculpture, miniature painting, and jewellery, together with facsimiles of MSS., such as letters of *St. Louis* himself, and of Thomas Aquinas, of the treaty between Louis and Raymond of Toulouse, and of that between England and France in 1258. The larger illustrations, chiefly by MM. Pralon and Garcia, are partly in chromo, and copied from fourteenth and fifteenth century MSS. Among a series remarkable for delicacy of execution and brilliancy of colour, that of *St. Louis* administering justice and charity (from a copy of the *Chroniques de St. Denis*), of his baptism at Rheims, and of the siege of Damietta, are especially noteworthy. There are also excellent engravings from paintings of subjects connected with the period by eighteenth-century and more recent artists,—such as Le Brun, Gravelot, Delacroix, Flandrin, Cabanel, Matout, and Merson. We have yet to mention four beautiful maps by M. Auguste Longnon: two of France in the years 1223-1226 and 1270; one of the ecclesiastical divisions of the kingdom, showing both the provinces and their dioceses; and one of the four "nations" that composed the University of Paris, indicative of the vast area from whence the "Sinai of the Middle Ages" assembled its surrounding multitudes. Altogether these pages will be found full of suggestive material and of valuable illustrations of thirteenth-century history, at a period when French civilization really began to represent that of Europe at large; and considering the very moderate price at which the volume is produced, its typographical beauty and genuine artistic merit, it may well excite the emulation of English publishers. A more attractive volume for a French prize in schools it would be difficult to find.

Students of mediæval history should not lose sight of the valuable aid afforded by the series of German translations in course of publication by Duncker of Leipzig, under the title of *Die Geschichtschreiber der Deutschen Vorzeit*. It is more than thirty years ago that this series was commenced under the direction of Pertz, and was carried on by him with considerable success. With his declining health and death in 1876, the undertaking came almost to a standstill, but has recently been again set in motion under the general editorship of Professor Wattenbach. A second edition of the "*Historians of the Lombards*," which has just appeared, has been revised by Dr. Reinhard Jacobi, and contains the *Historia Langobardorum* of Paulus Diaconus, together with all the passages bearing on Lombard history to be found in Anastasius's *Lives of the Popes*, in the Papal Letters, the hagiologies, and the monastic chronicles. There is also an excellent life of Paulus himself by Abel, which Professor Jacobi has revised. The translations are accompanied by short critical notes, and the whole volume, in clear and beautiful type, is to be had for three shillings. The series already includes fifty-five volumes relating to various parts of the period extending from the eighth to the fifteenth century; and scholars to whom Pertz's tall folios are not easy of access, may be glad to be reminded that the principal writers included in the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historie*

are to be had at very small expense, in readable German, and edited by competent scholars.

At the present time, when libraries and their catalogues are the subject of so much discussion and Birmingham is lamenting her irretrievable loss, a lecture delivered last year at Vienna by Professor Ludwig Fischer, and just published, on *King Matthias Corvinus and his Library*, will be read with interest. The famous Corvina library was collected by Corvinus at Buda, and in forming the collection he enjoyed the sympathizing assistance of Lorenzo de Medici and the scholarly aid of Politian. The library was completely scattered to the winds by the Turks after the battle of Mohacz in 1526, a calamity to learning which, in Hallam's opinion, transcended that of the burning of the Alexandrian library by Omar. What became of the books, fabled to amount to fifty thousand in number, was more than any one could tell. Some found their way to Vienna; a few more to Constantinople; but the vast majority remained totally unaccounted for. Even the contents of the library became a matter of considerable speculation, and the late Lord Strangford made diligent search in the portion preserved the in Seraglio on the Bosphorus in the faint hope of lighting upon the lost decades of Livy or some of the missing plays of Æschylus. The infant press of Hess of Buda had contributed a few printed volumes, but by far the greater part were manuscripts, at that time much more highly valued than the comparatively rude productions of the printer's art. According to Professor Fischer, the collection had already suffered considerably from depredators long before the battle of Mohacz. The successors of King Corvinus cared nothing for literature, and Wladislaus II. permitted foreigners to borrow without restriction. They availed themselves of the privilege with alacrity. Royal librarians, English abbots, German cardinals, and Viennese professors "borrowed" without the slightest notion of returning. In this way, some of the volumes found their way into the hands of Pirkheimer of Nuremberg, and thence, in the seventeenth century, into the collection formed by the Earl of Arundel, and are now in the possession of the British Museum. Masario, the secretary to the Venetian embassy at Buda, writing in 1520, after a cursory examination of the library, gives it as his impression that nearly all the more valuable manuscripts had already been abstracted. Professor Fischer has been at considerable pains to trace the subsequent fortunes of this ill-fated collection, which, after careful consideration, he is not inclined to estimate numerically at much over three thousand volumes. Of these he has identified at Buda-Pesth, Vienna, Berlin, Wolfenbüttel, and elsewhere, no less than sixty-two, while he has examined fifty-three more MSS. which, without being able to speak with certainty, he is inclined to believe were once a portion of the same library. The catalogue of these, appended to his lecture, will interest all lovers of books, and from its fulness of detail offers a good study of mediæval literature.

The shape in which Mr. Kingston Oliphant's little volume—*The Old and Middle English* (Macmillan & Co.)—on Standard English now appears, with numerous additions and another name, entitles it to be regarded as a new work. As a study of the history of the language it is distinguished by the care with which the author has sought to define the areas (whether north, south, east, or west) over which our early English dialects were spoken. The forms which, in the earliest stage of the language, serve to illustrate its affinities to that common Mother Speech from whence all the Aryan languages have sprung, have been the subject of special attention. A few references to M. Pictet's great work would however have been useful for the student. The periods which mark the principal changes in our English speech are somewhat differently given by Mr. Oliphant when compared with those in Craik, Marsh, and other writers. His sketch of Northern English, or Northumbrian, commences as early as the Ruthwell Runes, in A.D. 680, and brings us down to the Peterborough Chronicle in the year 1116. This is immediately followed by Middle English, which subdivides into—1. The Period of Cultivation (1120—1220). 2. The Period of Neglect (1220—1280). 3. The Period of Reparation (1280—1303). Then follows a chapter on the Rise of the New English, dating from Robert of Brunne's translation of the *Manuel des Pêchés*, which appeared about 1303 under the title of *Handlyng Synne*, a work which, in Mr. Oliphant's opinion, "more clearly than any former one, foreshadowed the road that English literature was to tread from that time forward." The final chapter,

on "The Inroad of French Words into English," is certainly the most amusing in the whole volume. Mr. Oliphant is an ardent advocate for a return to a simpler Teutonic diction, to the rejection of many words of French or Latin origin, and a general abatement of what he terms "the Johnsonese nuisance." His criticisms undoubtedly contain a good deal that is just; no one wishes to find writers talking about the "idiosyncrasies of unintelligent adolescents that existimate" instead of "the minds of dull youths that think" (p. 589). But, on the other hand, the subject-matter must often decide the question of the style. The Latin word undoubtedly often connotes certain niceties of thought which the Saxon word fails to supply; and the word-mint seems now and then to be under the necessity of modifying the currency to meet the wants of the age. We apprehend that in any attempt to render a page of Macaulay or Ruskin into the English of William Tyndale much of the charm of the original passage would be found to have disappeared. The occasional pomposity of Johnson, which offends a later age, is often the result of the structure of the sentence rather than of the diction; and a comparison of one of his pages with one of Macaulay or Ruskin would show that he uses, on the average, only three Anglo-Saxon words less than the former, and but one less than the latter.

It would be difficult to over-praise this volume for its vigour of execution, wealth of illustration, and felicitous method. For one particular use it is admirably adapted—viz., that of the teacher of English history, who will here find a collection of illustrative facts with respect to the progress of the language in connection with historical documents or specific events, which will often enable him to give, concurrently with a lesson on our political life, another on the development and changes of the national speech, which will add greatly to the value and interest of class-work.

Whether Mr. Barnes is a convert of Mr. Oliphant's we do not know, but in his *Outline of English Speech-Craft* (C. Kegan Paul & Co.) he puts forth a plea for the rejection of words of Greek or Latin origin in technical language, and the substitution of honest Saxon speech: e.g., for "annuity," "year-dole;" for "Latinism," "Latinishness;" for "solæcism," "folkswording;" for "protasis," "the hinge time-taking;" for "abnormal," "unshapely," &c. This reminds us of Dr. Johnson's "un-go-throughsome-ness of stuff" for "impenetrability"—a word for which Mr. Barnes does not take upon himself to suggest a substitute.

Mr. Adams's account of Winchester College (*Wykehamica: a History of Winchester College and Commoners*: by the Rev. H. C. Adams, M.A. James Parker & Co.) will be popular with old Wykehamists from the fulness of its information in connection with the annals of the present century. It contains good accounts of the masters, Drs. Burton, Warton, Goddard, Gabell, Williams, and Moberly; of the founding of Commoners; together with minute descriptions of school-life, including chapters on Games and Customs, and a Glossary of Wykehamical Slang. There are also some passable illustrations of the principal buildings and most familiar haunts. As a contribution to the general history of such institutions it is less satisfactory; and compares but poorly with Mr. Walcott's elegant volume, "William of Wykeham and his Colleges." Mr. Adams speaks of the eminent founder as "essentially the man of the middle ages," a description which he appears to consider is borne out by the fact that William of Wykeham founded New College and Winchester College. As regards his *motive* in founding the former institution, he appears to suppose that it was mainly to introduce order and discipline into the riotous Oxford student life,—in other words, was much the same as that of Dr. Burton in founding Commoners. A somewhat more careful study of Lowth would have saved him from this misconception, and he would have seen that Wykeham's foundation, like that of Colet, had its origin in a feeling of despair as regarded monastic foundations, where the designs and rules of founders were systematically disregarded. In this respect, William of Wykeham, like Walter de Merton and Colet, more resembled the men and the spirit of the sixteenth century.

Mr. C. W. A. Tait, in his *Analysis of English History* (Macmillan & Co.) founded on Mr. Green's "Short History," has performed his task with great care and accuracy. A judicious use of different type and of numbered paragraphs brings out the main

points very clearly, so as to render them discernible at a glance. The proper use of the volume will be rather for the teacher than the learner; but, apart from the work from which it has been compiled, it will be found a very serviceable outline for all who occasionally are desirous of recalling to recollection the salient features of any given period in our national history with as little expenditure of time and trouble as possible.

II.—POLITICAL ECONOMY.

(Under the Direction of Professor BONAMY PRICE.)

MR. H. D. MACLEOD'S aim, in his *Economics for Beginners* (Longmans & Co.), is to think out elaborately and to state accurately the principles of a science of Political Economy. He has taken great pains in the accomplishment of the task he set himself. To construct a strict science of Political Economy is what no writer has yet performed. If Mr. Macleod is not more successful than others have been, the fault will not be his: it will lie in the treacherous ground for such a structure to be built on furnished by the subject of Political Economy.

Mr. Macleod opens with a description of three schools of Political Economy: their failure in framing a science is not encouraging for his efforts to create a fourth. The first was the French Physiocrats. They defined wealth to be the material products of the earth, and asserted that neither commerce nor manufactures can enrich a nation. "This extraordinary doctrine" led to a reaction. A second school arose, beginning with Adam Smith and proceeding on to Ricardo, Mill, and their followers. The former defined Political Economy to be the science of the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth. On this Mr. Macleod remarks that Adam Smith called labour wealth, and how can labour be brought under this definition? Easily enough, surely. Labour, or the use of a man's faculties, like those of a horse, is a very efficient instrument in making and distributing wealth. A man gets a good place in the conception of wealth, precisely as a horse. Mr. Macleod further objects that Adam Smith speaks of bank notes and bills of exchange as capital, and so also, he adds, do all modern writers. This is far from being true; still less the inference that, by calling notes capital, since they are but rights or credits, "all modern writers include credit under the title of capital." There are very many who have escaped falling into such an unreality.

Nevertheless, the word "wealth" is a terrible word for the builder of a science. It has been the torment of economists. "It has puzzled philosophers," exclaimed Archbishop Whately. It is rooted in the universal language of mankind, and cannot be narrowed down to a single meaning put upon it by economical theorists. Thus it has forced them to take refuge in a third school, which defines Political Economy as the science of exchanges. But they must not delude themselves with the idea that they have escaped out of their trouble by substituting exchanges for the old phrase of Adam Smith. The question at once arises, Exchanges of what? "Of all exchangeable quantities," answers Mr. Macleod; and the science of exchanges means the theory of value or of commerce in general. But value is not commerce. There is value in every act of commerce, and in every exchange; but exchange is not value. Value precedes the exchange: it must be settled first. Value in exchange means price—a treatise on Political Economy which spoke only of prices would be a meagre affair indeed. Nay, more: every attempt to construct a scientific theory of value for all exchangeable commodities must be a failure. A science of value is an impossibility, quite as truly as a science of wealth. There cannot be a science of a subject-matter whose nature is variable and capricious. The word value has two meanings—first, esteem, a caring for an object, a feeling. A man values his old watch, which he has no wish to sell. Value, in this sense,

is the greatest force in Political Economy; but, unlike gravity and chemical affinity, it is subject to no definite laws. It creates a desire to acquire a thing; it encounters a counter desire in exchange to acquire money. Bargaining then takes place, and the price ultimately resulting is value in its second sense—market value. Will any science ever predict what market value will come forth from this higgling in exchange? Will it ever inform “beginners” or dealers what influence in determining value fashion will exercise, or taste, with their changes, or habit, as is seen in frequenting a known dear but familiar shop? Will it foretell the value on sale of a Raffaele, or old china, or a beautiful view from a house, or the £5 a bottle lately realized by old Lafitte claret? To talk of the law of supply and demand here is to say nothing: for demand is the very thing which cannot be brought under law; it is so often the child of sentiment or fancy. A science of moral feeling is often thought doubtful enough; but it is strength itself compared with a science of value as the ruler of exchanges.

What, then, do economical exchanges transfer? Wealth, replies Mr. Macleod, which he defines to be “anything which can be bought or sold or exchanged, whatever its nature may be.” Whately’s puzzling perplexity now falls on the men engaged in commerce. The sight of pictures in a gallery, or of a fine house, is daily sold for shillings; the pictures and the house are wealth undoubtedly; but is the seeing of them, which is bought and sold, wealth too? Is fashion, which is bought and highly paid for, wealth also? Let Mr. Macleod answer these questions, and reflect whether he will hold to his definition and its science! But there is an easier way out of the difficulty. Professor Perry holds that services are the things really bought in all exchanges; and that this is as true for the man who finds a diamond and sells it at a high price as for the tailor who provides a customer with a coat. Exchanges of services would be a far happier phrase than exchanges of wealth.

But services will not suit Mr. Macleod for the creation of a fourth school of Political Economy. He sees that the term wealth cannot be got rid of: so he makes it conform to his object. The history of his mind in this matter, we hope we may be allowed to say, is tolerably clear. He is a barrister, thoroughly fond of legal science, and endowed with much ability. He saw the dire confusion which prevailed in the press and in the City on currency and banking. He thought he had discovered amidst his legal lore a flash of light which would make these obscure subjects intelligible. It was a noble ambition: whether his spirited and laborious efforts have also been successful remains now to be considered. It struck him that the secret of the riddle lay in the legal phrase, incorporeal property. He made it his point of departure, and he was led into a new land. “Most persons,” he writes, “when they speak or hear of property, think of some things, such as lands, houses, &c.; but that is not the true meaning of property. It means the absolute right to use and dispose of something.” Thus the word property put Aladdin’s lamp into his hand, and “chaos disappears.” It gives him the expression right; and right makes all clear. “Right means ownership; and to speak of landed property, house property, and the like is to speak of rights to land and houses.” “To call material goods property is as absurd as to call them ownership.” A strange revolution in thought and language indeed: what will common life say?

Travelling along this road Mr. Macleod reaches “incorporeal property,” where there is no *corpus*, no matter in possession, but “a right to a thing, which may not even be in existence at the present time.” This incorporeal right or property is saleable: hence it is wealth. That a right to something which does not exist is wealth is an expression which certainly can claim originality.

The career of discovery is not yet ended. Money is found to be “a representative of debt, a right or title to demand something from some one else.” But what if a man refuses to exchange for money? has money lost its title and its right to demand? Again: “The especial and particular purpose of money is to represent the debts that arise from unequal exchanges among men.” But what unequal exchange is there when a man, be he jeweller or other, gives away a gold chain for sovereigns? He gets gold for gold, if he chooses to melt the sovereigns: if he does not, at any rate he obtains in the metal a commodity whose cost of production is equal to that of the hat or coat he sells. The exchange is equal, even if it stops there. Mr. Macleod is fond of quoting Aristotle: he should have marked the explanation of money given by the great Greek. He showed that money was one particular commodity, of the same general nature as all other commodities, selected arbi-

trarily to serve as a medium of exchange, to get over the difficulties of direct barter. Thus a purchase for money involves two exchanges: it is only half—not of an exchange, as Mr. Macleod puts it, but—of a transaction of procuring by two operations of the tool money the commodity desired. Each of these exchanges is perfectly equal, and there is not a particle of debt in the matter. It is a pure perversion of language to speak of debt here: this is not to clear away but to increase "chaos."

We are next treated to an original explanation, equally derived from legal territory, of the word currency. It does not denote, as most people suppose, that money (*currit*) runs about the town because any seller is willing to take it in exchange for his goods, but because "*it passes by delivery*"—the man who takes a sovereign is not obliged to give it back if that particular sovereign is found to have been stolen. The fascinating power of legal lore has seldom been more strikingly displayed. So again with "producer," who is described "as the person who offers anything for sale," so that every shopkeeper is a producer: and with "consumer, who, in the language of commerce, means the buyer." In the language of Mr. Macleod's law, it should have been said. And how about merchants? are they consumers? Then the derivation of consumer is peculiar. It comes, we are told, from the French "*consommer*, which comes from the Latin *consummare*, to complete or finish: *consummation* meant the completion of an exchange." Has Mr. Macleod forgotten the Latin—*Fruges consumere nati*?

We reach the culminating point of all this learning, the definition of Political Economy which constitutes what we call the fourth school, the great result obtained from incorporeal property. The syllabus of the Cambridge lectures declares, "Economics is the science which treats of the exchanges of property or rights." Not as "the Physiocrats said, that all exchanges are of products against products," but, as Mr. Macleod says, "of rights against rights." So then Political Economy is the science of exchanges of rights, of ownerships: rights, ownerships, are the subject of its teaching. What is this but to transplant Political Economy into the domain of jurisprudence? It is suffocated in law, it disappears. That this is so Mr. Macleod himself shows, for when he has ended with his science and the credit system, and passes on to profits, and rent, and wages, the talk about rights and ownership vanishes, and the reader finds himself in true Political Economy.

Ownership is plainly involved in every exchange carried out by free men; but it does not come to the fore, unless some special circumstance calls for the mention of it. No buyer at a shop or warehouse asks for the proof that the ownership of the goods belongs to the seller, nor, except in very exceptional cases, does ownership affect price. If, therefore, Political Economy is "the science of commerce," to describe it as the science of rights against rights is a pure absurdity, except, if it is taken thither, within jurisprudence.

Then what are rights, claims, debts, credits, which are pronounced to be wealth, for they may be bought and sold for money,—what are they? Words, and words only, either spoken or written. They are very powerful words indeed, for they are capable of calling in a force of great power of action; they can persuade a Court of Justice to employ the physical force of the nation to compel the performance of what the words declare: still they are but words and nothing more. Is Political Economy a science of words? Is all England to be told in every market that Political Economy is a science of words?

Nor is this all. Mr. Macleod has failed to perceive that debts, or in his language their equivalents, credits, are only deferred payments, of course with the words necessary to constitute ownership. Whether money is given at once, or the goods are taken away upon a covenant to pay for them a month later, the nature of the exchange remains the same, no new element is introduced into it. It is simply not completed at the time. The tradesman may discover that he wants the money due immediately, so he goes to his banker and says to him, "Buy this claim of me to-day, and I will reward you for the service done me." The banker buys the claim, but not a particle of new wealth is called into existence; all that has happened is that some money which was in the banker's hands has now passed into those of the tradesman. The fact that the banker has put himself into the place of the tradesman by purchasing the claim or debt, has not called a single new reality into being. Were it otherwise, then Mr. Macleod would have discovered a splendid contrivance for doubling, as by the wand of a wizard, the wealth of the nation. Let every owner of property transfer it to another man and thus create a debt, and the feat

is accomplished. The material wealth remains undiminished, and debt supplies a second quantity of wealth of equal amount and value. Why does not every Englishman realize this very agreeable result of the science of Political Economy? Credit is only another word for lending on trust. It is a system of business of immense utility, leading to great complications, requiring sagacity to understand, but generating advantages of extreme value. Banking, which is only machinery for lending, places wealth, substances, in different hands for use; but the system of banking credit, by this action, enables a vast increase of industry and trade to be developed. But the lending, the exchanging, the placing wealth in different hands, *by itself alone* creates nothing. It is to be feared, therefore, that the "ridicule" poured out by M. Say and his followers, of which Mr. Macleod complains, will not be extinguished by anything which he has said in this book. They will still conceive that credit only transfers some material thing, and they will continue to ask, "How can the same thing be in two places at once, and be used by two persons at the same time?" Property without a *corpus*, a substance, counts the thing bought on credit twice over.

We sincerely regret that want of space compels us to stop here, otherwise it would have given us great pleasure to notice many excellent remarks of Mr. Macleod on rent, profit, and other matters, when he has got clear of rights and ownership.

III.—CHURCH HISTORY, &c.

(Under the Direction of Professor CHEETHAM.)

IN *Montanism and the Primitive Church*, the Hulsean Prize Essay for 1877, by John De Soyres (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co.), we have a fresh addition to the excellent series of essays which have been produced at Cambridge of late years in competition for prizes. The soundness and thoroughness of its literary productions is one of many indications of the health and vigour of the theological school in that university. Whether Mr. De Soyres is older than the bulk of academical prizemen we do not know, but certainly his work shows no sign of immaturity. It is interesting, not only in itself, but also as a specimen of the very different spirit in which historical inquiries are now pursued from that which was usual in the last century. There was a time when Rationalists and Romanists alike regarded Montanus and his followers as a set of crazy impostors: now, every one who makes any pretence of being a Church historian must account for the rise of Montanism out of the earlier Church, and describe its influence in the later. Mr. De Soyres—like Arnold in the "Ketzer-historie" and some others—sees in Montanism not so much a deliberate heresy as a reaction against the innovating tendency which made itself felt in the Church in the second century. To use his own words (p. 110), it was an "exaggerated statement of fundamental and original principles, which, in a period of transition, would excite as much antagonism as the most violent novelty." He is not unconscious of the glaring inconsistencies and exaggerations into which the Montanists fell, but he looks at them sympathetically, and without sympathy is no true history. A very interesting portion of Mr. De Soyres' essay is that in which he traces the outbreak in almost every century of forms of spiritual excitement or rapture more or less similar to Montanism. He

"sees the same forces at work, the same reaction, the same results, in the Cathari and Waldenses of the middle ages; the Fraticelli and the 'Homines Intelligentiæ' in the Anabaptist sects of the Reformation; in the marvellous speculations of Jacob Boehme; in the wonderful spiritual revival of the seventeenth century—Fox and the Quakers in England, St. Cyr and Labadie in France and Holland, the Alombrados in Spain, Molinos in Italy, Spener and Petersen in Germany. . . . Swedenborg with his vast theosophic system simply gives form and definition to the revelations of the Phrygian

prophets sixteen centuries before. Edward Irving, in more recent times, completes the list of parallels, with his prophets, his unknown tongues, and his passionate revolt against the formalism of a callous age."

In his chronological table Mr. De Soyres places the first appearance of Montanism as early as A.D. 130. We are not quite clear that this is justified, but in a matter so obscure as the chronology of Montanism we hesitate to pronounce positively. But even if here and there we are not quite of the same opinion as Mr. De Soyres, we must admit that he has produced a work which no future student of the Church history of the second century can afford to neglect.

Unlike another famous Salamanca doctor, Dr. Titus Oates, Dr. F. G. Lee is by no means favourable to Protestant principles. Far from speaking of "the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities," as the first English Prayer-book did, he thinks that the Pope, in claiming spiritual jurisdiction everywhere, claimed no more than was due to the principal bishop of Christendom. His object in his *Historical Sketches of the Reformation* (London: Griffith & Farran) is to exhibit in bold relief the unpleasant side of the reforming process. And this is a perfectly legitimate object. It is not at all desirable that Englishmen should forget that many things in the reign of Henry VIII. were done brutally, nor is it necessary for one who believes that on the whole the Reformation was a benefit to the country to contend that every Reformer was a saint, or every Romanist a butcher. Whether Dr. Lee is specially qualified for the task which he has undertaken is another matter. To say that he is uncritical is very much to understate the case; he believes anything that Sanders or Harpsfield may tell him, particularly anything which is doubted by Liberals and Protestants, *i.e.* critics. He believes that Thomas Cromwell was at the sack of Rome; he believes that Henry VIII. sent a formal summons to Becket's grave, and held a mock trial upon him; he believes that he was in Wiltshire when Anne Boleyn was beheaded, and that the tidings were conveyed to him by the sound of successive cannon placed on the road; finally, he believes that dogs lapped up the same king's blood, thus fulfilling a prophecy. Dr. Lee has an antiquarian turn, and might be expected to have thrown some light on little-known events; we find, however, little new light. The "Author's MS. collections," to which he more than once refers, seem to contain nothing recondite. Nothing, for instance, can be more disappointing than the essay on Thomas Cromwell; here was a man little known, about whom we hoped that Dr. Lee would have discovered something; but far from telling us anything new, the essay on Cromwell contains nothing but one or two of the best known episodes in the history of the dissolution of the monasteries; Dr. Lee does not seem even to have consulted the latest Record publications bearing on the subject. Mr. Green in his *History* tells us far more of the man. On the whole, we doubt whether Dr. Lee is sufficiently in advance of ordinary students to be justified in publishing the results of his studies.

In the interesting work bearing the title *Our Established Church: its History, Philosophy, Advantages, and Claims* (London: Pickering & Co.), the Rev. Morris Fuller gives us even more than his title promises, for he has added a chapter on the Anglican ordinal. Its main object is to point out the advantages of maintaining the Established Church in England, and this subject is treated with great vigour and much learning. Nevertheless, the connexion between Church and State actually subsisting at this moment in this kingdom does not seem to be by any means Mr. Fuller's ideal; what he commends most emphatically is Cavour's "free Church in a free State," which is a very different thing indeed. His definition of an Established Church—which he insists upon more than once—is this: "An Established Church is the Church maintained by the law of the land in possession of that property which has been dedicated from ancient times to spiritual uses. It is the Church established in legal possession of the ancient ecclesiastical endowments of the country." But this definition differs in nothing but the use of the vague word "ancient" from the definition of the *status* of any other religious body: Roman Catholics, Baptists, Congregationalists, all alike are "maintained by the law of the land in possession of" their endowments; that the

one has "ancient" and the others modern endowments, is no essential distinction; the kind of property which a body may hold does not necessarily determine its relation with the State. The Church in France and in some other countries is *not* in possession of its "ancient endowments," but paid by the State; is it therefore not "established?" In truth, the Church which Mr. Fuller contemplates is one which most Englishmen would describe as "disestablished but not disendowed." For the peculiarity of the English Establishment is, that no man can hold any portion of the "ancient ecclesiastical endowments of the country" except on conditions prescribed or sanctioned by the State. This is the state of things which the friends of the Establishment defend and its enemies attack. What Mr. Fuller defends is an *endowed* Church, which has no doubt many advantages over an unendowed one; but hardly any one supposes that the country will maintain the Church of England in possession of its endowments, except on some such conditions as those at present in force. We may have a "free Church," and a free Church may be a very good thing; but certainly the "free State" will not maintain it in possession of its ancient endowments.

The Rev. A. R. Fausset tells us in his preface that his aim in publishing *The Englishman's Critical and Expository Bible Cyclopædia* (Hodder & Stoughton) is "to put within the reach of all Bible students, learned and unlearned alike, the fruits of modern criticism and research, and at the same time to set forth briefly and suggestively those doctrinal and experimental truths which the written Word itself contains." Though we feel disposed to quarrel with Mr. Fausset's application of the word "experimental" to Bible truths, we must confess that his plan of setting forth the verities of Christian doctrine and some of the chief results of Biblical criticism is, with regard to matter at any rate, very satisfactorily carried out. Thus, in addition to the articles on subjects which find a place in every Bible Dictionary, we have others on Inspiration, Justification, Predestination, &c. Mr. Fausset is, we believe, a well-known member of the "Evangelical" party, and therefore we need scarcely say what are the conclusions at which he arrives on these and similar vexed questions. When a single man undertakes so vast a work as a Bible Cyclopædia, we naturally find here and there some incompleteness. For instance, in a somewhat lengthy article on the Psalms, nothing is said with regard to the imprecatory utterances found in many of them, and though in the article on "Inspiration" we are referred to "Revenge," no article is to be found under that heading. We would suggest also that in days when we have heard such words as "Tartarus" and "Puteoli" fall from even ministerial lips, it would have been wise to mark the quantities of proper names, especially in a work intended "for learned and unlearned alike." The work is illustrated with numerous woodcuts of an interesting and useful kind, and furnished with a convenient index of texts, to which reference is made, and will undoubtedly give to many "the substance of most that is valuable in other dictionaries, though it is offered at considerably less cost." It is in fact a marvel of cheapness. A large volume in imperial 8vo, well printed on good paper, is offered for 18s.

Of *Theophilus Christianus: A Catechism for the Children of Christian Parents* (London: Longmans), we may remark that it is utterly unsuited for children. What would a child gain by being taught to speak of "a Supreme Being, to whom all things both in heaven and earth owe as well their existence as their continuance," instead of "God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth?" What would a child understand of God's "ultimate intentions" towards us, or of the "crude ideas" of God which are "incidentally set right" in the later books of the Bible? The little book is the work of some well-intentioned person who has attempted to draw simply from the English version of the Bible a strictly "undenominational" system of teaching. It is hardly necessary to say that Biblical theology does not admit of any such compendious treatment. What he has produced is a manual of popular theology with references to Scripture texts; without knowing it, he brought his system with him to the study of the Bible. With his conclusion, that "God is love, . . . and that the object of His dealings with mankind is to train up intelligent creatures who shall be in the end love like Himself," we entirely sympathize.

The Gospel according to St. John, in Anglo-Saxon and Northumbrian Versions: Edited for the Syndics of the University Press, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat, M.A.,

Erlington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon in the University of Cambridge (Cambridge University Press, 17, Paternoster Row), completes an undertaking designed and commenced by that distinguished scholar, J. M. Kemble, some forty years ago. He was not himself permitted to execute his scheme; he died before it was completed for St. Matthew. The edition of that Gospel was finished by Mr., subsequently Archdeacon, Hardwick. The remaining Gospels have had the good fortune to be edited by Professor Skeat, whose competency and zeal have left nothing undone to prove himself equal to his reputation, and to produce a work of the highest value to the student of Anglo-Saxon.

The design was indeed worthy of its author. It is difficult to exaggerate the value of such a set of parallel texts. In these volumes oldest English lies before us in various stages, and in at least two well-marked dialects. Of the Southern—the West Saxon—version of the Gospels, there are six copies extant. We say version, not versions, for Professor Skeat has pretty well proved that all these MSS. come from one original. The Hatton MS. is taken from the Royal, the Royal from the Bodley, and the Bodley, the Corpus, the Cotton, and the Cambridge have evidently a common origin. Thus in these six MSS. we have so many varieties of West Saxon, the variations springing from the fact that the copies were made at different localities, or by scribes from different localities, or at different times. For the other versions or glosses—of the St. Matthew, and in St. John xviii. 1—3, of the Rushworth MS., we may justifiably say “version” rather than “gloss”—one gives us the English of Northumbria. Aldred, the “glossator” of this MS.,—“I am named Aldred the son of Alfred, I who speak am the eminent son of a good woman, that is to say of Tilwin,”—belonged to the neighbourhood of Durham. The second so-called Northern version is in fact partly Southern, or at least Mercian. It was begun by one Farman, a priest of Harewood in Wharfedale, and he uses a dialect not greatly differing from that of Wessex. Possibly he came himself from the Midlands, or yet further south, or else the dialect of the West Riding was not then, that is in the tenth century, sharply separated from that of the Midlands. However this may be, it would seem that on completing his rendering of St. Matthew, he for whatever reason relinquished his task, and the rest of the work, with a very slight exception, was performed for him by one Owan, who followed pretty closely the gloss of Aldred. Thus the so-called Northumbrian versions are well-nigh one and the same, except in St. Matthew, of which the version is not Northumbrian at all, a fact not known to Mr. Oliphant for instance, as may be seen in his “Old and Middle English.”

Of the particular volume now before us, we can only say it is worthy of its two predecessors. We repeat that the service rendered to the study of Anglo-Saxon by this Synoptic collection cannot easily be overstated.

IV.—MODERN HISTORY.

(Under the Direction of Professor S. RAWSON GARDINER.)

PROFESSOR SEELEY'S *Life and Times of Stein; or Germany and Prussia in the Napoleonic Age* (Cambridge University Press, 17, Paternoster Row) is a book which is in itself sufficient to redeem the present publishing season from the charge of barrenness which, as far as historical literature is concerned, seemed likely to be brought against it. The title, indeed, may raise some apprehensions in those who are familiar with so many unfortunate attempts to portray the life and times of various heroic personages, in which the subject of the biography is almost entirely lost in a mass of details in which he is only indirectly concerned, whilst the details themselves are either left in incoherence or are so grouped as to deprive them of their real historical importance. With Professor Seeley no such danger is incurred. History is kept in due subordination to biography, and the course of public affairs is given in varying detail just in proportion as they are

connected with the work of Stein. The book is thus far better than its title promises. It is in reality a life of Stein, with an account of his influence on Germany and Prussia.

Professor Seeley's great merit lies in an unusual combination of biographical and historical power. As far as the first half of the first volume, indeed, is concerned the reader may have some doubts as to the truth of this assertion. Till Stein is brought into the centre of affairs the author seems to be somewhat at sea. In the account given of the course of German and Prussian politics up to the disaster of Jena, every particular point is made clear with thorough lucidity; but the narrative, as a whole, shifts backwards and forwards in a most bewildering manner. The reader feels himself like a passenger on board a vessel tacking out of port against a head wind. He perceives that he is making some progress, but if he looks out of his cabin window he sees the same buildings again and again presented to his view. The Principal Resolution of the Imperial Deputation, for instance, and the Battle of Austerlitz reappear so often that even a reader who has the general course of events at his fingers' ends wishes heartily to be rid of them, and the reader who knows very little about the matter is fairly puzzled.

When once the defeat of Jena is fairly passed no such complaint can be raised. Professor Seeley has found a pair of eyes to look through, and right good eyes they are. He does not, however, by any means, sink himself in Stein. He gives us sketches, instinct with life, of all personages of importance with whom Stein is brought into contact, and makes them known to us as they never were before. He is very far from ranking all these personages simply as Stein's enemies or Stein's friends. He takes account of difficulties caused by their character or circumstances. His judgments are always lenient wherever there is any possible ground for leniency, and if he had done no more than create a picture gallery in what he had presented us with such portraits as those of Niebuhr, Scharnhorst, Frederick William III., and Alexander I., it would have done very good service indeed.

Fortunately, however, the book is more than a biography or a collection of biographies. One of the main difficulties of the historian is to see each fact as it arises from two entirely different points of view at the same time. He has to keep clearly before him all the consequences of the fact which have since been developed, to see in it simply the seed of fruits garnered in later years for good and for evil, and at the same time to judge the actor as one to whom these consequences were entirely unknown. The power of doing this, combined with the power of tracing events to their true causes, stamps Professor Seeley as an historian as distinguished from the numerous writers about history who are always to be found in profusion.

Professor Seeley professes some surprise that his hero has hitherto been so little known in England. In a great measure this ignorance is easily to be accounted for by the uninteresting nature of German political life from 1815 till the day when the Battle of Sedan once more gave to it a European importance. But the best reason for this ignorance is contained in these volumes themselves. Stein's work was rather that of a living force than of an actual administrator of the State. With the most marvellous administrative gifts he had very little opportunity of putting them in practice excepting in local government. His career as a leading Prussian minister lasted little more than a single year. Of the three great measures with which his name is connected as a Prussian reformer, one, the abolition of serfage and the liberation of the land, was the work of others, and owes only its realization to the impulsion of his indomitable will. Another, the reform of the administration, was planned by him, but only brought into actual working in a mutilated form after his retirement from office; whilst the third only, the municipal reform, was both planned and executed by himself, though his intention to build a general representation upon the local representation was frustrated and never carried out in practice at all till after his death. It is surely not wonderful that in a system like the Prussian, where, as Professor Seeley constantly reminds us, there was no publicity whatever, the contriver of so many excellent things should have failed to flash into European notoriety.

An equally good reason exists why Stein's work for Germany should not have raised much echo across the sea. He was the heart and soul of the resistance to Napoleon in 1813. But his name was not definitely attached to any of the great acts by which that resistance made itself known to mankind. He did not organize armies like Scharnhorst. He did not command armies like Blücher. He did not

figure as the Prime Minister of his own sovereign, like Hardenberg or Metternich. What he did was for the most part done by private influence, not with the King of Prussia, who was frightened at his audacity, but with the Emperor of Russia, with whom he had no very close official ties. Where he did appear before the world it was as administrator of the German territories conquered from Napoleon, and this, as it happened, proved to be merely a temporary function.

In truth Stein's greatest claim upon the affectionate regard of posterity is derived from the fact that his life was for the most part a failure. His thoughts were too large to be carried out in any given lifetime. He was not indeed an originator. His administrative ideas were formed upon the model of Turgot; even his great German patriotism was inspired by historical memories, and his last contribution to the realization of it is the foundation of the *Monumenta Historica Germaniae*, which have done so much to build up the edifice of the future on the knowledge of the past. What is admirable in Stein is the fusing of so many elements into a living whole till he becomes a reservoir of fresh life too abounding for his immediate generation to profit by. In him are contained the movements of 1866 and 1870, as well as the movements of 1808 and 1813.

This is Professor Seeley's excuse for treating his subject biographically. His method doubtless has its defects, but it enables him to present the German movement in its completeness, though with much sacrifice of its details. His comparisons between the growth of Prussia and that of other nations are usually apposite and instructive. But it is strange that it did not strike him to compare the growth of Prussian institutions in the nineteenth century with the growth of English institutions in the twelfth. Thus the anarchy of Stephen's reign produced something of the effect of the disaster of Jena. The assize of arms may be regarded as an insular and mediæval counterpart of Scharnhorst's general military service, and the administrative and judicial reforms of Henry II. brought local liberties in connection with the crown long before a general parliamentary representation came into existence, just as Stein's municipal reforms of 1808 preceded by forty years the creation of a general Prussian parliament.

There is no sense of incongruity in turning from the life of the great German statesman to the simple and unaffected narrative in which the life of Matthew Davenport Hill has been recorded by his daughters (Macmillan & Co.). The late Recorder of Birmingham was a man of rich intellect and kindly disposition, whose mind reflected the better tendencies of his age, and gave them out again with a vigour which was all his own. He grasped politics from their highest, that is to say, from their social and moral side. The questions which interested him most were those which bore most distinctly upon the improvement of the generation in which he lived. His good work in the reform of our prison discipline will never be forgotten; but it is well to know how genial and many-sided he was. His daughters have done well to allow his letters, as much as possible, to tell their own story. Readers in search of wisdom, conveyed in a light and interesting way, cannot do better than turn to this book. Some of the letters refer to questions long ago decided. Others, such as those on the Permissive Bill, to questions still at issue. The book, however, contains matter for all readers, and grave argument is often pleasantly interrupted by an account of a trip to Paris, or of an election fight at Hull.

From the Recorder of Birmingham it seems but a short step to Mr. J. T. Bunce's *History of the Corporation of Birmingham* (Cornish Bros.), of which the first volume brings us down to the year 1851. It is hardly a book intended for the general reader, but it will be interesting to those specially concerned, and will be useful to the historian who wishes to get an insight into the working of a great English corporation in the present century.

Mr. J. A. Robertson's *Course of Lectures on the Government, Constitution, and Laws of Scotland* (Stevens & Haynes) is hardly up to the mark, as far as historical exposition is concerned. It is an odd way of describing the ethnological affinities of the Celts of Britain to say (p. 4) that they belonged to the Kimmerian race, from whom Camillus (400 B.C.), and afterwards Marius (100 B.C.) saved the Roman people. It is a sheer perversion of evidence to quote the famous passage in the Chronicle as saying (p. 29) "that the King of Strathclyde revered Edward,

King of England, as his father." Coming to later times, we find (p. 138) that the "solemn league and covenant"—Mr. Robertson means the National Covenant, which is a very different thing—was "signed in Scotland in 1638 for the maintenance of the Presbyterian form of worship, and in opposition to Episcopacy," a loose statement, which might pass muster in a leading article in a newspaper, but which a lawyer should have known better than to write. There is no direct attack upon Episcopacy as an institution in the Covenant, and the form of worship which the Covenanters at first defended had been in use under the Scottish bishops at least up to the date of the Assembly of Perth. The statement that James re-established bishops in 1606 is equally misleading. The operation was gradual, extending over a long series of years, and not finally completed till the Acts of the Assembly held at Glasgow in 1610 were ratified by Parliament in 1612.

The publication of the useful *Calendars of State Papers* by the Master of the Rolls goes steadily on. Another volume of Mrs. Everett Green's series, relating to the Commonwealth, has been recently issued, including the months from December 1652 to June 1653. The strictly official nature of most of the documents calendared makes the volume more interesting to the historian than to the general reader, though the latter will reap the fruits of Mrs. Everett Green's accuracy and industry in time, when the seeds which she is sowing have had time to grow up in the proper soil. It may be worth while to mention here that another volume of Mr. W. D. Hamilton's *Calendars of the Domestic Papers of the Reign of Charles I.* is almost ready for the press. It comprises the months from April to September, 1639, giving full and most interesting details of the story of the Short Parliament, and of the second so-called Bishops' War.

The Camden Society has issued, under the skilled editorship of Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, two volumes of the *Hatton Correspondence*, a series of chatty letters extending over the second half of the seventeenth century. Those who wish to know how things looked in the eyes of contemporaries will do well to turn to these volumes, always remembering that though contemporaries knew many things which we do not, we know many things that most contemporaries did not know. But this latter fact is one which we are constantly forgetting. It is worth while to be reminded, for instance, what men, who were not fools, thought of the execution of Lord Russell, which is now universally set down as a judicial murder. Of Lord Russell and his companions in misfortune, Sir. C. Littleton writes that "none of them made but very weak defences. My lord had nothing but to call some persons to give an account of what they knew of his life, to make him unlikely to be in such wicked designs he stood charged with." An anecdote told of this nobleman is probably true, notwithstanding the hesitation with which it is given. "Lord Russell is said (how truly I know not) to express himself that two ladies are more in misery than his; the Lady Essex and the Lady Howard of Everick, as being such an one's wife."

V.—ESSAYS, NOVELS, POETRY, &c.

(Under the Direction of MATTHEW BROWNE.)

MR. RICHARD HUTTON has done well to edit and reprint *Literary Studies*, by the late Walter Bagehot, M.A. and Fellow of University College, London: with a Prefatory Memoir (2 vols: Longmans, Green, & Co.). Mr. Hutton expresses his surprise that the greater part of the essays of his accomplished friend, published in 1858 as "Estimates of some Englishmen and Scotchmen," did not make any impression at the time, and his surprise will be shared by many a pleased if not instructed reader. The title just quoted was, indeed, as Mr. Hutton remarks, "singularly unattractive;" but it is hard work to find good titles, and

it is a matter in which publishers too often play a damaging part; while in this case it does not seem as if the title had much, if anything, to do with the failure of the book. It was reviewed, or at least noticed, very contemptuously in the *Leader*; but this was at a time when Mr. Lewes was no longer responsible for the literary matter, and was even anxious to have it known that he was not (as a private letter informed us), and the notice contained evident proof of either gross incompetence or private enmity. Still reviewers, as a rule, are an imitative race; one bad notice too often leads on a whole flock of others; and it was not universally known that Mr. Lewes had ceased to be the literary editor. The chief secret of the failure of Mr. Bagehot's book lay in the fact which Mr. Hutton has himself so happily seized and criticized—the "intellectual detachment" of his friend's manner. The effect of this was not felt (so much) in the later volumes on quasi-scientific subjects which were addressed to a new public, almost to a new generation; but Mr. Bagehot's manner was very peculiarly offhand. He said the truest, the keenest, and often the most humorous things as if they were nothing—his style had little *aplomb* with it: it was French for clearness of thought and neatness of touch, and English in its ultimate solidity of meaning. He had in him something of Hume, something of Hazlitt, and not a little of Sydney Smith. He was more genial than the first two; and indeed had a transcendental vein in him; but his hatred of humbug and pretence is unconsciously *obtruded* in most of his writing. He too often leaves a slap-dash or half slovenly thing to stand, just because he won't conciliate; there is a kind of *deliberate* undress about him. Now nothing offends the mass of readers worse than this—not pomposity, not even harshness, not dullness even. "Here is a fellow who snaps his fingers at us, and won't take the pains to pitch his clever things in a key that shows he wants to be attended to." That is the secret, or part of the secret, of the failure, be it greater or less, of Mr. Bagehot's literary essays to attract attention. Once let even a better class of readers suspect a want of strenuousness, and they will undervalue what you say; they will think you superficial; and the next step will be to pick holes. Mr. Lewes never quite commanded the attention that was his due—and the reason was what he himself used often to describe as his "specific levity."

But this is not quite all. In reading essays like these on Shelley, Cowper, and Milton, the most candid of us all, the most willing to admire (and we greatly like not only Mr. Bagehot but his type of intellect), are conscious of something wrong. There is much acute criticism, chiefly psychological; but sympathetic idealism and other necessary qualities for a complete critic seem deficient. The estimate of Milton's Eve (p. 216) appears to us as bad in its way as M. Taine's—which is saying a great deal. The paper on Shelley is (we think) better than that on Milton; but that on Hartley Coleridge, for some reason we cannot guess, better still, though not so full. Perhaps those on Bishop Butler and Béranger are the best; but perhaps it is only because we happen to like the author best in them. We do not present these remarks as *dicta* that are not to be disputed; for we are now in a sphere of criticism in which there is but little room for positive judgments.

The essay on "Pure, Ornate, and Grotesque Art in Poetry," and that on the "Ignorance of Man," especially the latter, we like very much; and the papers from the *Inquirer* (on the "Coup d'Etat") are well worth reading; but all must be taken in connection with Mr. Hutton's lucid and conscientious memoir—in which he has had the assistance of Mrs. Bagehot. The paper from which the man himself may be best gathered is that on Crabb Robinson, which must be vividly fresh in the memory of every reader.

Of Mr. Bagehot's power of moral analysis, the essay on "Sterne and Thackeray" is perhaps the best example. Compared with this, the more modern novelist's treatment of the author of "Tristram Shandy" shows like coarse canvas against Indian muslin. And there is this great lesson for us all in the difference we are now pointing out. Thackeray's writing about Sterne overflows with indignation and runs turbid with invective, but it makes no way,—not even by a hint. You are simply driven and pained, and end by puzzling more than ever over Eliza's poor "Brahmin;" while Mr. Bagehot gets at the secret of all the incongruities, explains the man, and repairs for you the faith in human nature which so strange a life had a little, or more than a little, broken.

Now we can hardly be too warm in our praise of a writer like this; for conscience has a great deal to do with the case—though, of course, to *that* we must add gifts which are as rare. How curious it is that we should have had transmitted to us

such very imperfect and puzzling accounts of men like Macaulay and Sterne and Byron! Of Sterne it may be said, if we please, that he lived before the era of psychology as we understand it; and, indeed, that is possibly true of both Byron and Macaulay. But they have both been on the dissecting table a thousand times, and yet nobody seems much the wiser. With the historian Mr. Bagehot is not so successful as with the great humourist; but he makes some splendid shots, and putting his results side by side with those to which Mr. Trevelyan's book now helps us, we may get near the truth.

It is with sincere regret that we add our apprehension that even now Mr. Bagehot will not receive due honour. He will undoubtedly be read, but he will be used as a quarry, and his name suppressed by writers who will know only too well what they are about. All his writings, even those which most nearly approach to an appearance of flippancy, are what an American wit has called "ovarian." Does he not considerably resemble Montesquieu? At all events, we shall gladly find that the fortunes of those bright, acute, and useful essays of a remarkable man far outrun our hopes for them.

This essay by Dean Church on Dante (*Dante: An Essay*, by R. W. Church, M.A., D.C.L., Dean of St. Paul's: to which is added *A Translation of De Monarchia*, by F. C. Church. Macmillan & Co.) is reprinted from the *Christian Remembrancer*. It was well worth reprinting, and the translation of the *De Monarchia* adds greatly to the value of the book. But the essay is not (to use Lord Bacon's phrase) to be swallowed whole. It is dogmatic and preceptorial rather than critical, in the usual sense,—though, of course, it contains fine criticism. After allowing handsomely for the fact that the space was limited and that much had to be said in it (which is clearly and powerfully said) we feel that the essay has all the characteristics of the theologian—it is a positive and unhesitating exposition or series of comments, in which the expounder "puts his foot down," upon his *data*, and, while ready enough to give what look like reasons, is in fact as far from giving reasons as the poet himself was. And thus, though in some respects the essay is a guide to Dante, it is highly desirable that the reader should know the poet pretty well, and the more free and radical of the criticisms passed upon him, before listening to Dean Church. No human being could tell from Dean Church's language what his own opinion was concerning "the sin" of Brunetto Latini, or what he would say if directly challenged in a quiet place with the question whether he held that there was or was not any blame—any grave and deep blame—to be laid at the door of the poet in a hundred or two hundred of such matters. It is very well to warn off "fastidious" readers from the "Divine Comedy"—let them go, and let Dante have all the allowance the most generous insight can prompt any one to ask in his behalf,—still, why should we submit to be hoodwinked? *Dare* we? It is not because Dante made a literature, was a very mighty soul, spoke with the piercing tongue of mediæval conviction, and steeped his poem in theology,—that we should flinch from inquiring whether there was not a tap-root of selfish hardness and injustice in the man. "Don Juan" is an irreligious poem; the Divine Comedy is religious: but a religious writer may have as much badness of "grain" in his character as an irreligious one. When we read "Don Juan," or "Childe Harold," or "Paradise Lost," or the "Morgante Maggiore," we do not hesitate to infer certain ill qualities in the authors. Why should we do so in the case of Dante, if upon an absolutely frank, uncommitted, and fearless reading of him we feel, with whatever grief, that there was much badness in the man, of a sufficiently awful kind too? That badness may have been of the very kind to ally itself easily with the mediæval theology and mythology, and get itself passed under consecrated standards; but how does that help either the man or the poem? As we have no doubt Dean Church's volume will be extensively read, we can, with confidence that we shall not be found uncandid, refer to pages 109 and 110, adding that, if we accept the parallel,—which is the key to the main position,—the gates of the question are reached, but the city is not taken.

It is somewhat alarming to be assured by Professor Knight (of St. Andrew's University) in his interesting and careful little book, *The English Lake District as interpreted in the Poems of Wordsworth* (David Douglas, Edinburgh) that "though Homer can be understood without a visit to the Troad or the Ægean, the power of Wordsworth cannot be fully known by one who is a stranger to Westmoreland."

But the thoughtful reader may, after some introspection and study, revive from the shock of this (we believe) false antithesis, and yet be thankful to Professor Knight for his handbook. It is always helpful to see favourite poetry set in new lights. In the Lecture on Wordsworth, Professor Knight remarks that this poet's writings may be used as supplying a valuable "guide" to philosophy from Heraclitus to Plato, and from Plato to Kant. At all events, they furnish an effective running commentary; but have they any *peculiar* merit in that respect as compared with the writings of some other poets? There is much to be said for the affirmative, but it is a disputable thesis after all.

The name of the Rev. Francis Hodgson, B.D., sometime Provost of Eton, one of the early friends of Byron, has often arisen of late years in the discussions which have followed, in more or less disorder, upon certain papers in *Macmillan's*; and we believe at least one paper by the reverend gentleman appeared in a magazine addressed to the question of Byron's character. We have now before us *Memoirs of the Rev. Francis Hodgson, B.D., Scholar, Poet, and Divine*, by his son, the Rev. James T. Hodgson, M.A., with numerous letters from Lord Byron and others (2 vols.: Macmillan & Co.), and can easily form an estimate of Mr. Hodgson's quality, especially as the first volume has for frontispiece a portrait. We should say Mr. Hodgson very much resembled the late Mr. Brock, except that he was a scholar and "a gentleman" in the usual sense of the word. He seems to have been a man of great sweetness and simplicity of character; one with whom anybody could get on. Byron speaks of his *bonhomie*, but the quality the poet had in his eye was more than that; it was something with a little child-like weakness in it. So says the portrait, and the tale told by the book corresponds. The Memoir of "the Doctor," as he was often called, is chiefly interesting as the setting for letters from Byron, Augusta Leigh, Lady Byron, and others. We shall pass no judgment, and shall offer no minute criticism, which, in the space we can spare, would only get us into a tangle; but Byron is here shown in a very amiable and quite English light, and Augusta Leigh as a perfectly commonplace, simple, even dull, gentlewoman: matter-of-fact, yet sentimental in a lady-like way; very affectionate, but tedious; just the sort of person to present her brother with a Bible accompanied by an orthodox letter, and to refer, as the coffin was on its way from Missolonghi to England, to "*the dear Remains*," all in italics. The touch is worth volumes, and if the reader of these flat letters,—flat but for the almost goody-goody kindness in them,—can easily make up his mind that there ever was what Mrs. Stowe calls "an hour of revelation" about the writer of them, his mind must be very flexible. One would as soon expect an "hour of revelation" about a bundle of visitors' tracts or a housewife's bag of goose-feathers. Well-nigh to the last, Lady Byron is in affectionate correspondence with her—and then there is a sudden snap of the chain, reminding one of the snap in the Jameson case, and that which Mr. William Howitt has recorded. One or two things in our impressions of Byron himself are much strengthened. He was capable of great generosity, and of being a faithful and unexact friend, though he was most capriciously and unaccountably forgetful. We read again and again of his turning deadly pale with emotion upon apparently inadequate causes, and of his being "absolutely convulsed with grief" at some parting with a friend. Good as Lady Byron was, it is too absurd to suppose that under any circumstances she could have made him happy, or he her. Not to pursue this subject now, let us venture to ask the reader who has Mrs. Augusta Webster's poems to turn to one entitled "*Lota*," read it through, and then put to himself the question—Would not Lord Byron's love for a woman have been something like that of the Italian in "*Lota*?" And what *could* Lady Byron have made of it? She might never have read "*The Deipnosophists*," and yet have read enough to have her head filled with dreams of pagan horrors. And then—?

Mr. Hodgson, the son, has adopted the excellent plan of printing what people call the "extracts" in the same type as the rest of the volume, but with a margin, for distinctness' sake. The ordinary plan of giving them in small type is ridiculous in a case like this, where they constitute the very essence of the book. How stupid is routine! The effect of the usual arrangement is, in the case of poetry, nothing short of ludicrous. Criticism is pretty easy reading, the reading of poetry is always arduous, even to those who love it,—perhaps we may say most arduous to those whose delight in it amounts to a passion,—and yet this latter is printed in the smaller type. The excuse is, the space that it would occupy if

printed in large; but the space might be got out of the prose, or the prose might submit to be concentrated.

This is a rather long digression, but the occasion was tempting and the subject is more important than it looks. And, indeed, there is little to say (in a brief notice) about Mr. Hodgson's book, except that it is gentlemanly and quiet considered as writing; but that the author is too apt to run off into "edification."

Of course Mr. C. Kegan Paul (add the words "& Co." and you have the publishers) does not anticipate a large sale for his *Mary Wollstonecraft: Letters to Imlay, with Prefatory Memoir*. Mr. Paul's memoir is exceedingly clear and compact, and any thinness of texture in the work is probably due to the fact that his duty being, as in previous labours of this kind, what might be described as a highly "sensitive" one, he was anxious to avoid all danger of misconstruction, and therefore wrote not a sentence which could suggest the pleader. The letters appear to be an exact reproduction from Godwin's edition—the publication being as blameless now as it was shameless then. We say "exact," because we have looked—as a fair and necessary test—at all the passages which *might* have been omitted or softened, and we find them frankly reproduced. The letters are exceedingly instructive.

But, unless we are to use the word Christian with extreme laxity, it is perhaps hardly fair to introduce Mary Wollstonecraft as a woman who "lived and died as a Christian." She was finally a Theist, and in our own day it cannot be denied that there are even Broad Church preachers whose quasi-Christian beliefs are less positively, and *much* less vividly held than hers, while of course there are Unitarians who take the name merely as a ticket of "historical continuity" and avow it. But "living and dying as a Christian" is rather strong.

Mr. Kegan Paul's verdict on the tradition (circumstantially and spitefully spun out in detail in Knowles's "Life of Fuseli") of a "feeling" on the part of Mary for the Swiss artist is peremptory—but not conclusive. He is equally peremptory in another place, in rejecting the tradition that Fanny Imlay, the "barrier-girl" of these letters, did not destroy herself for love of Shelley; but the evidence, slight as it appears, is dead against him.

Two portraits accompany these letters—the second of the two having an unauthenticated though scarcely questionable pedigree, the first being undisputed and indisputable. Our judgment is that there is no getting over the resemblance; the two faces are the same beyond all doubt. The second got into circulation without authority, through those "booksellers," who are always confusing literary history in some way by laxities, indirections, or worse—how many portraits (that of Cervantes for instance), poems, and prose writings have their competitive ingenuity made doubtful? The portrait now in question is by Opie, and every circumstance is in its favour but two—its publication was unauthorized, and Mary's hair, instead of being bright auburn, is powdered. Now it is argued that she would never have consented to powder her hair. And we agree. But may not Opie have powdered it *for* her, after the sittings were over?

We have not yet done with the portraits. Mr. Kegan Paul does not understand what Southey meant by the look of "superiority" in the Godwin likeness. But is it not very plain? In the "Gabriel" of Bessie Rayner Parkes (now Madame Parkes-Belloc) the mouth is spoken of as "haughty," and surely Mr. Paul will admit that there is a "haughty" air about the lady, though Southey objected to the word, and that one or two of the *Johnson* series of letters (omitted here, though we have them before us in Godwin's edition) were all but insolent?

The author of "Blue Roses" (which we had the pleasure of noticing as a good book not long ago) is fond of quoting, and she puts on one of the many fly-leaves in her new story the often-used quotation from Mr. Carlyle about novels considered as attempts to express "the significance of man's life." "'How knowest thou,' may the distressed novelist exclaim, 'that I, there where I sit, am the foolishlest of existing mortals? that this my long-ear of a fictitious biography shall not find one and the other into whose still longer ears it may be the means, under Providence, of instilling somewhat?' The answer none knows, none can certainly know; therefore write on, worthy brother, even as thou canst, even as it has been given thee." This is one of the many kindly, if double-edged, passages in the writings of the shaggy "sage" which are habitually overlooked. In truth there is no reason for being hard on a bad novel, or even for saying that it is bad,

unless it directly or indirectly claims kindred with good work. The same may be said of mere verse that is to serve a passing purpose, or amuse or instruct ignorant people. But though novels of mediocre quality may be passed over in silence, and sometimes even poetry, it is in the main a different question with the latter. If one cares for poets at all, the love is like a religion—

“ Blessings be with them and eternal praise! ”—

and it is so difficult for the best of them to get a hearing that it is a sort of duty to help to silence mere chirpers that have no claim to be heard at all. It is different (to quote roughly a sentence of Christopher North's) with “gowdspinks and yellow-hammers” who have notes of their own, truly melodious though small:—“Let them chirp unharmed near our encampment, let us praise their music, and pray that never naughty school-boy may harry their nests.” But usually a book of verse must be understood as asking the question, Is this poetry?—and by the side of that all other questions are indifferent. The plan adopted by a lately deceased gentleman already referred to by us this month was the only fair and good one; and he rarely made a mistake. If a book of verse does unmistakably show signs of being divine by more than the half-blood, if it has a fair number of lines which are unquestionably “magnetized,” pick it out at once, and decisively signalize its quality, whatever its faults may be. But if the volume be made up of reminiscence, literary skill, and poetic feeling, as it is called, do not waste time over it. Of late we have, too many of us, got into a way of spending columns of criticism upon good and bad points in volumes of verse, which ought at once to be put aside as not poetry. That question settled, what remains to say? Nothing that is worth saying, except that the writing of verse is an elegant recreation, and often a great help to the heart in a life full of emotion. We may make mistakes, but, after all, the eye for poetry, like the gift for producing it, is not an impossible thing, and it usually acts with great promptitude and decision—that lies in the nature of the case. The two chief points in which care is requisite are these,—that we have adequate recollections of what has been written before, so that we may not be imposed upon by mere reproductions of other people's phrases nicely and feelingly strung together, and that we do not allow special tendencies to mislead us. It is only too easy, with the help of a good memory and fair literary skill, to produce what looks like poetry, if we choose such topics as the sky, the sea, the forests, death, love, parting, patriotism, self-sacrifice, mothers' love, innocence. And it is, undoubtedly, in practice, rather scent than science which picks the true work from the false. With regard to novels the case is, to return, very different. One has but seldom to deal with work of very high pretension or quality; the boundary lines are fluctuating; and no “religious” love or homage binds us to strictness of judgment. Besides, the mere task of reading novels is long and tiresome, so that the mind often flags over it. But even here there is no need of wasting space either in praise or blame. Let the young and timid have warm words, but let us not write columns of “butter” and formal discrimination about writing which is really of no particular consequence one way or the other.

Fortunately, here are some capital story-books; the noblest and most striking being Dr. George MacDonald's *Paul Faber, Surgeon*. The author of “Vera” and “Blue Roses” has now written *Within Sound of the Sea* (2 vols.: C. Kegan Paul & Co.); and though it is not so impressive as “Blue Roses,” it is a book that will be read. It is entirely a Scottish story, deliberately written as such, dedicated to Lady Ruthven, who appears to have suggested the “theme.” The only English scene in the two volumes seems to be one at the Crystal Palace. The manse, the minister, the sea, the moorland, the miller, second-sight, simple loves and longings, with some very charming pictures of northern customs, make up two very interesting, often affecting, volumes. We presume the loves of the Rev. George Esslemont and Marian are meant to be the staple of the story; but some readers will care more for Hugh, the delicate son of the rough miller, while others will pick out the second-sight episode, “Katie's Keepsake,” and wonder why it was not kept by itself and used as a nucleus for another book rather than merely dropped in here. *Within Sound of the Sea* is, meanwhile, a novel of a kind which is not at all too common; short, natural, picturesque, never tedious, and thoroughly healthy. The authoress will see so plainly that we like her that she will forgive

us for pointing out that there is a real oversight in the last chapters, where Esslemont and Marian agree to marry. Marian, we are told, "struck her head passionately against the wall" and "gave a sharp cry." Well, this must have made a very decided, visible, red bump—one which in a few hours would be black and blue; but not the slightest notice is taken of what could not have escaped the eye of Esslemont. Now, near fifty though he was, we undertake to supplement this chapter of the story by informing the reader that the minister kissed the place and that they had a good laugh over it.

A stronger book in some respects, crowded with thought, full of traces of modern culture (perhaps too full), and over-weighted with "tendency" writing is *Elizabeth Eden*, by M. C. Bishop (3 vols.: Sampson Low & Co.). As a story it is "sensational," though in no coarse sense; and its half-parodies and almost labelled caricatures of well-known personages make it very amusing; while the high intelligence of the author maintains the respect of the least controversial of readers, even if his Protestantism scents the propagandist purpose afar off. We hope to have more to say about this novel (with some others), but must part with it now with a quotation and a remark. This is the author's picture of her hero:—"As he walked down Grosvenor Place, Mr. Dene looked every inch a freedman of the eternal Christ, confronting all that makes for evil as a good citizen of the Empire that has power to assimilate all good as it appears, in whatever form." Is not this rather strong? One of Wagner's critics says that in a passage of his music you see the Rhine, with the steamboats; in another, the stout burghers, and in another a troop of angels. And no doubt the expressive power of the human face and figure is great. But if a gentleman in his Ulster, walking down Grosvenor Place, can look "every inch a freedman," &c., "confronting all that makes for evil," &c., &c., may we not dispense with much reformatory agency of other kinds? On these terms London ought to be converted to Catholicism at the rate of a dozen crowded thoroughfares a day.

Mrs. Robert O'Reilly has written some of the most charmingly natural children's story-books that were ever produced. Many of them have the great advantage of being free from any but the most indirect kind of moralizing, and they delight simply by being delightful; which, if not a very clear or critical account of the matter, is one which everybody who reads Mrs. O'Reilly will admit to be satisfactory. There was one book of hers—"betwixt and between"—entitled "Cicely's Choice"—a grown girl's story—which struck us and still strikes us as being wholly good and artistic, as well as bright, and full of humour and acute observation of life. *Phæbe's Fortunes* (3 vols.: Strahan & Co.) is, we believe, the first "novel" of the same author, and it continues all the traditions, so to speak, of her children's books. This is in some respects a source of weakness, though the weakness was not felt when the story was passing through its own serial "fortunes." Mrs. O'Reilly is very happy in the art or the knack of getting incident and action revealed by means of conversation. This is a valuable gift, and is often a great relief to the reader of a crowded and weighty narrative; but the very frequent use of it does not add to the power of a novel when there is plain story which might be told otherwise. The strength of *Phæbe's Fortunes* lies in the natural grace with which incident follows incident, the perfect ease and truthfulness with which all the scenery is put in, and the *unstrained* threads of self-sacrifice, moral simplicity, and pious tenderness which run through all. Phæbe is an orphan girl of the middle class, whose father is killed off too soon, and who might well have been made a little stronger. She is partly taken care of by some well-to-do friends in the cathedral town of Calminster, but when she has discovered her poorer relatives, casts in her lot with them, and ends by marrying a musical composer. She is an extremely sweet and good girl, and the wish of not a few of Mrs. O'Reilly's readers will, we expect, be that she was shown in a greater variety of lights—in other words, that we were told less of poor, dirty children, and generally of the life of the poor in the lowest parts of great cities. But these things are in the air just now and get into the heads of all of us. Whether Mrs. O'Reilly could draw a thoroughly bad person or not, we do not know, or with what skill she would paint rich, hard-hearted, fashionable life; but it is certain that some stronger elements of contrast are lacking in *Phæbe's Fortunes* than any that we find there. Generally, we would say, let the reader get "Cicely's Choice," and rely that he will find

Phæbe's Fortunes the work of the same author. If the writing is never strong, it has the merit of never pretending to be so, and is always lucid,—except in the cases where some conclusion or suggestion which had better have been left to its own chance is imperfectly embodied in phrases with which no pains have been taken. We do not understand the proposition (p. 275, vol. iii.), "religion and life are one, and apart from one another nothing either of them." The meaning probably is that religion should enter into every part of our lives; but "religion and life are one" means nothing. The additional clause does not help, for, though life may be lived without religion, religion is not even conceivable without life. A small but not unimportant criticism concerns, not only Mrs. O'Reilly, but nearly everybody who writes of the life of the poor. There is assuredly neither truthfulness nor use in spelling *you* as "yer;" *you will* as "yer'll" and the like. On page 211, vol. iii., Fib of Nicholl's Row makes this little speech:—

"Manners and speaking right," said Fib, "them things is that puzzlin', as I don't want to have nothin' to do with 'em. Don, he learns fine; he may be a lady—leastwise, gentleman—if he will. I won't. I'll keep house for you and for grandfather, and that won't take no manners. Lor', whatever would you do if I was to be a lady! Cousin Phæbe 'll learn me good ways, and Bible ways, and to 'do my duty in that station,' which it says so in the Catechis'; and I don't want no more than that, and she don't want to give me no more, 'cause she said so once herself."

Fib never talked like that; and even if she did, we are so intolerably overrun with this kind of "patter" in the religious-philanthropic literature about the young which is fast becoming a nuisance, that a writer of Mrs. O'Reilly's fine faculties may well spare us. Even when it is done at first hand and well, a little of it goes a long way; and no one wants to be reminded, in the midst of really beautiful work, of the worst parts of "Oliver Twist." The scene about the "busted boots" is very good, but we find Mrs. Grippe sometimes saying "you'll" and sometimes "yer'll," without any apparent reason for the difference.

When we had just glanced at *Among the Welsh Hills*, by M. C. Halifax, author of "After Long Years," "Gilbert's First Voyage," &c. &c. (Groombridge & Sons), we wondered how it was that we did not know something of the author's former writings. Whether that is our own fault or not, let us at once say that she has much sweetness, naturalness, and quiet humour. All that relates to children and lads and lasses, in this tale of one volume, is excellent, and the whole is pleasant and readable. The story looks a little as if it had originally been made in three or four pieces, but *Among the Welsh Hills* is a book too good to be slighted, and we shall be pleased to hear again of so unaffected and wholesome a writer.

Dr. George MacDonald's *Paul Faber, Surgeon* (3 vols.: Hurst & Blackett) bears, like all the author writes, the stamp of genius—a commonplace remark, but it sets the book apart by itself, which is what we intend—and for another reason we shall take it as heading a whole class of novels. "Paul Faber" is a surgeon, who marries a casual patient of great beauty and intelligence. After marriage she confesses that she had "a past" of a certain kind, when she was much younger. Paul himself had had "a past" also; but he cannot, at first, forgive his wife. That is the centre of the story. The episodes are, to say the least, exciting—vivisection, transfusion, *twice*; an inundation, a great deal of mystery, a wonderful bit of tunnelling; with Mr. Wingfold, curate, and Mr. Polwarth and Ruth "all over the shop." The characters write, or read, or sing verses on the smallest provocation, and generally Mr. MacDonald seems to have determined this time that he would have it all his own way—versing at will, prosing at will, and romancing at will. Fortunately the autocrat in this case is a poet in the maturity of his powers, an exquisite prose writer, and a fair soul, who fascinates us all. The result is that *Paul Faber* will stand well in line with other stories which the author has given us, and will be read more than once by everybody who likes it, while the exciting incidents will be a strong recommendation to a large public. And to the critical reader it is as good as a play to follow the canny devices by which the author keeps that delicate silver spade of his out of the stiff clay of the diggings. Some of the writing is, as might be expected, of a high order of beauty. A point which we reserve is, that as a reasoned lesson in the higher ethics it evades the very difficulty it professes to solve. The wife of Paul Faber

was guilty of more than a *suppressio veri*—there must have been deliberate, acted fraud of a peculiarly offensive kind. But that is not the main point, though it must count for much. The question of the function and policy of some recent "tendency" novel-writing we will hope to consider apart, including in our notice the following books, which are all good, the first being the best:—

Homo Sum: A Novel. By Georg Ebers, Author of "An Egyptian Princess," "Uarda," &c. From the German, by Clara Bell. 2 vols. Copyright edition. Sampson Low & Co.

A Hero of the Pen: A Novel. By E. Werner, Author of "Under a Charm," "Success, and How he Won It," "At the Altar," &c. From the German, by Sara Phillips. 2 vols. Sampson Low & Co.

Of the work next to be mentioned there is a second translation, under the title of "Sacred Vows:—

At the Altar. Translated from the German of E. Werner, by Mrs. Parker. 2 vols. Sampson Low & Co.

Sacred Vows. By E. Werner. Author of "Success, and How he Won it," &c., &c. Translated by Bertha Ness. 3 vols. Remington & Co.

To these we propose to add *Junia*, by the author of "Estelle Russell,"—already noticed in this department,—and a novel by "Ouida," who has done the CONTEMPORARY REVIEW the honour of introducing it into her pages.

IN POETRY there are at least two volumes which come so close to certain borderlines in poetic writing as to raise questions that require a little attention:—

Lautrec. A Poem. By John Payne, Author of "The Masque of Shadows," "Intaglios: Sonnets," "Songs of Life and Death," "The Poems of Francis Villon, done into English verse," &c., &c. Pickering & Co., London. And

Songs of a Wayfarer. By F. Wyville Home. Pickering & Co., London, 1878. These also we reserve, with one or two others.

BELIEF IN CHRIST: ITS RELATION TO MIRACLES AND TO EVOLUTION.

I.—DOES THE NEW TESTAMENT MAKE MIRACLES THE BASIS OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH?

IT is evident, even to those who would gladly think otherwise, that the old-fashioned orthodox opinion on the relation of miracles to faith has of late years been seriously shaken. Every one remembers the simple and logical form of the argument by which the Christian religion was commonly supported. It may be stated thus:—A revelation needs supernatural evidence to accredit it. The claims made by Jesus Christ were such as could not have received the assent of reasonable men, unless they had been sustained by supernatural attestation. But there is adequate proof that those claims had miraculous support. Miracles may be wrought either by the power of God or by that of the Evil One. It would be absurd to suppose that it was the Evil One who gave our Lord the power to do his mighty works, and who raised him from the dead. If it was not the Evil One, it was God. We conclude, therefore, that the message and claims of Jesus Christ ought to be accepted, because God himself has attested them by miracles. Our belief in Jesus Christ and his Gospel rests upon our antecedent belief in the New Testament miracles.—When miracles were thus laid as the foundation on which the structure of the Christian faith was erected, it was natural that those who were critical about the faith should direct their attention primarily to the miracles. Were these sufficiently demonstrated? This became the question of questions. And the Christian mind has been for some time increasingly uneasy on this point.

There was in recent times a disposition on the part of sceptics to affirm that a miracle was an impossible thing. What was a miracle? It was answered, that a miracle was a suspension of a law of nature. Those on whom the uniformity of nature had begun to make a strong impression allowed themselves to be hurried into incautious assertions

about the *à priori* impossibility of such a thing as the suspension of a law of nature. These assertions became the occasion of innumerable volumes in which orthodox apologists contended for the *à priori* possibility of miracles. It is clear that to deny such a possibility is an extravagance. A philosopher may feel as sure as he can be that no law of nature has been or will be suspended; but he is not warranted in laying down as an axiom to which all rational men must assent, that under no circumstances and for no object could a law of nature be imagined to be suspended. We may assume it to be conceded at the present moment that miracles are not to be denied on the ground of *à priori* impossibility.

But the adequacy of the evidence in support of the New Testament miracles is questioned more strongly than ever. The Gospels are pulled to pieces; it is required, with ruthless stringency, that we should prove, in accordance with the ordinary laws of historical evidence, that they were written by eye-witnesses of the events recorded, and are now printed as they were first written. We are reminded of the ease with which reported wonders are accepted by an uncritical age which believes in miracles. We have examples produced of the assent given by intelligent men in later times to stories of miracles which now carry no conviction to our minds. We are called upon to admit that any very improbable occurrence requires to be supported by stronger testimony than one which has nothing wonderful in it. And—what perhaps affects us most—we are asked what degree of attention we pay now to reports of alleged miracles, and what kind of evidence we should require before we should thoroughly believe a miracle to have been wrought. It seems irreverent to compare the mighty works of the New Testament with the spiritualist miracles of our own day; but we cannot deny that respectable testimony of eye-witnesses has been produced in support of accounts of tables dancing about in rooms, and living persons floating in the air; and yet most of us do not feel bound to accept whatever spiritualists may teach, as being attested by supernatural evidence. If we Christians say to unbelievers, "You are bound to receive Christianity because miracles were wrought in attestation of it," we cannot think it unreasonable that they should sift the evidence in support of the miracles with critical incredulity. They only do what we should do now, if any one claimed to be sent from heaven on the ground that he possessed supernatural powers. In such a case, we should begin by being incredulous; and it is difficult to say what sort or amount of evidence we should finally accept as conclusive. We all know that it would take a good deal to convince us. Are we satisfied then that, from the point of view of an incredulous philosopher, the evidence in support of the reality of the New Testament miracles is as strong as what we should require to persuade us that a dead man was raised to life in London yesterday, or fifty years ago?

I am unable to see that that is not a perfectly fair question. The truth is, that we do not willingly put ourselves at the point of view of an incredulous philosopher. We begin by reverencing the Gospels and believing in Jesus Christ; and we cannot bring ourselves to approach a New Testament narrative with the same suspicion with which we receive the report—say of a miracle at Lourdes. We think an Evangelist ought to be treated respectfully, and not cross-examined like a modern peasant. And attempts have been made to modify the old thesis into something like this—that, when a miraculous event is related by such a person as the writer of one of the Gospels, it ought to be more readily believed, and then it may serve, as before, to sustain a supernatural revelation by supernatural evidence. Such a position may appear less untenable, because it recognizes the objections to which the older and simpler thesis is liable, and because it has the convenience of being indefinite. But it does not really meet the substantial difficulty, that the evidence in favour of the New Testament miracles is not sufficient, according to any modern estimate, to demonstrate what is so improbable as the suspension of a law of nature.

But it has often happened in the history of the Church that, when Christians have been driven from the maintenance of any position, they have found that it was one which they ought never to have held. And it is one of the strongest grounds of our confidence in Holy Scripture, that in these instances a new examination of its books has shown that it gave no support to the doctrine or method which has had to be abandoned. So it is with regard to the relation of miracles to Christian faith. That order—miracles first, then the authority of the teacher thus accredited, then the truth which the teacher communicates—is not found in the New Testament nor derived from its pages. The Scriptural theory of the way in which Christian belief is created is a very different one.

It is sufficiently clear, I think, that the primary appeal of our Lord and of his Apostles is always to that which may be called the filial element in human nature, to that in man which recognizes and responds to the grace and truth of the Father in heaven. It was never assumed that men could not believe in Jesus Christ until they had seen a wonder and made sure that it was supernatural. The distinction, indeed, between the natural and supernatural, which has formed so important an element in the modern arguments on this question, was not familiar to the minds of the contemporaries of Jesus Christ, to whom nature itself was supernatural. A miracle was a wonder, not a suspension of a law of nature. But wonders were wonders, and were no doubt regarded as signs of Divine support or interference. Nicodemus said to Jesus, "We know that thou art a teacher come from God, for no one can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." And our Lord according to the Gospels did mighty works, wrought signs

and wonders. But then it only becomes the more remarkable, if we can perceive that the main appeal was not made through the wonders, nor to the sense—whatever it was—that could appreciate the wonders, but to the moral or spiritual apprehensions which could recognize grace and truth.

When our Lord first began to address his countrymen, it was in the same words which had been spoken by John the Baptist. He proclaimed the kingdom of heaven, and called men to repentance, as John had done. Now John did no sign. I hardly know how those who have talked about a revelation requiring supernatural attestation would regard the ministry of the Baptist; but our Lord said of him, that he was a prophet and more than a prophet, and many of his countrymen believed that he spoke with Divine authority, and yet he wrought no miracle. Our Lord began his ministry with the Baptist's announcement. It would seem from what the Evangelists tell us, that he called some of his chief disciples, and that he taught with a manner of authority which astonished the people, and with gracious words which fascinated them, before he began even to heal the sick. The faith of Simon and Andrew, of James and John, was not created by miracles. They believed in their Master before they saw his mighty works.

I take the following illustrations of our Lord's own thought and feeling on the subject, first from St. Matthew, and then from what modern criticism prefers to call the Fourth Gospel.

In the Parable of the Sower Jesus is describing and analyzing the results of his preaching in Galilee. He had been sowing the announcement of the Divine Kingdom, and he contemplates the various receptions of the seed. There is nothing in the parable to bring miracles to the mind. Jesus marks the hardness, the shallowness, the worldliness which hinder the seed from bearing its fruit; but there are some amongst his hearers neither hard, nor shallow, nor worldly, but with a heart for the good announcement, who take it in and keep it, and in whom it brings forth fruit. After some part of the same experience, reflecting on the same facts, seeing how the cities in which most of his mighty works were done were not moved to repentance, but how simple-minded fishermen had welcomed his teaching, Jesus realized and declared that it was his Father's will to hide the things of the kingdom from wise and prudent persons, and to reveal them unto babes. And then, as with outstretched hands, he utters his yearning appeal, "Come to me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." He had wrought miracles in Chorazin and Bethsaida and Capernaum in vain. But some, who had little knowledge and open hearts, who needed deliverance and comfort, and were willing to be blessed with the trustfulness of sonship, had had the grace of the Father revealed to them.

Full of this same thought, and anxious to make his disciples sharers.

in it, our Lord more than once used actual little children to illustrate it. "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven." What could the little child, whom he called unto him and set in the midst of his hearers, know about the miraculous and the non-miraculous? And the kingdom which Christ brought down from heaven amongst men claimed for its proper subjects those who had the receptive, guileless, trustful dispositions of little children.

Jesus evidently recognized such dispositions in the Galileans whom he attracted to be his friends, and chose and appointed to be his envoys. We have reason to believe, as I have said, that Jesus called and won the sons of Jona and the sons of Zebedee without the use of mighty works. The most forward of these was Simon. Impulsive and affectionate, but wanting in stability, with as little as possible of the critical and suspicious temper in him, Simon Peter has the honour of holding the foremost place in the acknowledgment of the true nature and character of his Master. "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." "Blessed art thou, Simon Barjona," said his Master, when he had made this confession. But how had he been convinced that Jesus was the Son of God? Was it through a severe scrutiny of the miraculous element in his works? The Lord's answer is, "Flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven." No one who understands anything of our Lord's teaching will doubt that he refers in these words to the drawing and revealing power which the heavenly Father put forth in spiritual action upon the consciousness of the penitent and loving disciple.

Such is the testimony of the earlier Gospels. The Fourth Gospel, which offers so many baffling problems to the critical inquirer, is admittedly of much later composition, and represents the result of theological reflection upon the life and work of Jesus. Being of this origin, and containing some wonderful narratives, it seems to sustain the allegation that it took time for the marvels mentioned in the New Testament to become associated with the life of Christ in the imagination of his followers; although the lifelike simplicity of the story of the raising of Lazarus, of which there is no hint in the earlier Gospels, is allowed by critics to be little in harmony with the notion of a mythological legend. But the doctrine that miracles are not the proper ground of faith is more explicitly stated in this Gospel than in the others. We read, indeed, at the end of the second chapter, that many at Jerusalem believed in his name, when they saw the signs which he did. But let us see what follows. One of those who were thus impressed was Nicodemus. He came by night to offer his support to Jesus, having inferred from the signs he had wrought that he was a teacher come from God. But instead of being welcomed, he received a repulse. He was mistaken in supposing that Jesus desired support won by a display of signs. Jesus answered him, "Verily, verily, I say

unto thee, Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." The kingdom of God was for those who submitted to the invisible influence of the Spirit and to the outward washing in which men confessed themselves to be sinners and asked for forgiveness. The Evangelist represents Jesus as positively offended by the natural effect produced by his miracles. He did not value the wonder they created, or the adhesions which they procured him. He met an entreaty that he would heal a dying boy with the remonstrance, "Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe." This drew from the father an appeal of anguish—"Sir, come down ere my child die"—which proved that he was thinking of his child, and not of a miracle; and thereupon Jesus granted his petition. The question which we are considering is definitely raised in the sixth chapter. Certain of the Jews said to Jesus, "What sign showest thou, that we may see, and believe thee? What dost thou work?" They wanted a sign, for example, like that of the manna which fell from heaven in the wilderness. The answer of Jesus was in the same tone as his answer to Nicodemus—"I am the bread of heaven. . . . But you have seen me, and believe not. All that the Father giveth me shall come to me: and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out." Always the same thought, that he was come to give blessing, and that only the filial-hearted could receive the blessing. A little further on he says, "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him;" and again, "There are some of you that believe not. . . . Therefore said I unto you, that no man can come unto me, except it were given him of my Father." What could miracles do to create the faith which Jesus desired? Nothing at all. They might make men wonder; they might stimulate hungry and ambitious desires; but it was not in their nature to generate repentance, or the desire of righteousness, or love. The sheep that really follow the Good Shepherd do so because they hear his voice. They recognize the Master of their spirits in his gracious words, in his acts of sacrifice on their behalf.

But, to go on to a further stage, Did not the resurrection of Jesus, it will be asked, become the ground of the disciples' faith? And was it not through their testimony to this miracle that they won out of the world believers in their risen Lord?

It is certain, I think, that it was by the conviction that their crucified Master was alive and had been claimed by the Father as his Son, that the Apostles and their companions were themselves raised up from the despair into which his death had thrown them. But it was not exactly as a miracle that our Lord's resurrection impressed them. I am taking now the New Testament narratives as authentic. The great fact for the disciples was, not that an astonishing miracle had been wrought, but that death had not had dominion over their Master. He had died, but he lived by the power of God. The angelic forms, the empty

tomb, the appearances of Jesus to his disciples, carried them on to an assured belief in him as alive in the unseen world. But they did not go back to these things to dwell on them as supernatural. It was enough for them that they could confidently look up to Jesus,—the Jesus of their memories, the Jesus of the Galilean lake and of the cross,—as at God's right hand. When they proclaimed him to their fellow-countrymen, they declared that they were witnesses of his resurrection, but what they wished their hearers to believe was that the defeat of the cross had been turned into victory, that death had been conquered by life, and that Jesus Christ was now sending down the Holy Spirit and granting repentance and forgiveness to men. These things occupied their minds as facts, not as having come to pass miraculously. The Apostles appealed with this their testimony, as their Master had done, not to the critical faculty, but to the consciences and hearts of sinful children of God.

This comes out clearly in the case of St. Paul. He, too, was made a witness of Christ's resurrection. That is, he had a vision of Jesus as alive and identified with his Church. He succeeded, no doubt, to all the beliefs of the other Apostles about the phenomena of the resurrection; but he knew nothing of these by his own knowledge. As a miracle, St. Paul's seeing of Christ had no demonstrative power in it. He could not speak of it to opponents as anything but a vision. Even if what he saw of Christ had been seen by a score of other persons at the same time, it would have implied nothing as to a miraculous change of the body laid in the tomb. And accordingly in his apostolic mission, whilst he bears witness with the utmost confidence to the risen Saviour, he makes no attempt to extort the assent of the sceptical by demonstrating supernatural phenomena. What could he have said to this effect, when he preached at Athens or at Rome? That he, an unknown stranger, had one day seen a vision in which a man who had been put to death professed to be alive in the other world, and that he was acquainted with other Jews who said they had seen the same man in still more remarkable appearances after his death. That sort of statement, from an unknown stranger, would have been weak evidence in support of a much less improbable occurrence than the recalling of a dead body from the grave. But St. Paul never thought of forcing the resurrection of Christ as a miracle upon the incredulous. He tells us at the beginning of the First Epistle to the Corinthians how he preached Christ, and on what evidence he depended. Nothing could be more explicit or more conclusive than his account. The things which God had prepared for them that loved him—namely, reconciliation and redemption through Christ—had been revealed to him, Paul, by the Spirit, and he communicated them by the same Spirit to others. "Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with

spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." And he seems expressly to put miracles aside, as appealing to the carnal man. "For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom: but we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumblingblock, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God." In these chapters the Apostle of the Gentiles tells us himself how he commended Christianity—to use our phrase, when he would rather have said Christ, or the Gospel—to Gentiles. Does not his account prove to demonstration that his method has been abandoned by those who make miracles the basis of the Christian faith?

But if neither our Lord nor his Apostles sought to produce the faith they desired by first satisfying their hearers that laws of nature had been suspended, what are we to think of the wonderful works of which we read so much in the New Testament?

I should be travelling beyond the immediate subject of this paper in attempting to give a full answer to this question; but it will be desired, perhaps, that I should not pass it wholly by. It would seem, then, that we shall feel a little more at ease, shall be able to breathe somewhat more freely, with regard to the New Testament miracles, if we see that the Gospel glories in being above them and independent of them. They constitute a secondary consideration; and the offer of peace with God, in appealing to the sense of sin, to the desire of righteousness, to the instinct of gratitude, leaves miracles on another and a lower level. But it does not follow that Christ did not really do mighty works because he did not bring them forward as his indispensable credentials. It is a saying which of late years has often been repeated, that whereas formerly miracles were held to prove the Gospel, now it is the Gospel which proves the miracles. There is solid truth in this epigrammatic statement. We see in the Gospels that wonderful works were chiefly for those who believed. Though this may now be said with a sneer, it is undoubtedly so declared in the New Testament. It is the theory of the Evangelists that wonderful works were wrought by Christ to reward and deepen and enlarge the true faith, but not to extort it. The Scriptural order is,—grace and truth first, then miracles; not miracles first, then grace and truth. Sick persons who believed had the cures wrought upon them. Only believers in Jesus Christ saw him after he was raised from the dead. The testimony of the Apostles was accepted by those to whom the offer of God's forgiveness of sins commended itself. So now, if we believe in Jesus Christ because his light has shined in our hearts, our minds will be in what might be called a credulous attitude towards acts of his reported in the same breath by those who proclaim reconciliation to the Father through him. It seems to me absurd to see in Jesus the Son of God,

and to find any difficulty in his doing works such as no other man has done ; or to see in him the Saviour of the world, and to imagine that it would have satisfied our reason better if the record concerning him had stopped with his giving up the ghost on the cross. If any prodigies are associated with his life which are mere prodigies, in which we can discern no spiritual or revealing virtue, we shall be right in being sceptical about them. But it is the acknowledged distinction of the New Testament miracles, that—with scarcely an exception—they are manifestly true to their alleged character as the Father's works. They have light from heaven in them. If any one challenges us to produce historical demonstration of them which can overpower hostile incredulity, let us surrender them to his scepticism ; they were not given to coerce unbelievers into faith. If any one has yielded as a penitent sinner to the grace of him who calls the heavy laden to the joy of repentance and trust, let such a one hold himself free to accept or to reject the miraculous element in the Gospels. It is easy to prophesy which will be his choice.

II.—EVOLUTION NOT MORE INCOMPATIBLE WITH DIVINE, THAN WITH HUMAN, FREEDOM.

WE commonly think of the law of Evolution as having to do with the production of the different species of animals and plants. As an explanation of the manner in which the various forms of life on the globe have come into existence, it has gained wide acceptance. It is very far indeed from being a complete account of creation, and the range over which it rules is the subject of keen and well-sustained controversy. It leaves, by universal admission, the first beginnings of things still unexplained ; it always postulates matter in some form, prepared to undergo change. Men of the highest authority in science declare that they see no satisfactory evidence of the natural growth of vital matter from non-vital. It is further urged that the intermediate forms between species and species are not so discoverable as they ought to be, and that there are wide lacunæ in the "record of the rocks" between species differing greatly from each other. But on the whole the evidence in favour of Evolution as a principal law of creation has been growing steadily, and has received from time to time astonishing accessions of confirmatory facts. Men are everywhere surrendering their minds to it. It is coming to be accepted as

a general rule—whatever exceptions to it may ultimately be found to be irreducible—that the movement of creation has been continuous, the changes from one sort of thing to another being like what we see going on now in the growth and propagation and variations of plants and animals.

But the law of Evolution is not satisfied with the dominion of the physical world. It sees other realms to conquer. It is being confidently applied to mind as well as to nature, to history and morals as well as to the changes of matter. Society, ethics, religion, all, it is said, have grown from the most rudimentary beginnings, and the one question of interest is how—by what processes and in what order and relation—they have grown. If we knew all that was at work in the sphere of human thought and feeling at any given time, we should be able to foretell, it is alleged, what would follow; that is to say, there could be nothing really contingent, no interference proceeding from any world above nature, no addition from without to what previously existed. The development of morality is explained by the naturally increasing predominance of the social over the individual affections. Men found that they became stronger by holding together; the interests of the family, the tribe, the nation, asserted themselves over those of the single member; these interests created the feeling which we call that of obligation; men now, through the growth of the social consciousness, feel themselves *bound* to subordinate self to the good of their neighbours. Special kinds of consciousness have been developed through varying circumstances in particular societies; and from time to time an individual has the common consciousness more vigorously developed, just as another may happen to be taller or more healthy than the other members of his society. The growth of religion in its various forms is similarly explained as being due to natural causes, and especially as having its origin in fears suggested by darkness and death.

It would seem that all investigation and all theories must be profoundly affected by the law thus brought to bear upon them. A remarkable essay by Mr. Goldwin Smith, entitled "The Ascent of Man" (*Macmillan's Magazine*, January, 1877), may be taken as a measure of the influence exerted by this scientific conception on cultivated thought. It seems to him to be doing nothing less than revolutionizing all the serious opinions of mankind. The concessions he is ready to make to it in the departments of historical, ethical, and religious belief constitute an almost absolute surrender; "*jamjam effici dat manus scientiæ.*" He contends, however, that the Evolutionists have no right to deny a cause and a design. He holds that beyond this process of natural development we may supply the origin it needs by a belief in a First Cause; and that it is a probable opinion, that the development is in accordance with a purpose and design of its Originator. Mr. Goldwin Smith pleads that some kind of Theism may

therefore survive the general destruction of beliefs brought about by Evolution; but anthropomorphism, in which he appears to include all that is special in Christianity except the habit of cherishing an ideal, he holds to be doomed.

Now, to my mind, this able and lucid writer concedes too much and not enough. He recognizes that great havoc is wrought in all theories of morals by the unqualified acceptance of the principle of Evolution; but he stops short of a plain admission that, on these terms, the idea of Duty is absolutely destroyed. We may think of morality, he says, as the gradual rejection of the baser animal elements from our nature; and by such a view, "individual responsibility will be reduced within reasonable limits." But what is there in the theory of Evolution, pure and simple, which allows responsibility within any limits at all? The *sense* of responsibility must of course remain as a fact—the Evolutionist of the most advanced type cannot deny that; but then he will regard it as a deceptive disguise assumed by habit. The idea of responsibility can only be justified by conditions which stand apart from and above the process of natural development. If those conditions are excluded, responsibility is reduced—not "within reasonable limits," but to an absurdity. Guilt and merit, praise and blame, hope and fear, are rendered wholly irrational. It is a just regard to antecedents and circumstances, such as considerate persons endeavoured to entertain before Evolution was heard of, that reduces individual responsibility within reasonable limits; if there is nothing but Evolution in human life, responsibility is reduced to a nullity.

We stop short, as a matter of course, at whatever expense of strict scientific orthodoxy, before we arrive at conclusions which involve us in practical absurdities; and only the hardiest theorists venture to tell us that we are nothing but mechanical automata. But there is no such insuperable obstacle to prevent historical criticism from looking back and interpreting the past history of mankind on pure Evolutional principles. It is undeniable that, when we study any passage of history, whether individual or general, the more thoroughly we understand it, the more gradual its course appears to be. Each action or condition seems pretty well accounted for by what existed before it. To trace events to their causes seems a way of really explaining history, and commends itself at the same time as the most interesting, the most rational, and the most instructive method of study. It is no more than might be expected, that Christianity is being freely dealt with in this manner. The most strenuous attempts are made to interpret it like any other feature of the history of the world, and to account for its origin and progress by natural causes. The difficulty of doing this is very great. The first question that puts itself to those who would grapple with it is, "What think ye of Christ?" Then follows the task of explaining the work of the

Apostles and the spread of Christianity. Much appears to be done towards answering the first question when the Messianic hopes of Israel are thoroughly understood. Certainly it was most natural that Messiahs should arise in the age of our Lord. But then the inquirer has to estimate the character of Jesus as a Messiah. And on this subject the ablest and most unfettered speculators are arriving at very different conclusions. Some think that the figure of our Lord in the Gospels is altogether unhistorical, the product of the popular imagination of three or four generations; others, like M. Renan, believe Jesus to have been a person of most delicate and highly-endowed organization whose brain became bewildered till he fancied himself the Messiah and Son of God; Mr. Matthew Arnold, perhaps alone, holds that he deliberately assumed these pretensions in order that he might transform the Jewish ideal from that of a conquering prince into that of a mild and reasonable teacher. Again, how came the disciples to believe that he was risen from the dead? Much progress towards the explanation of this belief of theirs appears to be made when it is realized that people were then very ready to believe in a resurrection, so that even a Herod could say, "It is John whom I beheaded: he is risen from the dead." That a story of the resurrection of Jesus might become current, is credible enough. But the speculator is compelled to form some conjecture as to the part played by those into whose hands the body of Jesus was given. Did his followers make away with it, and give out that he was risen, and keep the secret of their fraud? Or did they delay their assertion of the resurrection till irresistible evidence against it could no longer be given? To the acute mind of Mr. W. R. Greg the problem of explaining what became of the body of Jesus appears so difficult a one, that he has long held that the only way of escaping from the acknowledgment of the resurrection is by supposing that Jesus was still alive when he was taken down from the cross, and that by an agreement between himself and those who were aware of the fact and concerned in the matter he withdrew himself to some region where he was unknown and from which he never again emerged. As to the propagation of Christianity, there is much that demands explanation from those who see in the disciples ordinary Galilean peasants who had had the advantage of being followers for a short time of an extraordinary man. How their faith could have survived his ignominious death, how it could have been sustained how they could have conspired to form the society called the Christian Church—on these questions the believers in natural development have the advantage of whatever light can be thrown by the history of Mormonism. The career of St. Paul—whom M. Comte regards as a more important founder of Christianity than Christ—is a secondary and less serious difficulty. Nor need we insist on the subsequent enlargement of the Church as presenting an insoluble problem on the Evolutionist hypothesis. The primary questions are these two: What is to be

thought of Christ? What is to be thought of the work of the Galilean Apostles?

I assume that we feel the force of the arguments in favour of Evolution, and are anxious to recognize it in its due place and sphere to the utmost of its claims.

Let us go back to that consciousness of moral responsibility which we cannot help regarding as an absolutely necessary element in human life. We have two facts before us relating to human action—the one, that both in the bodily organization and in the sphere of thought and feeling there is, so far as our observation goes, an unbroken continuity, of such a kind that it may be logically argued that the freedom of the human will is altogether an illusion; the other, that every man feels in himself, and assumes in every other man, a power of choosing whether to act in this way or in that. It would evidently be utterly hopeless to persuade any human being to live as an automaton, wholly destitute of choice and will. Human life absolutely and uncompromisingly contradicts such an assumption. Yet the Evolutionist can find, in all that is subject to his observation, no trace whatever of the interference of a choosing will. Dr. Carpenter, who has made a special study of the action of nerve-matter in relation to mind, though he stoutly maintains free-will and responsibility, can only do so as one of the unscientific; he cannot point out how or where the spiritual will makes itself felt by the nerve-matter which is modified in accordance with the processes of thought. We are compelled therefore to hold that *will may act upon the course of thought and feeling without producing any discernible disturbance in its continuity*. Possibly our experience in dreams may offer some illustration of this paradox. An external noise, like the ringing of a bell, may be woven into the tissue of a dream as if it had an orderly place prepared for it from the beginning. At all events, that will does modify action, and that the course of action will present to the scientific eye such an appearance of strictly necessary development as excludes the possibility of modification by the will, is a double conclusion from which there is no escape. And we accept this paradox out of deference to the higher moral reason, and the consciousness of freedom and responsibility.

Now Christ, as we see and hear him in the Gospels, appeals for recognition to our spiritual instincts or faculty. He claims to be from heaven, to have an authority and a work and a nature quite different from and superior to those of an extraordinary man. According to the mere Evolutionist hypothesis, he is a casually developed product of the social consciousness of his time. To Christians it is wholly impossible to think of him in this character. We accept him, in the main, as what the Gospels declare that he professed himself to be—as the Son, sent by the Father to bring men to him in filial knowledge and affection. We are therefore what the Evolutionist would call super-

naturalists. The Nature of which he studies the growth knows nothing of such exceptional features as those which we recognize in Christ. But we should be false to our higher moral apprehensions if we forced ourselves to regard Jesus Christ as nothing more than a remarkably good and gifted man. The hypotheses offered us by M. Renan, by Mr. Arnold, by Strauss, we find, one after another, to be intolerable.

Are we then of necessity contradicting the Evolutionist on his own ground? Not of necessity. If it is certain that the will of each man can modify the course of nature without any discernible disturbance of the natural order, it is at least conceivable that the Son of God should enter into the natural order without any discernible disturbance of it. What we have to believe is that this visible order and sequence, with all its smooth connexions and inosculation, is subject to a higher unseen Will, and may be turned and moulded and used, whilst no mortal eye can detect any rupture in it. It would be objected at once, "What are such events as the Conception and Resurrection of the Jesus of the Gospels but the most violent ruptures of the continuity of the natural order?" In dealing with a negative Evolutionist, I should ask leave to postpone my answer to that question. I should ask him to tell me whether he could himself think of Christ as having any kind of mission from heaven, without emancipating himself from the restrictions of his theory. If he cannot, there is no use in going any further with him. It is clear that our Lord addressed himself primarily to the moral consciousness of his hearers. The only belief and adhesion that he valued was that which was rendered to his spiritual authority. If we as his advocates follow in his steps, we shall not invert his method by attempting to build up discipleship on the foundation of external miracles, and then going on to belief in the heavenly nature and authority of him who was the subject or worker of them. The great question which Christ puts to men, at the beginning as well as at the end of their knowledge of him, is whether they are so devoted to the will of the Father that they can recognize him as coming from God.

To ascribe a mission to Christ in any real sense or degree is to accept a supernatural or super-Evolutional fact. And when once this is done, Evolution, though it remains most interesting and wonderful, ceases to have that domineering character which is now so freely claimed for it. It may be perfectly true that the course of things has been so ordered from the beginning as never to show any rupture of continuity; but what is this law, in comparison with the fact that there is a God in heaven who sent his Son Jesus Christ into the world to be the Saviour of mankind? To his will, Evolution, however apparently regular, must be at all times absolutely flexible. He knows how to accomplish his ends without breaking the laws of nature. It is conceivable that there might be many a *saltus*, as it

would seem from our remote point of view, in the past work of creation, and yet that if we were able to inspect the process closely, every change would appear to us to be gradual and evolutionary.

Those who have thoroughly believed in Jesus Christ as the Son of God, and who are at the same time thoroughly familiar with the mode in which God evolves things from their antecedents, will come with the right preparation, I think, to the question of miracles, such as those which Christ wrought, and such as his Resurrection and Conception. They will have a distaste rather than a craving for the marvellous, and they will think it in the highest degree improbable that any event that ever occurred in the world exhibited a perceptible rupture of continuity, or, in other words, broke the laws of nature. But there is something so undeniably exceptional in the coming of the Son of God, that they are debarred from affirming that nothing exceptional ever occurs. It seems reasonable to expect that one coming to do the work for which Christ was sent, should have something exceptional in the accompaniments of his arrival and life and departure. The presumption would be (1), that there would be quite exceptional occurrences; (2), that they would be congruous to the spiritual work of Christ, and not merely strange; and (3), that they would be so wrought into the tissue of the world's order as to be as natural as anything else.

The work of the Apostles in founding Christianity is referred by themselves to a special operation of the Divine Spirit. That the Spirit of God should work in men's hearts and minds has nothing in it more incredible or inconsistent with the natural order than that men's wills should work on their own lives and on the lives of others. The ordinary present operation of the Spirit does not break the evolutionary sequence. If we believe that the introduction of Christianity, or the creation of the Church, was an altogether exceptional occurrence like the coming of Christ, we shall hold that it was in the highest degree probable that there would be at that time an exceptional force and warmth in the Spirit's operation, attended by uncommon outward manifestations and results, but that there would be the same working of these things into an unbroken order as that which I spoke of just now.

Let me in conclusion restate my positions.

(1. Our moral and rational life compels us to believe that the visibly regular order of things is subject to the modifying power of the human will.

2. No scientific insight can detect, or has the least hope of ever detecting, the point or mode of the will's action upon the life, mental and material.

3. Our higher spiritual instincts constrain us to accept the Christ of the Gospels as a real and veracious person.

4. The heavenly nature and mission of Christ, as claimed by himself, are super-Evolutional, like the human will, but not therefore anti-Evolutional.

5. If the moral authority of Christ is such as to command our submission, we should rationally expect that his coming, and the establishment of his kingdom, being exceptional in the spiritual sphere, would be attended by exceptional outward incidents, but we should expect also that there would be nothing in the coming to pass of these incidents to break to the human eye the gradual and continuous connexion of things

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

THE ANOMALY OF THE RENAISSANCE.

BURCKHARDT: *Die Cultur der Renaissance*.
PATER: *Studies of the Renaissance*.
SYMONDS: *Renaissance in Italy*.
PASQUALE VILLARI: *Il Rinascimento* (first volume of
Machiavelli ed i suoi tempi).
MICHELET: *Renaissance* (*Hist. de France*, tome vii.).

THE Renaissance has left us its portrait in the works of its artists: it looks down on us from fresco and canvas as a world compared with which ours is one of puny, artificial mediocrity. Can we think differently as we look up at the deeply thoughtful statesmen and scholars in their long, dark robes; at the corsleted generals, with their calm, severe glance; at the frank, vigorous young men, in tight jerkin and hose; at the grandly beautiful women, who serenely smile upon us? All these are the living men and women of the Renaissance, unidealized; but there needs only a little less realism, a little more artistic freedom, an ampler throw of the drapery, a greater breadth of gesture, to convert these men and women into apostles, archangels, youthful saints, and Madonnas.

Yet, despite all their realism, their childlike, noble fidelity to nature, their love of every existing detail of dress and manners, the artists of the Renaissance have, it would seem, given us a lying portrait of their times; do not believe them: the world which they have painted strong and beautiful was in reality weak and base; those statesmen and scholars of Masaccio and Mantegna were selfish cynics, those warriors of Verrocchio and Giorgione were dastardly mercenaries, those youths of Perugino and Signorelli were ribald profligates, those women of Titian and Andrea were impure traitresses; that seemingly youthful and hopeful world was a rotten and crumbling one.

This is what a critical study of the Renaissance seems to teach us more and more emphatically—a painful shattering of our illusions, a bitter mixing up of what we love in art and what we loathe in man; and the very writers who have shown this strange anomaly of good and evil seem to have received a shock from their own discoveries. In almost all recent works on the Renaissance we may perceive an

uneasiness of mind, a more or less painful state of vacillation and doubt, an uncertainty whether to approve or to condemn, a disquieting consciousness of the necessity of constant apology and exception, a dreariness resulting from the contemplation of a chaos of virtue and vice, of life and death. Few, like Michelet, can push on through Renaissance corruption, serene in the consciousness that this corruption is a mere momentary phase of evil, necessary to the attainment of good; the consolation is too easily forgotten in the presence of that perplexing medley of what is best and what is worst. Burckhardt, in his deep conviction of the moral worth of Renaissance art, seems constantly attempting to hide from himself the worse features of the times which produced it; his excellent book is too evidently an apology and an attenuation. On the other hand, Mr. Pater, by far the subtlest and most brilliant writer on the subject, shows himself too complacently permeated with the consciousness of the moral uncertainty of the Renaissance, and is prone to see the impurity of the time in its only pure product, its art; while the two most recent, most impartial, and most learned of the writers on the Renaissance, Mr. Addington Symonds and Professor Pasquale Villari, candidly acknowledge the painful double impression which they are constantly receiving, lending to their works a strange, mournful tone. Both appreciate the Renaissance, sympathize with it, admire it fervently; yet both are deeply impressed with the fact that all this period of revivification, of intellectual revival, was one of utter moral dissolution; that what seemed to be a regeneration was in reality a vast national, political, social, and moral collapse.

At the end of the fifteenth century, Italy was the centre of European civilization: while the other nations were still plunged in a feudal barbarism which seems almost as far removed from all our sympathies as is the condition of some American or Polynesian savages, the Italians appear to us as possessing habits of thought, a mode of life, political, social, and literary institutions, not unlike those of to-day; as men whom we can thoroughly understand, whose ideas and aims, whose general views resemble our own in that main, indefinable characteristic of being modern. They had shaken off the morbid monastic ways of feeling, they had thrown aside the crooked scholastic modes of thinking, they had trampled under foot the feudal institutions of the middle ages; no symbolical mists made them see things vague, strange, and distorted; their intellectual atmosphere was as clear as our own, and, if they saw less than we do, what they did see appeared to them in its true shape and proportions. Almost for the first time since the ruin of antique civilization, they could show well-organized, well-defined States; artistically disciplined armies; rationally devised laws; scientifically conducted agriculture, and widely extended, intelligently undertaken commerce. For the first time also, they showed regularly built, healthy, and commodious towns, well-drained fields,

and, more important than all, hundreds of miles of country owned not by feudal lords, but by citizens; cultivated not by serfs, but by free peasants. At the same time they possessed, at least a century and a half before any of their neighbours, a perfectly developed language and a mature literature; soon after they became the sole possessors of rationally interpreted antiquity, and, to crown all, they produced art such as had not been seen since the great days of Greece. While in the rest of Europe men were floundering among the stagnant ideas and crumbling institutions of the effete middle ages, with but a vague half-consciousness of their own nature, the Italians walked calmly through a life as well arranged as their great towns, bold, inquisitive, and sceptical: modern administrators, modern soldiers, modern politicians, modern financiers, scholars, and thinkers. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Italy seemed to have obtained the philosophic, literary, and artistic inheritance of Greece, the administrative, legal, and military inheritance of Rome, increased threefold by her own strong, original, essentially modern activities.

Yet, at that very time, and almost in proportion as all these advantages developed, the moral vitality of the Italians was rapidly decreasing, and a horrible moral gangrene beginning to spread: liberty was extinguished, public good faith seemed to be dying out, even private morality flickered ominously; every free State became subject to a despot, always unscrupulous and often infamous; warfare became a mere pretext for the rapine and extortions of mercenaries; diplomacy grew to be a mere swindle; the humanists inoculated literature with the filthiest refuse cast up by antiquity; nay, even civic and family ties were loosened, assassinations and fratricides began to abound, and all law, human and divine, to be set at defiance.

The nations who came into contact with the Italians opened their eyes with astonishment, with mingled admiration and terror; and we, people of the nineteenth century, are filled with the same feeling, only much stronger and more defined, as we watch the strange ebullition of the Renaissance, seething with good and evil, as we contemplate the enigmatic picture drawn by the puzzled historian, the picture of a people moving on towards civilization and towards chaos. Our first feeling is perplexity; our second feeling, anger; we do not at first know whether we ought to believe in such an anomaly; when once we do believe in it, we are indignant at its existence. We accuse these Italians of the Renaissance of having wilfully and shamefully perverted their own powers, of having wantonly corrupted their own civilization, of having cynically destroyed their own national existence, of having boldly called down the vengeance of Heaven; we lament and we accuse, naturally enough, but perhaps not justly.

Let us ask ourselves what the Renaissance really was, and what was its use; how it was produced, and how it necessarily ended. Let us try to understand its inherent nature, and the nature of what

surrounded it, which, taken together, constitute its inevitable fate; let us seek the explanation of that strange, anomalous civilization, of that life in death, and death in life.

The Renaissance, inasmuch as it is something which we can define, and not a mere vague name for a certain epoch, is not a period, but a condition; and if we apply the word to any period in particular, it is because in it that condition was peculiarly marked. The Renaissance may be defined as being that phase in mediæval history in which the double influence, feudal and ecclesiastic, which had gradually crushed the spontaneous life of the early mediæval revival, and reduced all to a dead, sterile mass, was neutralized by the existence of democratic and secular communities; that phase in which, while there existed not yet any large nations, or any definite national feeling, there existed free towns and civic democracies. In this sense the Renaissance began to exist with the earliest mediæval revival, but its peculiar mission could be carried out only when that general revival had come to an end. In this sense, also, the Renaissance did not exist all over Italy, and it existed outside Italy; but in Italy it was far more universal than elsewhere: there it was the rule, elsewhere the exception. There was no Renaissance in Savoy, nor in Naples, nor even in Rome; but north of the Alps there was Renaissance only in individual towns like Nürnberg, Augsburg, Bruges, Ghent, &c. In the North the Renaissance is dotted about amidst the stagnant middle ages; in Italy the middle ages intersect and interrupt the Renaissance here and there: the consequence was that in the North the Renaissance was crushed by the middle ages, whereas in Italy the middle ages were crushed by the Renaissance. Wherever there was a free town, without direct dependence on feudal or ecclesiastical institutions, governed by its own citizens, subsisting by its own industry and commerce; wherever the burghers built walls, slung chains across their streets, and raised their own cathedral; wherever, be it in Germany, in Flanders, or in England, there was a suspension of the deadly influences of the later middle ages; there, to greater or less extent, was the Renaissance.

But in the North this rudimentary Renaissance was never suffered to spread beyond the walls of single towns; it was hemmed in on all sides by feudal and ecclesiastical institutions, which restrained it within definite limits. The free towns of Germany were mostly dependent upon their bishops or archbishops; the more politically important cities of Flanders were under the suzerainty of a feudal family; they were subject to constant vexations from their suzerains, and their very existence was endangered by an attempt at independence; Liège was well-nigh destroyed by the supporters of her bishop, and Ghent was ruined by the revenge of the Duke of Burgundy. In these northern cities, therefore, the commonwealth was restricted to a sort of mercantile corporation, powerful within the town, but powerless outside it; while outside the town reigned feudal-

ism, with its robber nobles, free companies, and bands of outlawed peasants, from whom the merchant princes of Bruges and Nürnberg could scarcely protect their wares. To this political feebleness and narrowness corresponded an intellectual weakness and pettiness: the burghers were mere self-ruling tradesfolk; their interests did not extend far beyond their shops and their houses; literature was cramped in guilds, and reflection and imagination were confined within the narrow limits of town life. Everything was on a small scale; the Renaissance was moderate and inefficient, running no great dangers and achieving no great conquests. There was not enough action to produce reaction, and, while the Italian free States were ground down by foreign tyrannies, the German and Flemish cities insensibly merged into the vast empire of the House of Austria. While also the Italians of the sixteenth century rushed into moral and religious confusion, which only Jesuitism could discipline, the Germans of the same time quietly and comfortably adopted a reformed Church.

The main cause of this difference, the main explanation of the fact that while in the North the Renaissance was cramped and enfeebled, in Italy it carried everything before it, lies in the circumstance that feudalism never took deep root in Italy. The conquered Latin race was enfeebled, it is true, but it was far more civilized than the conquering Teutonic peoples; the barbarians came down, not on to a previous layer of barbarians, but on to a deep layer of civilized men; the nomads of the North found in Italy a people weakened and corrupt, but with a long and inextinguishable habit of independence, of order, of industry. The country had been cultivated for centuries, the barbarians could not turn it into a desert: the inhabitants had been organized as citizens for a thousand years; the barbarians could not reorganize them feudally. The barbarians who settled in Italy, especially the latest of them, the Lombards, were not only in a minority, but at an immense disadvantage. They founded kingdoms and dukedoms, where German was spoken, and German laws were enacted; but whenever they tried to communicate with their Italian subjects, they found themselves forced to adopt the Latin language, manners, and laws; their domination became real only in proportion as it ceased to be Teutonic, and the barbarian element was swallowed up by what remained of Roman civilization. Little by little these Lombard monarchies, without roots in the soil, and surrounded by hostile influences, died out, and there remained of the invaders only a certain number of nobles, those whose descendants were to bear the originally German names of Gherardesca, Rolandinghi, Soffredinghi, Lambertazzi, Guidi, and whose suzerains were the Bavarian and Swabian dukes and marquises of Tuscany. Meanwhile the Latin element revived, towns were rebuilt, a new Latin language was formed, and the burghers of these young communities gradually

wrested franchises and privileges from the weak Teutonic rulers, who required Italian agriculture, industry, and commerce, without which they and their feudal retainers would have starved. Feudalism became speedily limited to the hilly country; the plain became the property of the cities which it surrounded; the nobles turned into mere robber chieftains, then into mercenary soldiers, and finally, as the towns gained importance, they gradually descended into the cities and begged admission into the guilds of artisans and tradesfolk. Thus they grew into citizens and Italians; but for a long time they kept hankering after feudalism, and looking towards the German Emperors who claimed the inheritance of the Lombard kings. The struggle between Guelphs and Ghibellines, between the German feudal element and the Latin civic one, ended in the complete annihilation of the former in all the north and centre of Italy. The nobles sank definitively into merchants, and those who persisted in keeping their castles were speedily ousted by the commissaries of the free towns. Such is the history of feudalism in Italy—the history of barbarian minority engulfed in Latin civilization, of Teutonic counts and dukes turned into robber nobles, hunted into the hills by the townsfolk, and finally seeking admission into the guilds of wool-spinners or money-changers; and in it is the main explanation of the fact that the Italian republics, instead of remaining restricted within their city walls like those of the North, spread over whole provinces, and became real politically organized States. And in such States having a free political, military, and commercial life, uncramped by ecclesiastic or feudal influence, in them alone could the great revival of human intelligence and character thoroughly succeed. The commune was the only species of free government possible during the middle ages, the only form which could resist that utterly prostrating action of later mediævalism. Feudalism stamped out civilization, monasticism warped it; in the open country it was burnt, trampled on, and uprooted, in the cloister it withered and shrunk and perished; only within the walls of a city, protected from the storm without, and yet in the fresh atmosphere of life, could it develope, flourish, and bear fruit.

But this system of the free town contained in itself, as does every other institution, the seed of death,—contained it in that expanding element which developes, ripens, and rots, and finally dissolves all living organisms. A little town is formed in the midst of some feudal state, as Pisa, Florence, Lucca, and Bologna were formed in the dominions of the counts of Tuscany; the *elders* govern it; it is protected from without, it obtains privileges from its suzerain, always glad to oppose anything to his vassals, and who, unlike them, is too far removed in the feudal scale to injure the commune, which is under his supreme jurisdiction but not in his land. The town can thus develope regularly, governing itself, taxing itself, defending itself against encroaching neighbours; it gradually extends beyond its own walls, liberates its

peasantry, extends its commerce, extinguishes feudalism, beats back its suzerain or buys privileges from him; in short, lives the vigorous young life of the early Italian commonwealths. But now the danger begins. The original system of government, where every head of a family is a power in the State, where every man helps to govern, without representation or substitution, could exist only as long as the commune remained small enough for the individual to be in proportion with it; as long as the State remained small enough for all its citizens to assemble in the market-place and vote, for every man to know every detail of the administration, every inch of the land. When the limits were extended the burgher had to deal with towns and villages and men and things which he did not know, and which he probably hated, as every small community hated its neighbour; witness the horrible war, lasting centuries, between the two little towns of Dinant and Bouvignes on the Meuse. Still more was this the case with an important city: the subjugated town was hated all the more for being a rival centre; the burghers of Florence, inspired only by their narrow town interest, treated Pisa according to its dictates, that is, tried to stamp it out. Thence the victorious communes came to be surrounded by conquered communes, which they dared not trust with any degree of power, and which, instead of being so many allies in case of invasion, were merely focuses of revolt, or at best inert impediments. Similarly, when the communes enlarged, and found it indispensable to delegate special men, who could attend to political matters more thoroughly than the other citizens, they were constantly falling under the tyranny of their *captains of the people*, of their *gonfalonieri*, and of all other heads of the State; or else, as in Florence, they were frightened by this continual danger into a system of perpetual interference with the executive, which was thus rendered well-nigh helpless. To this rule Venice forms the only exception, on account of her exceptional position and history, the earliest burghers turning into an intensely conservative and civic aristocracy, while everywhere else the feudal nobles turned into petty burghers, entirely subversive of communal interests; Venice had the yet greater safeguard of being protected both from her victorious enemies and her own victorious generals, who, however powerful on the mainland, could not seriously endanger the city itself, which thus remained a centre of reorganization in time of disaster. In this Venice was entirely unique, as she was unique in the duration of her institutions and independence. In the other towns of Italy, where there existed no naturally governing family or class, where every citizen had an equal share in government, and there existed no distinction save that of wealth and influence, there was a constant tendency to the illegitimate preponderance of every man or every family that rose above the average; and in a democratic, mercantile State, not a day passed without some such elevation. In a systematic, consolidated state, where the power is in the hands of a

hereditary sovereign or aristocracy, a rich merchant remains a rich merchant, a victorious general remains a victorious general, an eloquent orator remains an eloquent orator; but in a shapeless, fluctuating democracy like those of Italy, the man who has influence over his fellow-citizens, whether by his money, his soldiers, or his eloquence, necessarily becomes the head of the State; everything is free and unoccupied, only a little superior strength is required to push into it. Cosimo de' Medici has many clients, many correspondents, many debtors, he can bind people by pecuniary obligations: he becomes prince. Sforza has a victorious army, whom he can either hound on to the city or restrain into a protection of its interests: he becomes prince. Savonarola has eloquence that makes the virtuous start up and the wicked tremble: he becomes prince. The history of the Italian commonwealths shows us but one thing: the people, the only legal possessors of political power, giving it over to their bankers (Medici, Petrucci, Pepoli); to their generals (Della Torre, Visconti, Scaligeri); to their monkish reformers (Fra Bussolaro, Fra Giovanni da Vincenza, Fra Girolamo). Here then we have the occasional, but inevitable usurpers, who either momentarily or finally disorganize the State. But this is not all. In such a State every family hate, every mercantile hostility, means a corresponding political division. The guilds are sure to be rivals, the larger wishing to exclude the smaller from government; the lower working classes (the *ciompi* of Florence) wish to upset the guilds completely; the once feudal nobles wish to get back military power; the burghers wish entirely to extirpate the feudal nobles; the older families wish to limit the Government, the newer prefer democracy and Caesarism; add to this the complications of private interests, the personal jealousies and aversions, the private warfare, inevitable in a town where legal justice is not always to be had, while forcible retaliation is always within reach, and the result is constant party spirit, insults, scuffles, conspiracies; the feudal nobles build towers in the streets, the burghers pull them down; the lower artisans set fire to the warehouses of the guilds, the magistrates take part in the contest; blood is spilt, magistrates are beheaded or thrown out of windows, a foreign State is entreated to interfere, and a number of citizens are banished by the victorious party. This creates a new and terrible danger for the State, in the persons of so many exiles, ready to do anything, to join with any one, in order to return to the city and drive out their enemies in their turn. The end of such constant upheavings is that the whole population is disarmed, no party suffering its rival to have any means of offence or defence. Moreover, as industry and commerce develop, the citizens become unwilling to fight, while on the other hand the invention of firearms, subverting the whole system of warfare, renders special military training more and more necessary. In the days of the Lombard League, of Campaldino and Montaperti, the citizens

could fight, hand to hand, round their *carroccio* or banner, without much discipline being required; but when it came to fortifying towns against cannon, to drilling bodies of heavily armed cavalry, acting by the mere dexterity of their movements, when war became a science and an art, the citizen had necessarily to be left out, and adventurers and poor nobles had to form armies of mercenaries, making warfare their sole profession. This system of mercenary troops, so bitterly inveighed against by Machiavelli (who, of course, entirely overlooked its inevitable origin and viewed it as a voluntarily incurred pest), added yet another and, perhaps, the very worst danger to civil liberty. It gave enormous, irresistible power to adventurers unscrupulous by nature and lawless by education, the sole object of whose career it became to obtain possession of States—by no means a difficult enterprise, considering that they and their fellows were the sole possessors of military force in the country. At the same time this system of mercenaries perfected the condition of utter defencelessness in which the gradual subjection of rival cities, the violent party spirit, and the general disarming of the burghers, had placed the great Italian cities. For these troops, being wholly indifferent as to the cause for which they were fighting, turned war into the merest game of dodges,—half-a-dozen men being killed at a great battle like that of Anghiari,—and they at the same time protracted campaigns beyond every limit, without any decisive action taking place. The result of all these inevitable causes of ruin was that most of the commonwealths fell into the hands of despots, while those that did not were paralyzed by interior factions, by a number of rebellious subject towns, and by generals who, even if they did not absolutely betray their employers, never efficiently served them.

Such a condition of civic disorder lasted throughout the middle ages, until the end of the fifteenth century, without any further evils arising from it. The Italians made endless wars with each other, conquered each other, changed their government without end, fell into the power of tyrants; but throughout these changes their civilization developed unimpeded, because, although one of the centres of national life might be momentarily crushed, the others remained in activity, and infused vitality even into the feeble one, which would otherwise have perished. All these ups and downs seemed but to stir the life in the country, and no vital danger appeared to threaten it; nor did any, so long as the surrounding countries—France, Germany, and Spain—remained mere vast feudal nebulae, formless, weightless, immovable. The Italians feared nothing from them; they would call down the King of France or the Emperor of Germany without a moment's hesitation, because they knew that the king could not bring France, nor the emperor bring Germany, but only a few miserable, hungry retainers with him; but Florence would watch the growth of the petty state of the Scaligers, and Venice look with terror at the

Duke of Milan, because they knew that *there* there was concentrated life, and an organization which could be wielded as perfectly as a sword by the head of the State. In the last decade of the fifteenth century the Italians called in the French to put down their private enemies: Lodovico of Milan called down Charles VIII. to rid him of his nephew and of the Venetians; the Venetians, to rid them of Lodovico: the Medici, to establish them firmly in Florence; the party of freedom, to drive out the Medici. Each State intended to use the French to serve their purpose, and then to send back Charles VIII. with a little money and a great deal of derision, as they had done with kings and emperors of earlier days. But Italian politicians suddenly discovered that they had made a fatal mistake, that they had reckoned in ignorance, and that instead of an army they had called down a nation. During the interval since their last appeal to foreign interference, that great movement had taken place which had consolidated the heterogeneous feudal nebulæ into homogeneous and compact kingdoms.

Single small states, relying upon mercenary troops, could not for a moment resist the shock of such an agglomeration of soldiery as that of the French, and of their successors the Spaniards and Germans. Sismondi asks indignantly, why did the Italians not form a federation as soon as the strangers appeared? He might as well ask, why did the commonwealth not turn into a modern monarchy? The habit of security from abroad, and of jealousy within, the essential nature of a number of rival trading centres, made such a thing not only impossible of execution, but, for a while, impossible of conception; confederacies had become possible only when Burlamacchi was decapitated by the imperialists: popular resistance had become a reality only when Ferruccio was massacred by the Spaniards; a change of national institutions was feasible only when all national institutions had been destroyed, when the Italians, having recognized the irresistible force of their adversaries, had ceased to be independent States and larger and smaller guilds; when all the characteristics of Italian civilization had been destroyed; when, in short, it was too late to do anything save theorize with Machiavelli and Guicciardini as to what ought to have been done. We must not hastily accuse the volition of the Italians of the Renaissance; they may have been egotistic and timid, but had they been (as some most certainly were) heroic and self-sacrificing to the utmost degree, they could not have averted the catastrophe. The nature of their civilization prevented not only their averting the peril, but even their conceiving its existence; the very nature of their political forms necessitated such a dissolution of them. The commune grows from within; it is a little speck which gradually extends its circumference, and the further this may be from the original centre, the less do its parts coalesce. The modern monarchy grows from external pressure, and towards the centre; it is a huge mass consolidating into a hard, distinct shape. Thence it follows that the

more the commonwealth develops, the weaker it grows, because its tendency is to spread and fall to pieces; whereas the more the monarchy develops, the stronger it becomes, because it fills up towards the centre, and becomes more vigorously knit together. The city ceases to be a city when extended over hundreds of miles; the nation becomes all the more a nation for being compressed towards a central point.

The entire political collapse of Italy in the sixteenth century was not only inevitable, from the essential nature of the civilization of the Renaissance, but it was also indispensable in order that that civilization might fulfil its mission. Civilization cannot spread so long as it is contained within a national mould, and only a vanquished nation can civilize its victors. The Greece of Pericles could not Hellenize Rome, but the Greece of the weak successors of Alexander could; the Rome of Caesar did not Romanize the Teutonic races as did the Rome of Theodosius; no amount of colonizing among the vanquished can ever produce the effect of a victorious army, of a whole nation, suddenly finding itself in the midst of the superior civilization of a conquered people. Michelet may well call the campaign of Charles VIII. the discovery of Italy. His imaginative mind seized at once the vast importance of this descent of the French into Italy, which other historians have been too prone to view in the same light as any other invasion. It is from this moment that dates the *modernization*, if we may so express ourselves, of the North. The barbarous soldiers of Gaston de Foix, of Frundsberg, and of Gonsalvo, were the unconscious bearers of the seeds of the ages of Elizabeth, of Louis XIV., and of Goethe. These stupid and rapacious ruffians, while they wantonly destroyed the works of Italian civilization, rendered possible the existence of a Montaigne, a Shakspeare, and a Velasquez.

Italy was as a vast storehouse, sheltered from all the dangers of mediæval destruction, in which, while all other nations were blindly and fiercely working out their national existence, the inheritance of antiquity and the produce of the earliest modern civilization had been peaceably garnered up. When the storehouse was full, its gates had to be torn open and its riches plundered and disseminated by the intellectual starvelings of the North; thus only could the rest of mankind feed on these riches, regain and develop their mental life.

What were those intellectual riches of the Renaissance? What was that strong intellectual food which revived the energies and enriched the blood of the barbarians of the sixteenth century? The Renaissance possessed the germs of every modern thing, and much that was far more than a mere germ; it possessed the habit of equality before the law, of civic organization, of industry and commerce developed to immense and superb proportions. It possessed science, literature, and art; above all, what at once produced and was produced by all these, thorough perception of what exists, thorough

consciousness of our own freedom and powers: self-cognizance. In Italy there was intellectual light, enabling men to see and judge all around them, enabling them to act wittingly and deliberately. In this lies the immense greatness of the Renaissance; to this are due all its achievements in literature and science, and, above all, in art: that, for the first time since the dissolution of antique civilization, men were free agents, both in thought and in deed; that there was none of that palsyng slavery of the middle ages, slavery of body and of mind, slavery to stultified ideas and effete forms, which made men endure every degree of evil and believe every degree of absurdity. For the first time since antiquity, man walks free of all political and intellectual trammels, erect, conscious of his own thoughts, master of his own actions, ready to seek for truth across the ocean like Columbus, or across the heavens like Copernicus, to seek it in criticism and analysis like Machiavelli or Guicciardini, boldly to reproduce it in its highest, widest sense like Leonardo and Raphael.

The men of the Renaissance had to pay a heavy price for this intellectual freedom and self-cognizance which they not only enjoyed themselves, but transmitted to the rest of the world; the price was the loss of all moral standard, of all fixed public feeling. They had thrown aside all accepted rules and criteria, they had cast away all faith in traditional institutions, they had destroyed, and could not yet rebuild. In their instinctive and universal disbelief in all that had been taught them, they lost all respect for opinion, for rule, for what had been called right and wrong. Could it be otherwise? had they not discovered that what had been called right had often been unnatural, and what had been called wrong often natural? Moral teachings, remonstrances, and judgments belonged to that dogmatism from which they had broken loose; to those schools and churches where the foolish and the unnatural had been taught and worshipped; to those priests and monks who themselves most shamefully violated their teachings. To profess morality was to be a hypocrite, to reprobate others was to be narrow-minded. There was so much error mixed up with truth that truth had to share the discredit of it; so many innocent things had been denounced as sins that sinful ones at length ceased to be reprobated; people had so often found themselves sympathizing with supposed criminals, that they soon lost their horror of real ones. Damnation came to be disassociated from moral indignation; it was the retribution, not of the unnatural and immoral, but of the unlawful, and unlawful with respect to a law made without reference to reason and instinct. As reason and instinct were thus set at defiance, but could not be silenced, the law was soon acquiesced in without being morally supported; thus, little by little, moral feeling became warped. This was already the case in Dante's day. Farinata is condemned to the most horrible punishment, which to Dante seems just, because in accordance with an accepted code; yet Dante cannot

but admire him and cannot really hate him, for there is nothing in him to hate; he is a criminal and yet respected—fatal combination! Dante punishes Francesca, Pier delle Vigne, and Brunetto Latini, but he shows no personal horror of them; in the one case his moral instinct refrains from censuring the comparatively innocent, in the other it has ceased to revolt from the really infamous. Where Dante does feel real indignation, is most often in cases unprovided for by the religious codes, as with those low, grovelling, timid natures (the very same with whom Machiavelli, the admirer of great villains, fairly loses patience), those creatures whom Dante personally despises, whom he punishes with filthy devices of his own, whom he passes by with words such as he never addresses to Semiramis, Brutus, or Capaneus. This toleration of vice, while acquiescing in its legal punishment, increased in proportion to the developement of individual judgment, and did not cease till all the theories of the lawful and unlawful had been so completely demolished as to permit of their being rebuilt on solid bases.

This work of demolition had not yet ceased in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and the moral confusion due to it was increased by various causes dependent on political and other circumstances. The despots in whose hands it was the inevitable fate of the various commonwealths to fall, were by their very position immoral in all their dealings, violent, fraudulent, suspicious, and, from their life of constant unnatural tension of the feelings, prone to every species of depravity; while, on the other hand, in the feudal parts of Italy,—which had merely received a superficial Renaissance varnish imported from other places with painters and humanists,—in Naples, Rome, and the greater part of Umbria and the Marches, the upper classes had got into that monstrous condition which seems to have been the inevitable final product of feudalism, and which, while it gave France her Armagnacs, her Foix, and her Retz, gave Italy their counterparts in those hideously depraved princelets, the Malatestas and Baglioni. Both these classes of men, despots and feudal nobles, had a wide field for their ambition among the necessarily dissolved civic institutions; and their easy success contributed to confirm the general tendency of the day to say with Commynes, "*Qui a le succès, a l'honneur*," and to confound these two words and ideas. Nor was this yet all: the men of the Renaissance discovered the antique world, and in their wild, blind enthusiasm, in their ardent, insatiable thirst for its literature, swallowed it eagerly, dregs and all, till they were drunk and poisoned. These are the main causes of the immorality of the Renaissance: first, the general disbelief in all accepted doctrines, due to the falseness and unnaturalness of those hitherto prevalent; secondly, the success of unscrupulous talent in a condition of political disorder; thirdly, the wholesale and unjudging enthusiasm for all that remained of antiquity, good or bad. These three great causes, united in a general intellectual ebullition, are the explanation of

the worst feature of the Renaissance: not the wickedness of numberless single individuals, but the universal toleration of it by the people at large.

Men like Sigismondo Malatesta, Sixtus IV., Alexander VI., and Cæsar Borgia might be passed over as exceptions, as monstrous aberrations which cannot affect our judgment of their time and nation; but the general indifference towards their vices shown by all their contemporaries and countrymen is a conclusive and terrible proof of the moral chaos of the Renaissance. It is just the presence of so much instinctive simplicity and virtue, of childlike devotion to great objects, of patriarchal simplicity of manners, of all that is loveable in the books of men like Vespasiano da Bisticci and Leon Battista Alberti, of so much that seems like the realization of the idyllic home and merchant life of Schiller's "Song of the Bell," by the side of all the hideous lawlessness and vice of the despots and humanists, that makes the Renaissance so dreadfully painful a spectacle. The presence of the good does not console us for that of the evil, because it neither mitigates nor even shrinks from it; we merely lose our pleasure in the simplicity and gentleness of Æneas Sylvius when we see his cool admiration for a man of fraud and violence like Sforza; we begin to mistrust the purity and integrity of the upright Guarino da Verona when we hear his lenient judgment of the infamous Beccadelli; we require of the virtuous that they should not only be incapable of vice, but abhorrent of it; and this is what even the best men of the Renaissance rarely were.

Such a state of moral chaos there has constantly been when an old effete mode of thought required to be destroyed. Such work is always attended, in greater or less degree by this subversion of all recognized authority, this indifference to evil, this bold tasting of the forbidden. (In the eighteenth century France plays the same part that was played in the fifteenth by Italy; again we meet the rebellion against all that has been consecrated by time and belief, the toleration of evil, the praise of the abominable, in the midst of the search for the good. These two have been the great fever epochs of modern history; fever necessary for a subsequent steady growth. Both gave back truth to man, and man to nature, at the expense of temporary moral uncertainty and ruthless destruction; the Renaissance reinstated the individual in his human dignity, as a thinking, feeling, and acting being; the eighteenth century reconstructed society as a homogeneous free existence; both at the expense of individual degradation and social disorder. Both were moments of ebullition in which horrible things rose to the surface, but after which what remained was purer than it had ever been before.)

This is no plea for the immorality of the Renaissance: evil is none the less evil for being inevitable and necessary; but it is nevertheless well that we should understand its necessity. It certainly is a terrible admis-

sion, but one which must be made, that evil is part of the mechanism for producing good; and had the arrangement of the universe been entrusted to us, benevolent and equitable people of an enlightened age, there would doubtless have been invented some system of evolution and progression differing from the one which includes such machinery as hurricanes and pestilences, carnage and misery, superstition and licence, Renaissance and Eighteenth Century. But unfortunately Nature was organized in a less charitable and intelligent fashion, and, among other evils required for the final attainment of good, we find that of whole generations of men being condemned to moral uncertainty and error in order that other generations may enjoy knowledge peacefully and guiltlessly. Let us remember this, and let us be more generous towards the men who were wicked that we might be enlightened. Above all, let us bear in mind, in judging the Renaissance, that the sacrifice which it represents could be useful only in as far as it was complete and irretrievable; let us remember that the communal system of government, on whose developement the Renaissance mainly depended, inevitably perished in proportion as it developed; that the absolute subjugation of Italy by barbarous nations was requisite to the dissemination of the civilization thus obtained; that the Italians were politically annihilated before they had time to recover a normal condition, and were given up crushed and broken-spirited, to be taught righteousness by Spaniards and Jesuits; that, in short, while the morality of the Italians was sacrificed to obtain the knowledge on which modern society depends, the political existence of Italy was sacrificed to the diffusion of that knowledge, and that the nation was not only doomed to immorality, but doomed also to be unable to reform. Perhaps if we think of all this, and weigh the tremendous sacrifice to which we owe our present intellectual advantages, we may still feel sad, but sad rather with remorse than with indignation, in contemplating the condition of Italy in the first years of the sixteenth century; in looking down from our calm, safe, scientific position, on the murder of the Italian Renaissance, great and noble at heart, cut off pitilessly at its prime; denied even an hour to repent and amend; hurried off before the tribunal of posterity, suddenly, unexpectedly, and still bearing its weight of unexpiated, unrecognized guilt.

VERNON LEE.

NEW PLANETS NEAR THE SUN.

PERHAPS no scientific achievement during the present century has been deemed more marvellous than the discovery of the outermost member (so far as is known) of the sun's family of planets. In many respects, apart from the great difficulty of the mathematical problem involved, the discovery appealed strongly to the imagination. A planet seventeen hundred millions of miles from the sun had been discovered in March, 1781, by a mere accident, though the accident was not one likely to occur to any one but an astronomer constantly studying the star-depths. Engaged in such observation, but with no idea of enlarging the known domain of the sun, Sir W. Herschel perceived the distant planet Uranus. His experienced eye at once recognized the fact that the stranger was not a fixed star. He judged it to be a comet. It was not until several weeks had elapsed that the newly discovered body was proved to be a planet, travelling nearly twice as far away from the sun as Saturn, the remotest planet before known. A century only had elapsed since the theory of gravitation had been established. Yet it was at once perceived how greatly this theory had increased the power of the astronomer to deal with planetary motions. Before a year had passed more was known about the motions of Uranus than had been learned about the motion of any of the old planets during two thousands of years preceding the time of Copernicus. It was possible to calculate in advance the position of the newly discovered planet, to calculate retrogressively the path along which it had been travelling, unseen and unsuspected, during the century preceding its discovery. And now observations which many might have judged to be of little value, came in most usefully. Astronomers since the discovery of the telescope had formed catalogues of the places of many hundreds of stars invisible to the

naked eye. Search among the observations by which such catalogues had been formed, revealed the fact that Uranus had been seen and catalogued as a fixed star twenty-one several times! Flamsteed had seen it five times, each time recording it as a star of the sixth magnitude, so that five of Flamsteed's stars had to be cancelled from his lists. Lemonnier had actually seen Uranus twelve times, and only escaped the honour of discovering the planet (as such) through the most marvellous carelessness, his astronomical papers being, as Arago said, "a very picture of chaos." Bradley saw Uranus three times,* Mayer saw the planet once only.

It was from the study of the movements of Uranus as thus seen, combined with the planet's progress after its discovery, that mathematicians first began to suspect the existence of some unknown disturbing body. The observations preceding the discovery of the planet range over an interval of ninety years and a few months, the earliest observation used being one made by Flamsteed on December 23rd, 1690. There is something very strange in the thought that science was able thus to deal with the motions of a planet for nearly a century before the planet was known. Astronomy calculated in the first place where the planet had been during that time; and then, from records made by departed observers, who had had no suspicion of the real nature of the body they were observing, Astronomy corrected her calculations, and deduced more rigorously the true nature of the new planet's motions.

But still stranger and more impressive is the thought that from researches such as these, Astronomy should be able to infer the existence of a planet a thousand million miles further away than Uranus himself. How amazing it would have seemed to Flamsteed, for example, if on that winter evening in 1693 when he first observed Uranus, he had been told that the orb which he was entering in his lists as a star of the sixth magnitude was not a star at all, and that the observation he was then making would help astronomers a century and a half later to discover an orb a hundred times larger than the earth, and travelling thirty times farther away from the sun.

Even more surprising however than any of the incidents which preceded the discovery of Neptune was the achievement itself. That a planet so remote as to be quite invisible to the naked eye, never approaching our own earth within less than twenty-six hundred millions of miles, never even approaching Uranus within less than nine hundred and fifty millions of miles, should be detected by means of those particular perturbations (among many others) which it produced upon a planet not known for three-quarters of a century, seemed indeed surprising. Yet even this was not all. As if to turn a

* Two observations of Uranus, by Bradley, were discovered by the late Mr. Breen, and published in No. 1463 of the *Astronomische Nachrichten*.

wonderful achievement into a miracle of combined skill and good fortune, came the announcement that, after all, the planet discovered in the spot to which Adams and Leverrier pointed was not the planet of their calculations, but travelled in an orbit four or five hundred millions of miles nearer to the sun than the orbit which had been assigned to the unknown body. Many were led to suppose that nothing but a most marvellous accident had rewarded with such singular success the calculations of Adams and Leverrier. Others were even more surprised to learn that the new planet departed so strangely from the law of distances which all the other planets of the solar system seemed to obey. For according to that law (called Bode's law) the distance of Neptune, instead of being about thirty times, should have been thirty-nine times the earth's distance from the sun.

In some respects the discovery of a planet nearer to the sun than Mercury may seem to many far inferior in interest to the detection of the remote giant Neptune. Between Mercury and the sun there intervenes a mean distance of only thirty-six millions of miles, a distance seeming quite insignificant beside those which have been dealt with in describing the discovery of Uranus and Neptune. Again it is quite certain that any planet between Mercury and the sun must be far inferior to our own earth in size and mass, whereas Neptune exceeds the earth 105 times in size and 17 times in mass. Thus a much smaller region has to be searched over for a much smaller body. Moreover, while mathematical calculation cannot deal nearly so exactly with an intra-Mercurial planet as with Neptune, for there are no perturbations of Mercury which give the slightest information as to the orbital position of his disturber, the part of the heavens occupied by the intra-Mercurial planet is known without calculation, seeing that the planet must always lie within six or seven degrees or so of the sun, and can never be very far from the ecliptic.

Yet in reality the detection of an intra-Mercurial planet is a problem of far greater difficulty than that of such a planet as Neptune, while even now when most astronomers consider that an intra-Mercurial planet has been detected, the determination of its orbit is a problem which seems to present almost insuperable difficulties.

I may remark, indeed, with regard to Neptune, that he might have been successfully searched for without a hundredth part of the labour and thought actually devoted to his detection. It may sound rather daring to assert that any fairly good geometrician could have pointed after less than an hour's calculation, based on the facts known respecting Uranus in 1842, to a region within which the disturbing planet must certainly lie,—a region larger considerably no doubt than that to which Adams and Leverrier pointed, yet a region which a single observer could have swept over adequately in half-a-dozen favourable evenings, two such surveys sufficing to discover the disturbing planet. I believe, however, that no one who examines the evidence

will deny the accuracy of this statement. It was manifest, from the nature of the perturbations experienced by Uranus, that between 1820 and 1825 Uranus and the unknown body had been in conjunction. From this it followed that the disturber must be behind Uranus in 1840—1845 by about one-eighth of a revolution round the sun. With the assumptions made by Adams and Leverrier, indeed, the position of the stranger in this respect could have been more closely determined. There could be little doubt that the disturbing planet must be near the ecliptic. It followed that the planet must lie somewhere on a strip of the heavens, certainly not more than ten degrees long and about three degrees broad, but the probable position of the planet would be indicated as within a strip four degrees long and two broad.* Such a strip could be searched over effectually in the time I have named above, and the planet would have been found in it. The larger region (ten degrees long and three broad) could have been searched over in the same time by two observers. If indeed the single observer used a telescope powerful enough to detect the difference of aspect between the disc of Neptune and the point-like image of a star (the feature by which Galle, it will be remembered, recognized Neptune), a single night would have sufficed for the search over the smaller of the above-mentioned regions, and two nights for the search over the larger. The search over the smaller, as already stated, would have revealed the disturbing planet.

On the other hand, the astronomer could not determine the direction of an intra-Mercurial planet within a considerably larger space on the heavens, while the search over the space within which such a planet was to be looked for was attended by far more serious difficulties than the search for Neptune. In fact it seems as though, even when astronomers have learned where to look for such a planet, they cannot expect to see it under ordinary atmospheric conditions when the sun is not eclipsed.

Let us consider the history of the search for an intra-Mercurial planet from the time when first the idea was suggested that such a planet exists until the time of its actual discovery—for so it seems we must regard the observations made during the recent total eclipse.

* Let the student make the following construction if he entertains any doubt as to the statements made above. Having traced the orbits of the earth and Uranus from my chart illustrating the article "Astronomy" in the *Encyc. Brit.*, let him describe a circle nearly twice as large to represent the orbit of Neptune as Bode's law would give it. Let him first suppose Neptune in conjunction with Uranus in 1820, mark the place of the earth on any given day in 1842, and the place of the fictitious Neptune; a line joining these points will indicate the direction of Neptune on the assumptions made. Let him next make a similar construction on the assumption that conjunction took place in 1825. (From the way in which the perturbation of Uranus reached a maximum between 1820 and 1825, it was practically certain that the disturber was in conjunction with Uranus between those years.) These two constructions will give limiting directions for Neptune as viewed from the earth, on the assumption that his orbit has the dimensions named. He will find that the lines include an angle of a few degrees only, and that the direction line of the true Neptune is included between them.

On January 2nd, 1860, M. Leverrier announced, in a paper addressed to the Academy of Sciences, that the observations of Mercury could not be reconciled with the received elements of the planet. According to those elements, the point of Mercury's orbit which lies nearest to the sun undergoes a certain motion which would carry it entirely round in about 230,000 years. But to account for the observed motions of Mercury as determined from twenty-one transits over the sun between the years 1697 and 1848, a slight increase in this motion of the perihelion was required, an increase, in fact, from 581 seconds of arc in a century to nearly 585. This result would involve, he showed, an increase in our estimate of the mass of Venus by a full tenth. But such a change would necessarily lead to difficulties in other directions; for the mass of Venus had been determined from observations of changes in the position of the earth's path, and these changes had been too carefully determined to be readily regarded as erroneous. "This result naturally filled me with inquietude," said Leverrier later. "Had I not allowed some error in the theory to escape me? New researches, in which every circumstance was taken into account by different methods, ended only in the conclusion that the theory was correct, but that it did not agree with the observations." At last, after long and careful investigation of the matter, he found that a certain slight change would bring observation and theory into agreement. All that was necessary was to assume that matter as yet undiscovered exists in the sun's neighbourhood. "Does it consist," he asked, "of one or more planets, or other more minute asteroids, or only of cosmical dust? The theory tells us nothing on this point."

Leverrier pointed out that a planet half the size of Mercury between Mercury and the sun would account for the discrepancy between observation and theory. But a planet of that size would be a very conspicuous object at certain times, even when the sun was not eclipsed; and when favourably placed during eclipses would be a resplendent orb which would attract the notice of even the most careless observer. For we must remember that the brightness of a planet depends in part on its size and its distance from the earth, and in part on its distance from the sun. A planet half as large as Mercury would have a diameter about four-fifths of Mercury's, and at equal distance would present a disc about two-thirds of Mercury's in apparent size. But supposing the planet to be half as far from the sun as Mercury (and theory required that the planet should be rather nearer the sun), its surface would be illuminated four times as brightly as that of Mercury. Hence, with a disc two-thirds as large as Mercury's, but illuminated four times as brightly, the planet would shine nearly three times as brilliantly when seen under equally favourable conditions during eclipse. In such an inquiry, the mean distance of the two bodies need not be specially considered. Each planet would be seen

most favourably when in the part of its path remotest from the earth, so that the planet nearest to the sun would on the whole have the advantage of any difference due to that cause. For, of course, while Mercury, being farther from the sun, approaches the earth nearer when between the earth and sun, he recedes farther from the sun for the same reason when on the part of his path beyond the sun.

It was perfectly clear that no such planet as Leverrier considered necessary to reconcile theory and observation exists between the sun and Mercury's orbit. It appeared necessary, therefore, to assume that either there must be several smaller planets, or else that a cloud of cosmical dust surrounds the sun. Now it is to be noticed that in either case the entire mass of matter between Mercury and the sun must be greater to produce the observed disturbance than the mass of a single planet travelling at the outside of the region supposed to be occupied either by a group of planets or a cloud of meteorites.

Leverrier considered the existence of a ring of small planets afforded the most probable explanation. He recommended astronomers to search for such bodies. It is noteworthy that it was in reference to this suggestion that M. Faye (following a suggestion of Sir J. Herschel's) proposed that at several observatories, suitably selected, the sun should be photographed several times every day with a powerful telescope. "I have myself," he says, "shown how to give these photographs the value of an astronomical observation by taking two impressions on the same plate after an interval of two minutes. It will be sufficient to superpose the transparent negatives of this size taken at a quarter of an hour's interval, to distinguish immediately the movable projection of a small planet in the middle of the most complex groups of small spots."

It was while Leverrier and Faye were discussing this matter, that news came of the recognition of an intra-Mercurial planet by Lescarbault, a doctor residing at Orgères, in the department of Eure et Loire. The story has been so often told that I am loth to occupy space with it here. An account is given of the leading incidents in an article called "The Planets put in Leverrier's Balance," in my "Science Byways," and a somewhat more detailed narrative in my "Myths and Marvels of Astronomy." Here, it will suffice to give a very slight sketch of this interesting episode in the history of astronomy.

On January 2nd, 1860, news reached Leverrier that Lescarbault had on March 26th, 1859, seen a round black spot on the sun's face, and had watched it travelling across like a planet in transit. It had remained in view for one hour and a quarter. Leverrier could not understand why three-quarters of a year had been allowed to elapse before so important an observation had been published. He went to Orgères with the idea of exposing a pretender. The interview was a strange one. Leverrier was stern and, to say the truth, exceedingly rude in his demeanour, Lescarbault singularly lamb-like. If our chief

official astronomer called uninvited upon some country gentleman who had announced an astronomical discovery, and behaved as Leverrier did to Lescarbault, there would most certainly have been trouble; but Lescarbault seems to have been rather pleased than otherwise. "So you are the man," said Leverrier, looking fiercely at the doctor, "who pretend to have seen an intra-Mercurial planet. You have committed a grave offence in hiding your observation, supposing you really have made it, for nine months. You are either dishonest or deceived. Tell me at once and without equivocation what you have seen." Lescarbault described his observation. Leverrier asked for his chronometer, and, hearing that the doctor used only his watch, the companion of his professional journeys, asked how he could pretend to estimate seconds with an old watch. Lescarbault showed a silk pendulum "beating seconds,"—though it would have been more correct to say "swinging seconds." Leverrier then examined the doctor's telescope, and presently asked for the record of the observations. Lescarbault produced it, written on a piece of laudanum-stained paper which at the moment was doing service as a marker in the *Connaissance des Temps*. Leverrier asked Lescarbault what distance he had deduced for the new planet. The doctor replied that he had been unable to deduce any, not being a mathematician: he had made many attempts however.* Hearing this, Leverrier asked for the rough draft of these ineffective calculations. "My rough draft?" said the doctor. "Paper is rather scarce with us here. I am a joiner as well as an astronomer" (we can imagine the expression of Leverrier's face at this moment); "I calculate in my workshop, and I write upon the boards; and when I wish to use them in new calculations, I remove the old ones by planing." On adjourning to the carpenter's shop, however, they found the board with its lines and its numbers in chalk still unobliterated.

This last piece of evidence, though convincing Leverrier that Lescarbault was no mathematician, and therefore probably in his eyes no astronomer, yet satisfied him as to the good faith of the doctor of Orgères. With a grace and dignity full of kindness, which must have afforded a singular contrast to his previous manner, he congratulated Lescarbault on his important discovery. He made some inquiry also at Orgères concerning the private character of Lescarbault, and learning from the village *curé*, the *juge de paix*, and other functionaries, that he was a skilful physician, he determined to secure some reward for his labours. At Leverrier's request M. Rouland, the Minister of Public Instruction, communicated to Napoleon III. the result of Leverrier's visit, and on January 25th the Emperor bestowed on the village doctor the decoration of the Legion of Honour.

* The problem is in reality, at least in the form in which Lescarbault attacked it, an exceedingly simple one. A solution of the general problem is given at p. 181 of my treatise on the "Geometry of Cycloids." It is, in fact, almost identical with the problem of determining the distance of a planet from observations made during a single night.

To return to astronomical facts.

It appears from Lescarbault's observation, that on March 26th, 1859, at about four in the afternoon, a round black spot entered on the sun's disc. It had a diameter less than one-fourth that of Mercury (which he had seen in transit with the same telescope and the same magnifying power on May 8th, 1845). The time occupied in the transit of this spot was about one hour seventeen minutes, and, the chord of transit being somewhat more than a quarter of the sun's diameter in length, Lescarbault calculated that the time necessary to describe the sun's diameter would have been nearly four and a-half hours. The inclination of the body's path to the ecliptic seemed to be rather more than 6 degrees, and was probably comprised between $5\frac{1}{3}$ and $7\frac{1}{3}$ degrees.

From Leverrier's calculations, it appeared that the time of revolution of the new planet would be 19 days 17 hours, its distance from the sun about 147, the earth's being taken as 1,000; giving for Mars, the earth, Venus, Mercury, and Vulcan (as the new planet was named), the respective distances 1,524, 1,000, 723, 387, and 147. Leverrier assigned $12\frac{1}{5}$ degrees as Vulcan's inclination, and the places where it crosses the ecliptic he considered to be in line with those occupied by the earth on or about April 3rd and October 6th. Judging from Lescarbault's statement respecting the apparent size of the dark spot, Leverrier concluded that the volume of the stranger must be about one-seventeenth of Mercury's, the masses being presumably in the same proportion. Hence he inferred that the new planet would be quite incompetent to produce the observed change in the orbit of Mercury.

Leverrier further found that the brilliancy of Vulcan when the planet was furthest from the sun on the sky (about eight degrees) would be less than that of Mercury when similarly placed in his orbit, and he hence inferred that Vulcan might readily remain unseen, even during total eclipse. Here, as it seems to me, Leverrier's reasoning was erroneous. If Vulcan really has a volume equal to one-seventeenth of Mercury's, the diameter of Vulcan would be rather less than two-fifths of Mercury's, and the disc of Vulcan at the same distance about two-thirteenths of Mercury's. But Vulcan, being nearer the sun than Mercury in the ratio of 147 to 387, or say 15 to 39, would be more brightly illuminated in the ratio of 39 times 39 to 15 times 15, or nearly as 20 to 3. Hence if we first diminish Mercury's lustre when at his greatest apparent distance from the sun, in the ratio of 2 to 13, and increase the result in the ratio of 20 to 3, we get Vulcan's lustre when he is at his greatest apparent distance from the sun. The result is that his lustre should exceed Mercury's in the same degree that 40 exceeds 39. Or practically, for all the numbers used have been mere approximations, the inference is that Vulcan and Mercury, if both seen when at their greatest distance from the sun during eclipse, would probably

shine with equal lustre. But in that case Vulcan would be a very conspicuous object indeed, at such a time; for Mercury, when at his greatest distance from the sun, or greatest elongation, is a bright star even on a strongly illuminated twilight sky; moreover, Vulcan, when at either of his greatest elongations, ought to be visible in full daylight in a suitably adjusted telescope. For Mercury is well seen when similarly placed, and even when much nearer to the sun and on the nearer part of his path where he turns much more of his darkened than of his illuminated hemisphere towards us. Venus has been seen when so near the sun, that the illuminated portion of her disc is a mere thread-like sickle of light. Nay, Professor Lyman, of Yale College in America, has seen her when so near the sun that she appeared to be a mere circular thread of light, the completion of the circle being the best possible proof how exceedingly fine the thread must have been, and also how small its intrinsic lustre.

This is indeed the chief difficulty in Lescarbault's supposed observation. If he really saw a body in transit across the sun, moving at the observed rate, and having anything like the observed diameter, that body ought to have been seen repeatedly during total eclipses of the sun, and ought not to have escaped the search which has been made over and over again near the sun for intra-Mercurial planets. Either we must reject Lescarbault's narrative absolutely, or we must suppose that he greatly over-estimated the size of the body he observed.

Another difficulty almost equally important is found to exist when we consider the circumstances of Lescarbault's supposed discovery. Suppose the path of Vulcan to be inclined about twelve degrees or thereabouts to the ecliptic or to the plane in which the earth travels. Then, as seen from the earth on April 3rd and October 6th, this path, if it were a material ring, would appear as a straight line across the sun's centre, and extending on either side of the sun to a distance of about 16 sun-breadths. As seen on January 3rd and July 5th, when it would have its greatest opening, Vulcan's path would appear as an oval whose longest axis would be about 32 sun-breadths, while its shortest would be little more than 6 sun-breadths, the sun of course occupying the centre of the ellipse, which, where closest to him, would lie but about $2\frac{1}{2}$ sun-breadths only from the outline of his disc. Now it is easily seen that the path of Vulcan, changing in this way from apparent straightness to a long oval (whose breadth is about one-fifth its length), back to straightness but differently inclined, then to the same oval as before but opened out the other way, and so back to its original straightness and inclination, must, for no inconsiderable portion of the year on either side of April 3rd and October 6th, intersect the outline of the sun's disc. From a rough but sufficiently accurate calculation which I have made, I find that the interval would last about 36 days at each season, that is, from about March 16th to April 21st in spring, and

from about September 18th to about October 24th in autumn. But during a period of 36 days there would generally be two passages of Vulcan between the earth and sun, and there would always be one (in any long period of time two such passages would be five times as common an event during one of these intervals as a single passage). Consequently there would be at least two transits of Vulcan every year, and there would generally be four transits; the average number of transits would be about eleven in three years. With a wider orbit and a greater inclination transits would be fewer; but even with the widest orbit and the greatest inclination that can possibly be allowed, there would be at least one transit a year on the average.

Now when we remember that, so far as the northern hemisphere is concerned, the sun is observed on every fine day in almost every country in Europe and in half the States of the American Union, to say nothing of observations in Asia, where England and Russia have several observatories, while in the southern hemisphere there are many observatories, in Australia, South Africa, and South America (on both sides of the Andes), we see how exceedingly small must be the chance that Vulcan could escape detection even for a single year. Far less could Vulcan have escaped all the years which have elapsed since Lescarbault announced his discovery, to say nothing of all the observations made by Carrington, Schwabe, and many others, before the year 1860. If Vulcan really exists, and really has the dimensions and motions described by Lescarbault, the planet must long ere this have been repeatedly seen upon the sun's disc by experienced observers.

As a matter of fact, Wolff has collected nineteen observations of dark bodies unlike spots on the sun, during the interval between 1761 and 1865. But as Professor Newcomb justly points out, with two or three exceptions, the observers are almost unknown as astronomers. In one case at least the object seen was certainly not a planet, since it was described as a cloud-like appearance. "On the other hand," says Newcomb, "for fifty years past the sun has been constantly and assiduously observed by such men as Schwabe, Carrington, Secchi, and Spörer, none of whom have ever recorded anything of the sort. That planets in such numbers should pass over the solar disc, and be seen by amateur astronomers, and yet escape all these skilled astronomers, is beyond all moral probability."

It must be remembered that an inexperienced observer of the sun might readily mistake a spot of unusual roundness and darkness for a planet's disc. The practised observer would perceive peculiarities at once indicating the object as a spot on the sun; but these peculiarities would escape the notice of a beginner, or of one using a telescope of small power. Again, an inexperienced observer is apt to mistake the change of position which a spot on the sun undergoes on account of the diurnal motion, for a change of place on the sun's disc. At noon, for instance, the uppermost point of the sun's disc is the north point;

but in the afternoon the uppermost point is east of the true north point. Thus a spot which at noon was a short distance below the highest point of the sun's disc would at two or three be considerably to the west of the highest point, though it had undergone in the interval no appreciable change of position on the solar disc. Suppose now that at two or three in the afternoon clouds come over the sun's face, and he is not seen again that day. On the morrow the spot may have disappeared, as solar spots are apt enough to do. The observer, then (assuming him to be inexperienced like most of those who have described such spots), would say, I saw at noon a small round spot which in the course of the next three hours moved over an appreciable arc towards the west (the right direction, be it remembered, for a planet to cross the sun's face). An experienced observer would not make such a mistake. But let one point be carefully noted. An experienced astronomer would be very apt to forget that such a mistake could be made. He would take it for granted that the observer who described such a change in a spot's position meant a real change, not a change due to the diurnal motion.

Therefore, although Leverrier, Moigno, Hind, and other men of science have adopted Lescarbault's account, I hold it to be absolutely certain that that account is in some respect or other erroneous. Newcomb goes even farther. He says, it is very certain that if the disturbance of Mercury is due to a group of planets, "they are each so small as to be invisible in transits across the sun. They must also," he proceeds, "be so small as to be invisible during total eclipses of the sun, because they have always failed to show themselves then." This remark relates, of course, to naked-eye vision. As no intra-Mercurial planet had ever been searched for systematically with the telescope, before the recent eclipse, there was nothing to prevent astronomers from believing that a group of planets, visible in the telescope during total eclipse, may travel between the sun and the path of Mercury.

I proceed at once to consider the evidence afforded during the recent eclipse, not discussing further the question of Lescarbault's Vulcan, because it appears to me so clear that there must have been some mistake, and because the recent observations seem to throw clearer evidence on the matter than any which had been before obtained. Yet it must be admitted that even now the evidence is not all that could be desired.

Professor Watson, of Ann Arbor, the discoverer of more than a score of the small planets which travel between the paths of Mars and Jupiter, had been searching for an *extra-Neptunian* planet, when the approach of the eclipse of July last suggested the idea that he should return for a while from those dismal depths which lie beyond the path of Neptune to seek for a new planet within the glowing region between the sun and the path of Mercury. The occasion was exceptionally favourable because of the great height above the sea-level

from which the eclipse could be observed. Accordingly he betook himself to Rawlins, Wyoming, and prepared for the search by providing his telescope with card circles in such sort that the place of any observed star could be recorded by a pencil-mark on these circles, instead of being read off (with the possibility of error) in the usual way. It is unnecessary to explain further, because every one who has ever used an equatorial telescope, or is acquainted with the nature of the instrument, will at once understand Professor Watson's plan, whereas those unfamiliar with the instrument would not gain any insight into the nature of his plan without much more explanatory matter than could be conveniently given here, even if any explanation without illustrations could make the matter clear. Let it suffice to note that, having brought any star centrally into the telescopic field of view, Professor Watson marked in pencil where the ends of certain pointers came; and that these marks served to indicate, after the eclipse was over, the position of the observed star.

Thus provided, Professor Watson, so soon as totality began, searched on the eastern side of the sun, and there saw certain stars belonging to the constellation Cancer, where the sun was situate at the time. He then examined the western side of the sun, and having swept out to a star which he took to be Zeta Cancræ (though he was rather surprised at its brightness,—but of that more anon) he returned towards the sun, encountering on his way a star of the fourth magnitude or rather less, about two degrees to the west of the sun. Close by was the star Theta Cancræ; but Theta was much fainter, and was seen at the same time a little further west. It is not easy to understand why Watson did not make comparison between the position of the new star and Theta, instead of making comparison between the new star, the sun, and the star which he took to be Zeta. For a comparison with a known object so close as Theta would have given more satisfactory evidence than a comparison with objects farther away. However, as he distinctly states in a letter to Sir G. Airy that the new star was very much brighter than Theta Cancræ, which was seen a little further to the west, we cannot doubt that he had sufficient evidence to prove the new star and Theta Cancræ to be distinct orbs.

He adds that there was no appearance of elongation, as might be expected if the new object were a comet. It had a perceptible disc, though the magnifying power was only forty-five.

The accompanying figure will serve to give a fair idea of the position of the stranger.

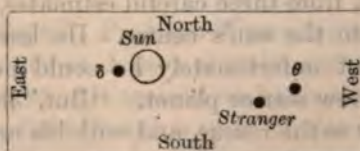


Fig. 1.—Watson's new Planet.

Now comes the evidence which was at first supposed to be strongly corroborative of Watson's observation,—the recognition of a star of about the fourth magnitude, near Theta Cancrī, by Professor Louis Swift, who observed the eclipse from Pike's Peak, in Colorado.

Professor Swift also made some rather unusual arrangements with his telescope, but they were not altogether so well adapted to advance his purpose as were Professor Watson's. To prevent the instrument from swaying he tied what he calls a pole (but what in England I imagine would be called a stick), ten feet long, about a foot from the eye-end of the telescope, leaving the other end of this singular appendage to trail on the ground. (The telescope was set low, Professor Swift judging, it would seem, that the most comfortable way to observe was to lie on his back.) As a natural consequence, while he could move his telescope very readily one way, trailing the stick along, he could not move it the other way, because its end immediately stuck into the ground. As the stick was on the west of the telescope, Professor Swift could move the eye-end eastwards, following the sun's westwardly motion. Of course the telescope was to have been released from the stick when totality began, but unfortunately Professor Swift omitted to do this, so that he had to work during totality with a hampered telescope.

The following is his account of what he saw :—

"My hampered telescope behaved badly, and no regularity in the sweeps could be maintained. Almost at once my eye caught two red stars about three degrees south-west of the sun, with large round and equally bright discs, which I estimated as of the fifth magnitude, appearing (this was my thought at the time) about as bright in the telescope as the pole-star does to the naked eye. I then carefully noted their distance from the sun and from each other, and the direction in which they pointed, &c., and recorded them in my memory, where, to my mind's eye, they are still distinctly visible. I then swept southward, not daring to venture far to the west, for fear I should be unable to get back again, and soon came upon two stars resembling in every particular the former two I had found, and, sighting along the outside of the tube, was surprised to find I was viewing the same objects. Again I observed them with the utmost care, and then recommenced my sweeps in another direction; but I soon had them again, and for the third time, in the field. This was also the last, as a small cloud hindered a final leave-taking just before the end of totality, as I had intended. I saw no other star besides these two, not even Delta, so close to the eastern edge of the sun."

He adds that the apparent distance between the two bodies was about one-fourth the sun's diameter. (These are not his words, but convey the same meaning.)

Again, he adds that, from three careful estimates, he found the two stars pointed exactly to the sun's centre. He knew one of the two bodies was Theta; but unfortunately he could not tell which was Theta and which the new star or planet. "But," he says, "Professor Watson happily comes to the rescue, and with his means of measuring finds the planet nearest to the sun."

Unhappily, however, Professor Watson does not come absolutely to the rescue here. On the contrary, to use Professor Swift's words in another part of his letter (and speaking of another matter), "it is just here where the trouble begins." If we construct a little map illustrating what Professor Swift describes, we get the accompanying arrangement (fig. 2). It is clearly quite impossible to reconcile this

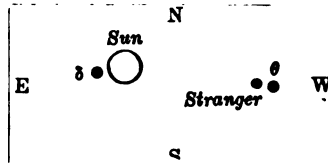


Fig. 2.—Swift's new Planet?

view of the supposed new planet with Professor Watson's. If three careful estimates showed Swift the stranger and Theta situated as in fig. 2, it is absolutely certain that either Watson's observation was very far from the truth, or else the strange orb he saw was not the same that Swift saw. On the other hand, if Watson's observation was trustworthy, it is certain that either Swift's three estimates were inexact or he saw a different new body. Again, their accounts of the relative brightness of Theta and the stranger could not possibly be reconciled if we supposed they were observing the same new planet, for Watson says distinctly that the stranger was *very much brighter* than Theta; while Swift says, with equal distinctness, that the two stars were *equally bright*.

If we accept both observations, we must consider that the strange orb seen by Swift was not the nearer to the sun, but the other, for Watson, in his letter to Sir G. Airy, says that he saw both Theta and his own new planet, and he could not have overlooked Swift's new planet, if placed as in fig. 2, whereas if the star there marked as the stranger were really Theta, Watson might readily enough have overlooked the other star, as farther away from his newly-discovered planet. According to this view, the actual arrangement at the time of the eclipse was as shown in fig. 3.

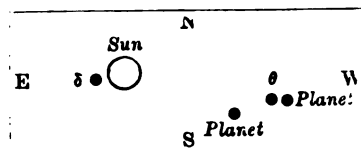


Fig. 3.—Suggested explanation of Watson's and Swift's observations.

But this is not quite all. Professor Watson saw another body; which, in his opinion was a planet. I have already mentioned that he thought Zeta remarkably bright. It seemed to him a star of nearly the third magnitude, whereas Zeta Cancri is only of the fifth. Nay, speaking of the planet near Theta, and of this star which he took for Zeta,

he says, "they were probably really brighter [than the $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ magnitude respectively], because the illumination of the sky was not considered in the estimates." Before he had thoroughly examined the pencil marks on his card circles, and made the necessary calculations, he supposed the brighter star to be Zeta, because he did not see the latter star. But when he examined his result carefully he found that the bright star was set (according to his pencil marks) more than one degree east of Zeta. Writing on August 22nd, he says, "The more I consider the case the more improbable it seems to me that the second star which I observed, and thought might be Zeta, was that known star. I was not certain, in this case, whether the wind had disturbed the telescope or not. As it had not done so in the case of any other of six pointings which I recorded, it seems almost certain that the second was a new star." It would be easy to understand why Professor Watson had not seen Zeta, for he only swept as far as the star he mistook for Zeta, and, as the accompanying figure shows, Zeta was beyond that star on the west.*

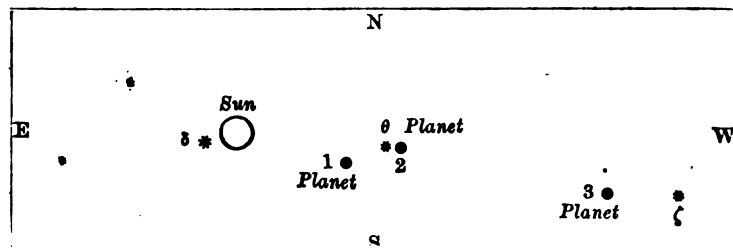


Fig. 4.—Showing all the stars observed by Watson and Swift.

Fig. 4 represents the apparent result of the observations made by Professors Watson and Swift, if all the observations are regarded as trustworthy. The six stars shown in the figure were probably the six referred to in the preceding paragraph. The two unnamed ones are well-known red stars.

Let it be noticed, that we cannot reject planet 1, without rejecting all Watson's observations. We cannot reject planet 2, without rejecting all Swift's observations. We cannot set this planet to the left of Theta without throwing doubt on Watson's observations. If Watson swept over Theta westward without seeing 2, Swift must have made some mistake as yet unexplained. As for planet 3, if we admit the possibility that this object really was Zeta, we must admit also the possibility that the object marked as planet 1 was really Theta, or rather we should have to do so, were it not that Watson saw Theta also, and (I suppose) in the same field of view, since he speaks confidently of the inferiority of Theta in brightness.

* It may be necessary, perhaps, to explain to some why the western side is on the right in the little maps illustrating this paper, and not, as usual with maps, on the left. We are supposed to look down towards the earth in the case of a terrestrial map, and to look up from the earth in the case of a celestial map, and naturally right and left for the former attitude become respectively left and right for the latter.

It should further be noticed, that though Swift's and Watson's observations by no means agree in details, they do in reality support each other (unless Watson should definitely assert that no star as bright as Theta existed either to the west or to the east of that star, at the distance indicated by Swift). For they agree in indicating the existence of small planets near the sun, such as can only be seen with the telescope.

On the other hand, it is to be noted that other observers failed to see any of these bodies, though they looked specially for intra-Mercurial planets. Thus Professor Hall, of the Washington Observatory, searched over a larger space than is included in fig. 4, without seeing any unknown body. But as he also failed to see many known bodies which should have been seen, it is probable that the search was too hurried to be trustworthy.

It would be satisfactory to be able to say that any of the supposed planets might have been Lescarbault's Vulcan. But in reality, I fear, this cannot have been the case. The *Times*, I observe, in an article dated August 24th, 1878, expresses the opinion that the evidence obtained establishes the existence of the planet which had so long been regarded as a myth. I have reason to believe that that opinion was based on a very careful investigation of the evidence available last August. But it does not accord with what has since been learned respecting Watson's observations.

We may dismiss planet 3 at once. If Watson is right about this body being distinct from Zeta (a point about which, I must confess, I feel grave doubts), then this must be a planet travelling in an orbit much wider than we can possibly assign to Vulcan. For even at the distance of some seven degrees from the sun it showed no sign of gibbosity. If it had then been at its greatest elongation it would have appeared only half-full. But with the power Watson was using, which enabled him to pronounce that the smaller body near Theta showed no elongation, he would at once have noticed any such peculiarity of shape. He could not have failed to observe any gibbosity approaching to that of the moon when three-quarters full. Moreover on July 29th a planet which has its points of crossing the ecliptic opposite the earth's place on April 3rd and October 6th, could not appear where Watson saw this body (fully two degrees from the ecliptic) unless either its orbit were far wider than that which Leverrier assigned to Vulcan, or else its inclination far greater. Neither supposition can be reconciled with Lescarbault's observation.

With regard to planets 1 and 2, the case is equally strong against the theory that Vulcan was observed. The same reasoning applies to both these bodies. When I speak therefore of planet 1, it will be understood that planet 2 also is dealt with. First, as this planet appeared with a disc appreciably round, it is clear that it must have been near the point of its orbit farthest from the earth, that is, the point directly

beyond the sun. It was then nearly at its brightest. Yet it appeared as a fourth-magnitude star only. We have seen that Lescarbault's Vulcan, even when only half-full, would appear as bright as Mercury at his brightest, if Lescarbault's account can be accepted in all its details. Situated as planet 1 was, Vulcan would have shown much more brightly than an average first-magnitude star. At a very moderate computation it would have been twice as bright as such a star. But planet 1 appeared fainter than a fourth-magnitude star. Assume, however, that in reality it was shining as brightly as an average third-magnitude star. Then it shone with much less than a twentieth of the lustre Vulcan should have had, if Lescarbault's estimate were correct. Its diameter then cannot be greater than a quarter of that which Leverrier assigned to Vulcan on the strength of Lescarbault's observation. In fact, the apparent diameter of planet 1, when in transit over the sun's face, could not be more than a sixteenth of Mercury's in transit, or about two-fifths of a second,—roughly, about a 5000th part of the sun's apparent diameter. It is certain that Lescarbault could not have made so considerable a mistake as this. Nay, it is certain, that with the telescope he used he could not have seen a spot of this size at all, on the sun's face.

It will be seen that Lescarbault's observation still remains unconfirmed, or rather, to speak more correctly, the doubts which have been raised respecting Lescarbault's Vulcan are now more than ever justified. If such a body as he supposed he saw really travels round the sun within the orbit of Mercury, it is certain that the observations made last July by those who were specially engaged in seeking for Vulcan must have been rewarded by a view of that planet. In July, Lescarbault's Vulcan could not have been invisible, no matter in what part of his orbit it might be and the chances would have been greatly in favour of its appearing as a very bright star, without telescopic aid.

But on the other hand, it seems extremely probable,—in fact, unless any one be disposed to question the veracity of the observers, it is certain,—that within the orbit of Mercury there are several small planets, of which certainly two, and probably three, were seen during the eclipse of July 29th last. All these bodies must be beyond the range of any except the most powerful telescopes, whether sought for as bright bodies outside the sun (not eclipsed) or as dark bodies in transit across the sun's face. The search for such bodies in transit would in fact be hopeless with any telescope which would not easily separate double stars one second of arc apart. It is with large telescopes then, and under favourable conditions of atmosphere, locality, and so forth, that the search for intra-Mercurial planets in transit must in future be conducted. As the observed disturbance of Mercury's perihelion, and the absence of any corresponding disturbance of his nodes (the points where he crosses the plane of the earth's motion) show that the disturbing bodies must form a ring or disc whose central

plane must nearly coincide with the plane of Mercury's path, the most favourable time for seeing these bodies in transit would be the first fortnights in May and November; for the earth crosses the plane of Mercury's orbit on or about May 8th and November 10th. I believe that a search carried out in April, May, and June, and in October, November, and December, with the express object of discovering *very* small planets in transit, could not fail to be quickly rewarded,—unless the observations made by Watson and Swift are to be wholly rejected.

R. A. PROCTOR.

[Since this was written, Professor Swift has expressed the opinion that his planet cannot possibly have been the one seen near Theta Cancri by Professor Watson,—who it seems saw Theta in the centre of a large field of view, and must therefore have seen Swift's planet had that object been placed either as shown in fig. 2 or fig. 3. Hence Professor Swift considers that both the stars he himself saw were planets, and that he did not see Theta at all. The reasoning in the last five paragraphs of the above essay would not be in the least affected if we adopted Professor Swift's conclusion, that four and not three intra-Mercurial planets were detected during the eclipse of July last.]

SELF-GOVERNMENT IN TOWNS.

THE Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832 effected one of the most momentous changes in the history of our constitution, substituting direct for virtual representation, converting fiction into fact, and changing, so to speak, the centre of gravity from an aristocratic oligarchy to a tempered and modified democracy. The improvement of our local institutions followed as a necessary corollary, and the Municipal Reform Act of 1835 embodied the ideas then prevalent of the true principles of self-government in our cities and towns. During the period of nearly half a century which has elapsed since 1832, many changes have been made in our system of parliamentary elections. The basis has been widened, the field has been extended, the ballot has been introduced, the freest possible scope, short of universal suffrage, has been given for bringing the mind of the country to bear upon the legislation of Parliament. Such has hardly been the case with our municipal system. Household suffrage has been adopted, and vote by ballot introduced, but some evils have been unremedied, and some things, not contemplated at the time, have been added, thus, to the minds of some, impairing the working of the machine and spoiling its symmetry.

The present is not an unfavourable time for an inquiry into the working of the system during its existence of forty-three years. Has it answered the purposes for which it was framed? Has it given us good local government, allowing public opinion free scope for its expression and influence? Has it carried out needful sanitary measures? Has it effected desirable public improvements, beautifying our towns and rendering them worthy of the wealth and commerce of which they are the visible embodiment? Has it promoted, so far as lay within its sphere of action, the cause of science, literature, and

mental progress? And finally, whatever may have been its shortcomings or its success from these points of view, are any changes needed, and, if so, what is the nature of them?

Before attempting a reply to these questions it may be desirable to take a rapid cursory glance at the origin and history of municipal institutions.

Great cities have played an important part in every period of the world's history. They have been the birthplaces of freedom, the centres from which progress has developed itself, the nurseries of art, science, and literature. Policy, polity, politeness, urbanity, civility, derive their names as well as their nature from city life, whilst the terms rustic, savage, heathen, pagan, indicate the rougher and more backward tendencies of the herdsmen and cultivators of the ground, amongst whom there have always been found more inertness of mind, more aversion to change, and greater incapacity for social and political progress than in the town populations.

From the dawn of social life amongst mankind there must always have existed some means for the expression of opinion, some method for united action when society outgrew the family. The *Shauri* of the African cannibals so graphically described by Mr. Stanley, "the men of the city" so frequently mentioned in the early history of Palestine, are instances of this in its most primitive form. The village communities of India have handed down, from a period beyond the dawn of history to the present day, the germ of municipal institutions in their most essential features.* They are quite independent of the relations of the individual to the State, and have no connection with the political condition of the people. Amongst them individual legal rights were until recently almost unknown.†

Village communities of much the same nature have always existed in Russia amidst serfdom and political slavery. The same may be said of China and of the East generally.

Amongst the Western Aryan races the local community has always had a more intimate connection with the political affairs of the nation and exercised a greater influence in the State. In the Greek republics the municipality and the State were identical. The Athenian *πολιτεία* consisted of all the citizens, who in public assembly discussed the affairs of the nation, received and sent out ambassadors, made peace or declared war, and decided on every detail of public business, from the planting of fig-trees to opposing by force of arms the mighty hosts of Persia. The Greek colonies, whether the *ἀποικία*, wanderers from

* Sir Henry Maine: *Village Communities*, p. 68 *et passim*.

† "These patriarchal societies in the midst of despotic States are interesting examples of local freedom existing for untold ages in association with political slavery. They have survived invasions, wars, dynasties, the domination of conquering races, revolutions of government, changes of religion; and they still flourish as living witnesses of antique and unchanging forms of society."—Sir Erskine May, *History of Democracy*, i. 10. See also the evidence of Lord Metcalfe in the House of Commons' Committee Report India, 1832.

their own dwellings, or the *κληρουχία*, settlers on lands conquered from the enemy, carried with them, and planted in Sicily, Italy, and Asia Minor, counterparts of the municipalities of their mother-country.

The mighty empire of Rome derived its origin from a simple municipality, and the forms of civic government long survived its reality—constituting, in fact, one principal source of the weakness which necessarily ensued from the attempt to govern a large portion of the known world by methods only applicable to a small local community. As its dominion extended, municipalities were founded in new localities, having various relations with the central city, such as the *Colonia*, the *Civitas*, the *Latinitas*, the *Fœderati*, the *Socii*, with their different personal grades of *Cives*, *Latini*, *Peregrini*, &c. Under the empire, the municipalities were found a very convenient instrument for levying the imperial imposts, which ultimately became so burdensome that force had to be applied to induce the inhabitants to take part in them.

The ultimate form which the Roman municipalities assumed was conferred by the Emperor Constantine, and subsisted through the disorder of the barbarian conquests; the cities thus forming rallying points, around which clustered whatever remained of enlightenment and cultivation.

“The feudal system was fatal to municipal institutions. The conquerors seized upon the most fertile lands, generally the property of the citizens; they dwelt in the midst of their own territories, and despised the cities and their inhabitants, whom they had despoiled.”* The feudal system obtained less influence in Italy than in any other part of Europe. The germ of the municipalities survived through the long reign of barbarism, nourished by the traditions of Roman grandeur, and here they were first slowly developed into renewed life. Florence, Pisa, Verona, Bologna, Ravenna, and many other cities, along with their imperial remains, retained the forms of civic government, though criminal and civil jurisdiction had been taken from them. During the disorders of the ninth and tenth centuries, the cities offered the only secure protection to life and property. Encouraged by mutual support, they rebuilt their walls, resumed their functions, and gradually acquired the position of independent States.

In the South of France, particularly in the Roman *Provincia*, the modern Provence, the imperial municipal system still lingered on. The civic institutions had been considerably modified by the influence of Christianity. The bishop, who was elected by popular suffrage, exercised an important influence, and was the highest personage in the community. After him came the supreme civil magistrate, the *Defensor*, equivalent to the modern provost or mayor. The magistrates were elected annually by the freemen, who principally consisted of the remains of the wealthy Gallo-Roman families, the Frankish in-

* Sir E. May: *Democracy*, i. 227.

vaders preferring the open country. There were various modifications and changes in the mode of administration, but Southern France followed for the most part the Italian type. From the centre of France northward municipal institutions derived their origin from a different source, following the German model.

The Latin and Teutonic races, in building up their systems of polity, especially in their local institutions, start from principles entirely different. Amongst the Romans, the State (the *respublica*), or the *civitas* (the municipality), was the integer, of which each citizen constituted a fraction. Amongst the Teutons, the individual was the unit, the aggregation of which formed the State. The Roman had no rights but such as were allowed him by the *jus civile*, or the *jus publicum*. The Anglo-Saxon asserted his individual claims in every association, from the tything of ten men up to the great Witenagemot, or assembly of the nation. The municipalities of the North of France grew, like those of Germany and England, from the elementary "Frank pledge," "*la commune jurée*," the principle of mutual support, of personal rights.*

From the earliest period of men living together in towns, some sort of civil jurisdiction must have been established; but municipalities, properly speaking, are based on privileges conferred by a superior, whether the over-lord or the Crown. The monarchs, in all the States of Europe, found it their interest to encourage the rise of cities, and to endow them with powers enabling them to aid in resisting the turbulent violence of the barons. So grew up the free cities of Germany, which attained, by their peculiar circumstances, the position of independent States. So also was formed the Hanseatic League, which comprised sixty cities, confederated together for mutual advantage.

In Britain, as in other parts of the empire, there can be no doubt that municipalities flourished during the Roman occupation. The magnificent *enceinte* of Pevensey, and the ground-plans of Chester, York, and Leicester are standing monuments of the existence of British cities on the Roman model. These were harried with fire and sword by the ruthless Saxon invaders, striking evidences of which still exist in the remains of the burnt city of Wroxeter. Such as were not thus destroyed fell into decay. Gildas in the sixth century represents them as deserted and decaying.† No connection whatever can be traced between the Anglo-Roman *civitas* and the Anglo-Saxon *burh*. The latter had an entirely independent origin. The fortresses preferred by the Saxons were not the walled four-square *castra* of the Romans, but the summit of a gentle hill crowned with an earthwork, and capacious enough to contain all who required

* Aug. Thierry: *Hist. du Tiers Etat*, i. 25. Sir E. May: *Democracy*, ii. 342.

† William of Malmesbury describes the country in the fifth century thus:—"E vestigio Scottorum et Pictorum incursione, multi mortales caesi, villæ succensæ, urbes subrutæ, prorsus omnia ferro incendioque vastata."

protection, with their flocks and herds.* In this way the *boroughs* in the primitive sense of the term are distinguishable from the *tuns, tons, or towns*, which were merely unprotected clusters of habitations.

The origin of the borough organization appears to have been as follows. Under the Saxon laws there was a regular gradation of mutual support and responsibility, commencing with the *Tithing*, consisting of ten freemen, heads of families, who, by a mutual pledge called the *Frithborh*, agreed to be responsible for each other's conduct to the *Hundred*, consisting of ten Tythings, and so upwards. In the borough towns these associations assumed a wider scope, and took the name of *gylds*, from the fact of payment to a common fund.†

In a very interesting document of the reign of Athelstane (A.D. 945—961) called the Doms of the City of London (*Judicia Civitatis Londinensis*) this system of city gylds is set forth with considerable particularity, specifying the payments and the general arrangements of the civic government of the day. It breathes the true spirit of municipal freedom and order, and is the prototype of all subsequent civic legislation.

Glanville, writing in the reign of Henry II., identifies the *communia* or municipality with the *gyld*.‡

There were various kinds of gylds, as numerous as the objects for which men associate themselves together—craft-gylds, the predecessors of the trade companies of London; religious and charitable gylds; social gylds for the promotion of intercourse and good fellowship; gylds-merchant for the regulation of trade, the mention of which in a permissory form occurs in many of the early charters. The religious gylds were suppressed and their property confiscated soon after the Reformation, by the Act 1 Edwd. VI., c. 14.

The gylds-merchant usually formed part and parcel of the municipality; the craft-gylds bore different degrees of relationship thereto in different boroughs. In the ordinances of Athelstane, already referred to, the “*frith gegildas*” embrace the whole municipality.

Considerable difference of opinion exists amongst the authorities on the subject as to the essential nature of a “corporation.” Mr. Toulmin Smith§ says:—

“Corporations, using the word in the sense in which it is applied to towns in England, had their beginning in the old Frith-borh or Peace Pledge. . . . The bodies thus acting were all true *corporations*, though as different places increased and grew unequally, different shapes were taken. . . . Charters of incorporation do not and cannot *create* corporations. They have always depended for even their validity upon the pre-existence of the ‘*communitas*,’ and upon the assent and acceptance of the charter by the ‘*communitas*.’ . . . Charters therefore do not incorporate; they merely record.”

* A.S. *burh*, Ger. *burg* or *berg*, Goth. *baurgs*, originally signified an eminence either natural or artificial; afterwards it was more particularly applied to a fortified eminence.

† From A.S. *gyldan*, Ger. *gelten*, to pay.

‡ “Item si quis natus quiete per unum annum et unum diem in aliquâ villâ privilegiatâ manserit ita quod in eorum *communiam*, scilicet *gyldam* tanquam civis receptus fuerit, eo ipso a villenaggio liberabitur.”

§ English Gilds, p. xxi.

There is here a little confusion of terms. By the common law of England any number of persons have the right of associating themselves together, and of making laws for the regulation of their affairs. This was the simple principle of the early Saxon municipalities, as stated in the "Dooms" of the City of London: "This we have ordained, let do the deed whoever may that shall avenge the injuries of us all, that we should be all so in one friendship as in one foeship, whichever it then may be." But as these regulations could only apply in the first instance to those who had given their assent, the sanction of the superior power, whether king or over-lord, was necessary to bind the whole community. In some sense this may be called incorporation, but technically it is a very different thing. The same principle was recognized by the Norman monarchs from the earliest period, as shown by the charter of the Conqueror to the City of London, which simply secures law-worthiness and protection to the burgesses, who consisted of all the free inhabitants, paying scot (their share of the rates), and bearing lot (their liability to serve in office).*

Under the feudal system, which continued the graduated scale of responsibility but altered its character, an analogous dependency grew up in the towns. The Crown and the nobility possessed lands and houses within the boroughs, which were called *burgages* and were let on leases conferring certain privileges. The possession of these freeholds necessarily gave their owners considerable influence in the affairs of the borough. This state of things existed before the Conquest. In the account of the city of Exeter in Domesday Book, there are three hundred houses entered belonging to the Crown, and a number of others belonging to various ecclesiastics and laymen.

In the boroughs by prescription, all the inhabitant householders paying scot and lot seem to have been members of the municipality, but in those created by royal charter, the tenants of the burgages under the Crown appear for a long period to have been the sole burgesses. Thus in the charter of King John creating the borough of Liverpool in A.D. 1207 it reads:—

"The King to all who may be willing to have burgages at the town of Liverpool. Know ye that we have granted to all who shall take burgages at Liverpool, that they shall have all liberties and free customs in the town of Liverpool, which any free borough on the sea hath in our land."†

The burgages so created were one hundred and sixty-eight in number, which by the decay of the port had diminished in the reign of Elizabeth to one hundred and thirty-eight.

The Royal Burghs in Scotland were similarly constituted, each

* From this last obligation, however, the citizens of London were exempt.

† Littleton (sec. 162) says of burgage: "Tenure en burgage est lou attienement Burgh est, de que le Roy est seignior, et ceux que ont tenements deins le bourg teignent de Roy leur tenements, doit payer al Roy un certain rent par an."

burgess paying a yearly rent to the Crown for the burgage which he covenants to *defend* and hold.

Dr. Hill Burton says :—

“In the royal charter we have the foreign municipal system, consisting of a mixture of the old Roman municipalities and of feudality, brought over and superinduced on the Saxon burgal communities . . . but the fundamental principles of the old Saxon system still directed the spirit of the English borough.”*

The next stage in the history of our boroughs is that of their *incorporation*, which, notwithstanding what has been quoted above, did not exist down to the end of the fourteenth century. In the early charters, whatever privileges were granted were given to the burgesses and their *heirs*. Under such circumstances the holding of real property which began to be acquired by the municipalities was very difficult. The creation of corporations with perpetual succession was first applied to ecclesiastical property, but gradually crept into use in the municipalities. In 1272, Edward I. made a grant of the city of Southwark at fee-farm rent to the citizens of London, their *heirs* and *successors*. Towns *corporate* are mentioned somewhat vaguely in the reign of Richard II. In the year 1412 a petition was presented to King Henry IV. from the inhabitants of Plymouth, praying that they; their heirs and successors may be a body corporate to purchase free tenements for term of life or in fee, without the King's royal license.† This application was refused, but twenty-eight years afterwards a similar petition from the town of Kingston-upon-Hull met with success,‡ and thenceforward in succeeding charters, incorporation became the rule.

The further history of English municipalities brings into prominence three circumstances by which their future course was materially affected. These were :—

1. The repeated surrender and renewal of the charters.
2. The gradual supersession of the old burgesses by the more modern freemen.
3. The influence on the boroughs of parliamentary representation, first granted in the thirteenth century, temp. Henry III.

1. The right of conferring charters was not originally limited to the Crown, but was exercised by the barons and ecclesiastics in their demesnes at pleasure. The popular legend of Peeping Tom of Coventry is connected with a charter granted to the borough by Earl Leofric before the Conquest. One of the earliest charters after the Conquest was granted by Thurston, Archbishop of York, to the men of Beverley. The same state of things existed in France. M. Aug. Thierry draws a graphic picture of the struggles of the people in the

* Ency. Brit., art. Municipal Corporations.

† Merewether and Stephens: History of English Boroughs, p. 802.

‡ Ibid. p. 860.

twelfth and thirteenth centuries to establish their municipalities.* It was soon, however, discovered by the Crown and its advisers in both countries, that it was desirable to supersede the intermediate influence of the feudatory barons, and to connect the boroughs directly with the Crown. By a convenient fiction it was laid down as an axiom by the courts, that corporations can have no other foundation than royal authority. Blackstone says, "In cases where corporations have existed for time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, though the members thereof can show no legal charter of incorporation, yet in cases of such high antiquity the law presumes there was once one."†

When once the principle was established, it was found capable of being converted into a lucrative source of income. The royal charters became matters of bargain and sale. Under the Norman monarchs the *bailiff* of a borough was the King's officer, who had to account to the exchequer for the customs and rents received. It became the practice with the monarchs, when wanting money, to farm out these bailiwicks to the highest bidder; and hence arose a system of rapacity and extortion declaimed against by contemporary chroniclers. The burgesses, in order to free themselves from the scourge, found it advantageous to farm the royal dues themselves, giving no doubt the highest price in the market. Hence the frequent charters of the Plantagenet period granting the revenues in fee-farm to the burgesses themselves. In these cases the charters were in the nature of terminable leases which required renewal from time to time.

During the early reigns succeeding the Conquest, charters and grants were looked upon rather as personal acts of grace from a feudal superior than as official demises of the sovereign. This gave occasion to the writ of *Quo warrantum*, which was a favourite mode of wringing contributions to replenish an exhausted exchequer. At the decease of a noble his successor was frequently called on to produce the title by which he held his estates, and on the occasion of a new monarch the cities and boroughs were summoned to produce their charters for inspection and renewal, for which payment was always exacted.

2. Concurrently with this state of things and very closely connected with it, a change was gradually being effected in the *personnel* of the municipalities. Although at every period considerable differences existed in the customs of the various boroughs, there can be little doubt that the original *burgesses* were the owners or occupiers of the burgage tenements within the borough‡ paying scot and lot. Practically, this would at the earliest period comprise all the inhabitants

* "La crainte de résistances périlleuses, l'esprit de justice et l'intérêt, amenèrent les maîtres du sol à transiger, par des traités d'argent, sur leurs droits de tout genre, et leur pouvoir immémorial."—*Histoire du Tiers Etat*, i. 32.

† So Thierry: "D'abord, il fut posé en principe que nulle commune ne pouvait s'établir sans le consentement du roi; puis, que le roi pouvait créer des communes."—*Ibid.*, i. 43.

‡ Stubbs: *Const. History*, i. 411.

being heads of families. *Pari passu* the gild-merchant grew up and became an essential element of the corporate body. One main object of the gild-merchant was to secure the privilege that "no one who is not of the same gild shall transact any merchandise in the aforesaid borough, unless by consent of the same burgesses." This was not established, however, without a severe contest. The history of the borough of Liverpool is a striking illustration of this struggle for monopoly. The first charter, granted by King John in 1207, gave equal encouragement to all settlers. In little more than twenty years the burgesses, being a limited number, obtained from Henry III. (A.D. 1229) a new charter, granting authority to establish a *gildum mercatorium*, and to prohibit all others from trading in the borough without their consent. This was confirmed by an *inspeximus* charter of Edward III. in 1333. In 1382, in a renewal of the charter by Richard II., the exclusive clause was struck out. In 1400 it was restored by Henry IV. In 1556, in a charter from Philip and Mary, it was again struck out and never re-enacted; but the corporation nevertheless continued to enforce it, until in more modern times it was found to be illegal. Settlers in the towns wishing to follow their occupations were admitted members of the gild on payment of certain fines, and thus became "freemen," and exercised all the functions of burgesses, although not holding a burgage tenement. The burgages, being heritable and saleable property, in the course of time became subdivided into half, quarter, and even eighth parts, and finally disappeared altogether as conveying any municipal rights. The freemen thus took the place of the burgage tenants, retaining the appellation of "common burgesses."

3. The introduction of parliamentary representation naturally had considerable influence in modifying the position and constitution of the municipal bodies. At its first introduction the election of representatives was felt as a burden, a means of taxation to be avoided as far as possible; but as the Commons' House grew in importance and in political power, a seat therein became an object of ambition for aspiring politicians. This naturally reacted on the constituencies of those boroughs to which writs were issued, giving a greater interest in securing the exclusive privilege to those possessed of it, and ultimately leading to corruption and anomalies of the grossest character.

It must be observed that the municipal system was based entirely on *privilege*. The possession of a burgage tenure in the first instance, and subsequently the admission to the gild-merchant, afterwards merged into the corporation, whether by birth, servitude, or fine, was a necessary condition, which continued down to the period of the Reform Act. Another point to be noticed is, that with very few exceptions, of which London is almost a solitary instance, election or representation was unknown. Indeed, representation in any form is

a comparatively modern invention, introduced almost simultaneously into France and England about the middle of the thirteenth century. Amongst the nations of antiquity it had no existence. The *ἐκκλησία* of the Greeks and the *comitia* of the Romans comprised the entire body of the citizens, as did also the *folc-gemôt* of our Saxon ancestors. Thus the early charters of the boroughs were granted to the burgesses as a whole. The "common council," frequently referred to in early documents, means the common assent of the burgesses, and not that it was the act of any select body, as the terms are applied in modern times.* The councils were elected in the first instance as temporary committees for special purposes, but gradually began to absorb all the power, which they contrived to perpetuate by electing their successors. There were great varieties of usage, but all tended in the same direction.

"The corporate governing bodies became as it were hardened and crystallized, and exhibit a constantly increasing disposition to engross in their own hands the powers which had been understood to belong to the body of the burghers."†

"The municipal system had come into deep discredit. The charges against it were, political corruption, general waste and extravagance; the mismanagement, misdirection, or appropriation of the property devoted to public purposes; and a general abuse of the powers and privileges of municipal offices for party or personal rule."‡

With all their defects, the mediæval boroughs had done good service in their day. They were the rallying points of freedom, the main bulwarks against the attempts of the Crown to levy arbitrary taxes, and, by their constantly requiring the removal of grievances as the price of the subsidies granted, they paved the way for a better state of things.

The Municipal Reform Act (5 & 6 Wm. IV., c. 76) was intended to remedy these defects, and to preserve the advantages of local self-government. The two main principles by which this was to be accomplished were the extension of the franchise over a wider area, and the introduction of representation by the periodical election of the town councils. The original franchise was limited to householders after a three years' occupation whose rates had been paid. By the Act 32 & 33 Vic., c. 55 (1869), the privilege was extended to occupiers of any premises within the borough, whether householders or not, having occupied and paid rates for one year. By this Act females were placed on the same footing as the male sex. By a subsequent Act (35 & 36 Vic., c. 33), the ballot was introduced into municipal as well as parliamentary elections. The old freemen, who had usurped the place of the original burgesses, were abolished municipally, though the privilege of the parliamentary franchise was continued to them; and strangely enough, though it was enacted that in England

* Merewether and Stevens, i. 303.

† Stubbs: Const. History, iii. 587.

‡ Dr. J. H. Burton on Municipal Corporations, Ency. Brit.

"no person should in future be elected, made, or admitted a burgess or freeman of any borough by gift or purchase," Scotland still enjoys the privilege of conferring the freedom of its burghs on any distinguished strangers.

The Act provides for the periodical election of councillors by the burgesses, and of the mayor and aldermen by the councils, and also prescribes the division of the larger boroughs into wards, electing their own councillors.

The preamble of the Act of 1835 sets out with the declaration that corporate bodies have been constituted within the cities and towns to the intent that the same might for ever be and remain well and quietly governed, and for this purpose it is expedient that the charters by which the said bodies corporate are constituted should be altered.

By the 6th section of the original Act, the body corporate of each borough shall have perpetual succession, and shall be capable in law by the council of such borough to do and suffer all acts which now lawfully they may do and suffer.

By the 92nd section a borough fund is created, to consist of all the property and hereditaments belonging to the corporation, the surplus of the income from which, after paying the necessary expenses, is to be applied, under the direction of the council, "for the public benefit of the inhabitants and the improvement of the borough." If the borough fund is not sufficient to defray the necessary outlay, the council is authorized to levy a borough rate, but the expenditure of such rate is limited to the "payment of the expenses to be incurred in carrying into effect the provisions of this Act."

These enactments constitute the essence of the charter of self-government conferred upon the boroughs forty-three years ago. The powers are not large. Those boroughs which possessed corporate property had the means in their hands of improvement and progress. Those which depended on a borough rate were strictly limited to the narrow range of objects contemplated in the Act, principally watching and lighting; the management of the highways being not included in their jurisdiction at that time.

By section 90, power was given to make bye-laws for the good rule and government of the borough, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. With this exception, however limited their powers might be, the councils were independent in the exercise of them, and free from interference by any Government board or department. The number of boroughs included in the Act of 1835 was one hundred and seventy-eight, which has been increased by subsequent charters of incorporation to two hundred and twenty-nine. These vary exceedingly in extent and population, from half a million down to less than three thousand. Ninety-nine boroughs were not inserted in the Act, and remain unreformed.

The limited sphere to which the functions of the boroughs were restricted in the Act gave little opportunity for operations of an aggressive character. At that time public interest had not been aroused to the importance of the sanitary measures which have since loomed so large in the public eye. A few of the boroughs which possessed landed estates, or were endowed with revenues from other sources, were enabled to effect public improvements of greater or less importance, but in the majority of cases the means were wanting, and probably the desire did not exist in sufficient strength to overcome the aversion to increased rates. The same remark will apply to the departments of art, science, and literature, which have more recently put forth their claims to local recognition and support. The great value of municipal institutions ought to consist in their concentration and reflection of public opinion in the locality, so as to bring it to bear with the greatest effect on all measures affecting the public interest. This has, unfortunately, been to a considerable extent counteracted by causes to which I will presently advert; but nevertheless it exists, and should be an important factor in all measures applied to local affairs.

But however restricted in regard to active operations our borough authorities might be, the opinion existed that in defending their privileges and protecting the interests of the burgesses, they had sufficient powers delegated to them for this purpose. The decisions of the superior courts have, however, circumscribed this power within very narrow limits, and in some cases taken it away altogether. It was held by the Lord Chancellor, in cases arising in Norwich and Tamworth, that "the costs of litigation undertaken *bonâ fide* for the defence of corporate rights may be paid out of the borough fund, even though such litigation is eventually unsuccessful." In these cases there were surplus funds applicable for the purpose. In a case of the borough of Wigan, where there was no surplus fund, it was decided that expenditure incurred in opposing a local water bill was legitimate, on the ground that the abstraction of the water would bring the case under the section for the prevention of nuisances. The important case which settled the law for the time, and left the boroughs helpless in defence of their rights, was one arising in Sheffield, decided in June, 1871, in the Court of Queen's Bench. This case was a very important one for the borough. A company brought in a Bill for supplying the town with water, which was opposed by the Town Council, on the main ground that it was better for the public interest that the supply should be provided by the municipality. The opposition was unsuccessful, and a rule was applied for, to quash the order for the payment of the expenses. The judges were unanimous in making the rule absolute, but expressed themselves very strongly on the injustice of the law as it stood. The Lord Chief Justice says: "I very much regret the conclusion at which I am forced to arrive, and I believe

that the corporation were actuated by the laudable desire to protect the true interests of the borough; and I very much wish that I could protect them against the expenses which must now fall upon individual members." Mr. Justice Blackburn expresses himself very strongly. He says: "It seems to me that the Town Council, in their concern for the inhabitants, may reasonably say, 'This is a matter in which the inhabitants are concerned, and we will interfere in it.' We must take what the expense was really incurred for, and it is perfectly obvious that the Town Council were coming forward, and were justified morally in coming forward, on the ground that they were protecting the interests of a large portion of the inhabitants." Mr. Justice Lush expresses himself in equally strong terms. This case was the harder, that in many points of the opposition in Parliament the Corporation were successful, which afforded the inhabitants the benefits so arising.

Anything in the nature of grace, dignity, or amenity is entirely *ultra vires* of the municipalities. The Mayor of Batley was provided with a gold chain by the corporation, the expense of which was disallowed by the court and thrown on himself or his friends. Very recently the corporation of Sunderland were mulcted in the expenses incurred on the reception and entertainment of General Grant, the ex-President of the United States.

Ostensibly to remedy the glaring injustice so plainly manifest in the Sheffield and similar cases, the "Borough Funds Act" (35 and 36 Vic., c. 91—1872) was passed. In its inception it was a prudent and liberal measure, but in its passage through Parliament the parties interested became alarmed, and by using their powerful influence succeeded in the introduction of clauses which completely neutralized the remedies proposed by the original Bill.

As the Act now stands, it is provided "that nothing in this Act contained shall authorize any governing body to promote any Bill in Parliament for the establishment of any gas or water works to compete with any existing gas or water company established under any Act of Parliament." So that, however badly conducted, oppressive, or extravagant an existing company may be, or however insufficient in quantity or bad in quality may be the supply, there is to be no remedy; the interests of the company are paramount; the welfare of the public is set at naught by the very authorities who are constantly stimulating the local bodies on sanitary grounds to increase and purify their supplies of water. The monopoly grants of Elizabeth and James I. are repeated with infinitely less excuse.

The enacting sections of the Act are drawn up in a spirit of narrow jealousy and distrust. Every possible hindrance is thrown in the way of carrying out the object for which they are ostensibly drawn.

In the promotion of or opposition to a Bill in Parliament for any purpose, the following formularies have to be complied with:—

1. Ten clear days' notice must be given by public advertisement in

the local newspapers, stating the day of meeting of the governing body (the council) and the purpose for which it is called; such notice to be in addition to the ordinary notices required for summoning such meeting.

2. When such meeting is held, any resolutions must have the sanction of an absolute majority of the whole governing body.

3. Any resolutions so carried must be published twice in some newspaper circulating in the district.

4. After the expiration of seven days the resolutions must be submitted for approval to the Local Government Board, or to one of Her Majesty's Secretaries of State, as the case may require, and in the meantime any ratepayer may give notice in writing to the Local Government Board or Secretary of State objecting to such approval.

5. In the case of the promotion of a Bill, a further special meeting of the council shall be held in pursuance of similar notices and publications within not less than fourteen days after the deposit of the Bill in Parliament, when a similar absolute majority of the whole governing body is required.

6. The Local Government Board or Secretary of State may direct a local inquiry to be held by any persons they may appoint, and may charge the costs and expenses upon the governing body.

One would have thought that with all these notices, references, absolute majorities, objections, and appeals to the Government authorities, there was not much scope left for the governing body to go astray; but to make assurance doubly sure it is further provided—

7. That no expense in promoting or opposing any Bill in Parliament shall be charged unless such promotion or opposition shall have had the consent of the owners and ratepayers of the district, to be expressed by resolution in the manner provided in the Local Government Act (1858) for the adoption of that Act.

For this purpose a public meeting has to be summoned by the mayor by advertisements and notices. Should there be a difference of opinion, any owner or ratepayer may demand a poll. This poll is to be conducted by voting papers on a graduated scale, giving a plurality of votes according to rental. In boroughs there exists no register other than the parish rate-book for this purpose.

If ever an Act of Parliament was passed providing every possible means "how not to do it," surely this is the one.

"It keeps the word of promise to our ear,
And breaks it to our hope."

The plebiscite to which the matter is ultimately referred is not that of the registered burgesses, but of an extraneous body of owners and occupiers, who have to be picked out of the rate-book *pro re nata*, at vast trouble and expense.

In most large boroughs, bills are submitted to Parliament every

year, affecting more or less the interests of the town. The expense of opposing, where clauses only are concerned, is not great, probably a hundred or a hundred and fifty pounds. The cumbrous mode of ascertaining public opinion prescribed by the Borough Funds Act in many cases would cost four or five times the actual amount of the outlay required.

The inconvenience of this state of things was soon felt to be so great, that in 1873 an association was formed embracing a large number of the corporate bodies in England, for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain an alteration in the law, so as to give to the municipalities a greater amount of freedom of action. The number of boroughs now included in this association is 123. After receiving several deputations, Mr. Gladstone's Government, in 1873, brought in a Bill to repeal the most objectionable sections of the Borough Funds Act; but, owing to the state of public business, the Bill was not proceeded with beyond the first reading. Similar applications have been made to the Conservative Government since their accession to office. The justice and importance of the case have been admitted. The present Home Secretary, in reply to a deputation on the 12th of March, 1875, spoke as follows:—

“With regard to the 4th section—that is, the check and control, or supposed check and control, of the ratepayers—I have no hesitation in saying that I think that an extremely clumsy apparatus. I cannot conceive any body of people more utterly incompetent to give a decision upon a particular point than the whole mass of ratepayers in a body, who really have no time for consideration, and may be led astray upon some particular view of it, which may be the popular view for the moment, but which afterwards is likely to turn out extremely unpopular. I think, if persons are to govern themselves, they should do so by the ordinary constituted authorities. I am very strongly of that opinion.”

The operation of this system of plebiscites is well illustrated by the working of the Public Libraries Acts, the last of which was passed in 1871. Under this Act any community has the power to adopt the measure, and to levy a rate not exceeding 1*d.* in the pound for its maintenance. Had the option rested with the elected bodies, there can be little doubt that the benefits of access to literature by the masses would long since have been diffused through the country, but the appeals to popular prejudice and ignorance by the smaller ratepayers have been sufficient in many of our large towns, and notoriously so in the metropolis, to frustrate to a great extent the endeavours in this direction.

What may be the ultimate result of this agitation it is impossible to foresee, but one thing is clear, that the issues now raised cover a far larger area than that occupied by the municipal borough corporations. When the Municipal Reform Act was passed, with the exception of the Boards of Guardians and a few minor bodies, the boroughs constituted the only examples of local self-governing communities within

the United Kingdom. The course of legislation since that date has become almost bewildering in the number of local bodies created, and in the variety of enactments to which they are subject.

In regard to boroughs alone, no fewer than seventy-six additional Acts have been passed since the Municipal Reform Bill, all of which are still in force, besides nineteen further Acts which have some relation thereto.

Great changes have taken place within the generation which is passing away. An unexampled career of prosperity during the earlier period brought with it new wants. The rapidly-increasing population of our towns led to inquiries which discovered frightful sources of disease and mortality. The alarm caused by the ravages of Asiatic cholera in the year 1831 roused public attention, and led to the first move in sanitary reform. After several tentative efforts in that direction, the first General Public Health Act was passed in 1848. This was supplemented from time to time as necessities arose, until, at the date of the second Report of the Royal Sanitary Commission in 1871, there were on the statute-book fifteen general Acts on the subject, besides many others having a partial or local application. These general Acts were consolidated and superseded by the Public Health Act of 1875.

Concurrently with this progress in general sanitary legislation, the requirements of modern society have assumed a complication and awakened an interest which has called for the interference of law in many departments never previously interfered with. This has been provided for as circumstances arose, each case being decided on its own merits with a chivalrous disregard of previous legislation on parallel lines. Thus, in addition to the Sanitary Acts, we have Burial Acts, Factory Acts, Workshop Acts, Baths and Washhouses Acts, Education Acts, Public Library Acts, Lodging-house Acts, Vaccination Acts, Contagious Diseases Acts, both for men and animals; Adulteration of Food Acts, Pharmacy Acts, Alkali Works Acts, Smoke Acts, Quarantine Acts—all requiring local machinery; the areas over which they range, their mode of administration, and the bodies to which they are entrusted, overlapping, intermingling, and exhibiting all manner of confusion and diversity.

The Royal Sanitary Commission appointed in 1869, in their second Report, dated 1871, state as follows:—

“The general purport of our Report is, that the present fragmentary and confused sanitary legislation should be consolidated, and that the administration of sanitary law should be made uniform, universal, and imperative, throughout the kingdom. We propose that all powers requisite for the health of towns and country should in every place be possessed by *one* responsible local authority, kept in action and assisted by a superior authority.”

This has partially been effected by the Health of Towns Act (1875), so far as relates to the consolidation of the law, but the multitude of

separate and frequently conflicting local authorities, acting under separate enactments, still continue.

In 1877 an elaborate Memorandum on Local Government was prepared by Mr. R. S. Wright under the supervision and at the expense of Messrs. William Rathbone, M.P., and S. Whitbread, M.P. This is really an exhaustive review of the existing organization of local government in England. The following extracts will indicate the conclusions at which these gentlemen have arrived, and the lines on which any improvements should in their opinion be laid down :—

“We think that it must be apparent that the existing local organization is in many of its parts complicated and unequal to present requirements. The increase in population and in the requirements of the time has outgrown the capacity of local machinery created for more limited objects. The greatly increased duties thrown upon local bodies, and their powers to tax and incur debt, make it necessary that the local organization should be simplified and strengthened.

“The main cause of the defectiveness of the existing organization seems to be the complication of the areas into which the country is subdivided for the different purposes of administration. This complication operates injuriously in two ways. In the first place it involves the concurrent existence of a number of distinct governing bodies independent of each other, and conflicting sometimes in interest or policy. If one simple unit of local government were adopted for all purposes, there would be a single governing body, elected at one time, and in one manner, and by one constituency; and this body, by itself or by its committees, would manage all the affairs of the locality on consistent principles; its proceedings would be subject to effective control by the ratepayers; and it would have one budget of expenditure and debt for the whole locality. In the second place, the same cause prevents the ratepayer from seeing or controlling the total of the indebtedness by which he may be affected. Parliament may see the growth of the local indebtedness of the country as a whole, but they cannot control it. The ratepayer alone could control its growth as it proceeds, but he cannot see it. The various debts which affect him are contracted by different authorities for areas which are not conterminous. . . . The evil of growing indebtedness must be dealt with locally; but it cannot so be dealt with until its existence and its probable results have been brought home to the ratepayer, and they cannot be brought home to the ratepayer without a simplification of areas and of governing bodies. This seems to be the first condition of improvement.”*

Again—

“It is said and it seems to be beyond question, that by reason of the defects which have been described, the machinery of local government works with waste and difficulty and without proper effect; that some of the most capable men are deterred from taking their proper part in it; that by reason of the unfairness of taxation private interests are unnecessarily aroused against public improvements; and that local indebtedness is so broken up, and incurred in so divided a responsibility, that its growth, which can only be checked locally, is not known locally, and could not be effectively resisted even if it were known.”†

The confusion, mismanagement, and waste arising from the multiplicity of these conflicting jurisdictions seems almost to have reached its climax. In one district in a northern county, until recently

* Report, pp. 2, 3.

† Memorandum, No. 1, p. 4.

comprised within the limits of one Poor-law Union, there are now two municipal boroughs with town councils, eleven Local Board districts, three Boards of Guardians, twenty-four bodies of overseers, five Burial Boards, two School Boards, and one Highway Board, making a total of forty-eight local authorities acting in complete independence of each other, the complication being increased by the fact that in some cases a single Board exercises its different functions over different areas.*

The evils arising from the present state of things in this direction seem pretty generally acknowledged, and a reform sooner or later is inevitable. This must comprise the establishment of definite areas within which all local affairs shall be administered by a single body elected by the ratepayers, subject to re-election at definite periods. Several moot questions here present themselves, which will require very grave consideration. Should the constituencies in the municipal boroughs, in the smaller towns, and in the rural districts be identical, or in what way should they be modified? Connected with this the question of the re-arrangement or extension of borough boundaries will require careful attention.

Another point is whether the owners of property in any form should be admitted as such to the franchise. In Local Board districts the owners have a voice, with a plurality of votes. In boroughs, where the objects to be attained are to a great extent identical, owners have no voice. Mr. Cross, the present Home Secretary, has expressed himself rather strongly on this point in reply to a deputation advocating the repeal of the Borough Funds Act. He says—

“Don't you perceive that it is necessary, from the nature of the improvements that you have to carry out, you cannot confine yourselves to current annual expenditure, but you are bound in the nature of things to incur a very large expenditure, and to say that in forty or fifty years that shall be cleared off? Now in this way you are really, by the representatives of the temporary occupiers, mortgaging the property of the owners. Therefore I think it necessary that the owners in some form or shape should have means afforded them of stating their case when they object, for the temporary benefit of the occupiers, to having their property improperly burdened.”

Whatever alterations may be required in carrying out a thorough and satisfactory system of representation for local self-government, one change is imperatively called for—the getting rid of the incubus of aldermen in the city and borough councils. The institution is in every point of view mischievous and useless. It is a relic of the old self-electing principle foisted into a measure purporting to be one of popular representation. If it was supposed that the election of the aldermen by the councils would introduce a superior class of men, free from the influence of popular prejudice and party spirit, never was intention more signally disappointed. The besetting sin of the

* For these and other subsequent particulars I am indebted to a paper by Mr. H. J. Hagger, read at the Poor Law Conference of the North-Western District, held in October, 1877, under the Presidency of Mr. J. T. Hibbert, M.P.

modern town councils is the introduction of party politics, to which everything else is sacrificed. In the majority of cases, in the selection of members, the only qualification required is thorough political partisanship. This is fostered and encouraged by the mode of electing aldermen, which, in cases where the political parties are nearly equal, gives power to the party which has once gained the ascendancy to maintain its position, though in a minority of elected councillors. For this purpose candidates rejected by the constituencies are, as it is called, "pitchforked" into the aldermanship by their own political friends. The aldermen have no special duties to perform. Their existence is an anachronism and an anomaly, and has contributed, by the political cliquism it has tended to maintain, more than anything else to degrade and lower the councils in the eyes of the Government and the thinking part of the public.

A recent instance will serve to illustrate and confirm the view here taken. The town of Birkenhead for many years had its local affairs managed by a Board of Commissioners in a manner apparently satisfactory. In the selection of members party politics were unknown. Whig and Tory cries were suspended, and suitability for the office alone regarded. In an evil hour it was resolved to apply for a charter of municipal incorporation, which was obtained. At the first election, owing to the jealousy and distrust by each party of the other, the demon of political strife was let loose. The great contention was, which party should have the choice of the aldermen, and in the result, out of forty-eight members of the new council, forty-six Conservatives were elected.

One point still remains to be discussed, and that probably under present circumstances the most important, viz., the relation of the local bodies to the central government, or in other words the extent to which self-government is to be allowed. The contest is not a new one, it has been carried on in most countries from the earliest dawn of history with varying results.

In mediæval Italy, France, and England, the towns were encouraged by the monarchs to shake off their yoke of dependency on the lords of the soil, and afterwards were drawn into a state of thralldom and dependence by the increasing influence of the Crown.

This transformation in France was completed early in the last century, when the system of centralized bureaucracy, which has since existed there under every successive form of government, was finally established.*

In England it has been our proud boast that we govern ourselves, and, in theory at least, centralization has been always held up to abhorrence. Down to the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act,

* Thierry, speaking of this change, says, "Ce n'est pas sans un regret de sympathie que je dis adieu à ces communautés libres, qui furent le berceau du Tiers Etat, la première et vigoureuse expression de ses instincts politiques."—*Histoire du Tiers Etat*, ii. 29.

in 1834, this boast was really well founded. There might be extravagance, peculation, and mismanagement in our local bodies, but there was at least independence. With the introduction of this Act, a new era—what has been called the *Board Era*—set in. With the increased and varying wants of the community, boards of all sorts have been multiplied and scattered broadcast over the land; but, at the same time, a radical change has been silently effected in the incidence of responsibility and power:—

“The real and substantial control of purely local matters is passing out of the hands of local managers into those of the central authority, and the tendency of the period is in that direction. For centralization pure and simple, much can doubtless be said; on the other hand, Englishmen are apt to grow enthusiastic when describing the advantages of local self-government; but it is hard to say much in favour of a system which, combining the weakness of both, lacks the special merits of either.”*

It is of the utmost importance that our local institutions should be so framed as to attract the intelligent portion of the inhabitants to take an interest in them, and a share in their management. The complication which leads to a waste of time in petty details is enough to deter from this. In all questions of importance, and in many of the most trifling character, not a step can be taken without consulting the central authority, and it is naturally the policy of the department to encourage this feeling of dependency. To what ludicrous lengths this may be carried the following instance will show. About twelve months ago, when an alarm was felt as to the expected ravages of the Colorado beetle, the Privy Council issued to the various boards of guardians placards for publication, giving information on the subject. About twenty of these reached a certain union. The expense of the posting would have been a few shillings, but as the matter was new, and a surcharge might be the result, the General Orders of the Local Government Board were searched to find a precedent, but in vain. A letter was then addressed to the central department, gravely asking for instructions in so urgent an emergency.

The reply, in its vagueness and ambiguity, was worthy of the oracle at Delphi. It is signed by the assistant-secretary, and, after some preliminaries, proceeds: “The Board direct me to state that they could not at the present moment properly express an opinion on the legal question, as it might come before them upon appeal from the decision of the auditor; but they may add that they are very desirous that every facility and assistance should be given in circulating the information issued by the Privy Council.”

Who can wonder that able and competent men, thus tied and fettered by the domineering influence of a central bureau, get disgusted, and leave local affairs to take care of themselves?

It is true that the control over the expenditure of the boroughs has

* Hagger: Poor Law Conference, *ut supra*.

not yet reached this point, but there has been an approximation towards it. During last session a Bill was introduced, relegating the audit of borough accounts to the Government auditor. This was to be permissive in its inception, but the step, once taken, was to be irrevocable in all time to come.

The meddling way in which the Government Boards interfere in the most trifling local affairs is shown in a recent series of orders issued by the Board of Trade, in reference to the construction of steam tramways. They here reserve to themselves the power of making bye-laws on the most trivial matters, such as the particular points in the streets where the cars are to stop, &c.

Another mode in which the Government departments are assuming a central controlling authority is by the framing of provisional orders for local purposes, which are afterwards brought before Parliament for confirmation in the lump; thus really exercising the functions of Parliament in legislating for the country.

Centralization, when carried to excess, emasculates public spirit, induces a careless indifference to the welfare of the community, takes away the sense of responsibility in local affairs, tends to produce a degrading subserviency to the powers above, and is in every way destructive of that manly feeling of individual freedom with combined action which has hitherto been held as the glory and boast of our English institutions.

Local governments doubtless occasionally go wrong, and do very foolish things; but why should a Government official be supposed to possess all wisdom? "Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?" Suppose a few mistakes committed locally, it is, after all, a small price to pay for freedom; whilst in the counsels of the supervising board the most absurd things may be perpetrated without the chance of redress.

There is no mode of government devised by human intelligence, whether local or central, that is not liable to defects and open to objection, but the nearest approximation to a true healthy system is that of public opinion expressed through a properly constituted representative body. It was publicly announced some twenty years ago, from a very dignified source, that representative government in England was upon its trial. To judge from the rapid strides of bureaucracy, as applied to our local institutions, and the doctrine of personal government in national affairs, now seriously propounded in high quarters, it would seem to be already condemned and sentenced.

We might with advantage consider and reflect upon the historical events of two friendly nations, France and America. The agitations, vicissitudes, revolutions, and changes of the former have been heightened and aggravated, if not caused, by the centralization of its system. Under every *régime* Paris has been really France. The provinces have been powerless, and the destinies of a great empire have been at the mercy of a mere fragment of the nation. The

greatest statesmen of France are so sensible of this that they are making every effort to decentralize their institutions and to give more power to the local bodies.

Compare with this the system of the United States, where democratic and local institutions have acquired a development and ascendancy elsewhere unknown. No doubt a thousand faults may be discovered. The Tammany Ring, the iniquities of the New York municipality, venality and corruption in various forms, may be raked up and combined to form a hideous picture. But turn to the other side. Where is there on the whole a more law-abiding people? Where is individual liberty more enjoyed? Where are the rights of conscience and religious equality so well understood? Where is education more valued and encouraged? Where can a community adopt their own course and govern themselves in their own way without interference as in America? Where, indeed, has the true English principle of local self-government been developed with such success?

It is time that these questions should awake serious consideration in the public mind, and that some check should be given to the insidious advances of the departmental and bureaucratic principle. It may not now be too late; but when the radiating lines from the circumference to the centre are completed and in working order, extrication may be impossible.

Whilst these sheets are passing through the press an unofficial intimation has been given that the Home Secretary is prepared to sanction such an alteration in the Borough Funds Act as will secure to the local authorities the power of promoting Bills in Parliament and defending the rights of the community on their own responsibility; but this concession is to be conditional on the owners of houses and lands having in some way a voice and influence in local affairs, whether by direct representation or by a specific vote on the measures introduced. This is based on the principle that as the incidence of all local rates falls ultimately on the land, it is unfair to mortgage such property for an indefinite period without admitting the owners' influence in some form. It will be for the associated boroughs seriously to ponder this question before it is too late, and to ascertain how far the true principle of local self-government can be restored, in combination with perfect justice to all interests concerned.

If this opportunity is neglected, if political interests are to be paramount, if the Town Councils and Local Boards are to be converted into arenas for party political strife to the neglect of their own proper vocation, the end is not difficult to foresee. A fair pretext will be afforded for tightening the grasp of the central authority, which will ultimately crush out all life and vigour in our local affairs, leaving their representatives mere puppets in the hands of the Government officials.

J. A. PICTON.

THE POSITION AND INFLUENCE OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT ATHENS.

AFTER the Spartan women,* we should naturally discuss the position and influence of women among the Athenians. But a singular phenomenon chronologically anterior arrests our attention. The Spartan Constitution remained nearly in the same condition from the ninth century to the fourth. Our knowledge of the life of the Athenian women relates mainly to the fifth and later centuries. In the seventh and sixth occurred the movement among women to which I allude. Unfortunately many features of it are obscure. The ancients did not feel much interest in it, and the records in which its history was contained have nearly all perished. The centre of the movement was the poetess Sappho. She of herself would deserve a passing notice in any account of ancient women, for she attained a position altogether unique. She was the only woman in all antiquity whose productions by universal consent placed her on the same level as the greatest poets of the other sex. Solon, on hearing one of her songs sung at a banquet, got the singer to teach it to him immediately, saying that he wished to learn it and die.† Herodotus, Plato, Aristotle, refer to her in terms of profound respect. Plato called her the tenth Muse. And Strabo seems to express the opinion of antiquity when he says that she was something quite wonderful; "for we do not know," he says,‡ "in the whole period of time of which there is any record, the appearance of a single woman that could rival her, even in a slight degree, in respect of poetry."

This woman determined to do her utmost to elevate her sex. The one method of culture open to women at that time was poetry. There was no other form of literature, and accordingly she systematically trained her pupils to be poets, and to weave into verse the noblest maxims of the intellect and the deepest emotions of the heart. Young

* See CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for July, 1878.

† Sto'b. 29, 53.

‡ xli. c. 2, sect. 3.

people with richly endowed minds flocked to her from all quarters, and formed a kind of woman's college.

There can be no doubt that these young women were impelled to seek the society of Sappho from disgust with the low drudgery and monotonous routine to which women's lives were sacrificed, and they were anxious to rise to something nobler and better. We learn this from Sappho herself. It is thus that she addresses an uneducated woman:—

“Dying thou shalt lie in the tomb, and there shall be no remembrance of thee afterwards, for thou partakest not of the roses of Pieria: yea, undistinguished shalt thou walk in the halls of Hades, fluttering about with the pithless dead.”

And one of her most distinguished pupils, Erinna, who died at the early age of nineteen, sang in her poem “The Distaff” the sorrows of a girl whom her mother compelled to work at the loom and the distaff while she herself longed to cultivate the worship of the Muses.

Did she attempt any other innovation in regard to the position of women? What did she think were the relations which ought to subsist between the one sex and the other? These are questions that we should fain wish we could answer: but history remains silent, and we can only form conjectures from isolated facts and statements. A late Greek writer, Maximus Tyrius, compares her association with young women to the association which existed between Socrates and young men. It has to be remembered that even in Sparta the men were thrown into very close and continual intimacy; and that this was still more the case in other States where the women were kept in strict confinement. Even in Sparta the men dined together alone; they were often away on military expeditions for whole months together, and men were the instructors of the youths. In this way passionate intimacies arose between old and young, the old man striving to instruct his favourite youth in all manly and virtuous exercises, and the young man serving and protecting his old friend to the best of his power. These attachments were like the loves of Jonathan and David, surpassing the love of women. It is likely that Sappho did not see why these intimacies, fraught as they were with so many advantages, should be confined to the male sex; and she strove, or at least Maximus Tyrius thought she strove, to establish much closer connections, such strong ties of love between members of her own sex as would unite them for ever in firm friendship, soothe them in the time of sorrow, and make the hours of life pass joyfully on. And her poetry expresses an extraordinary strength and warmth of affection. Just as Socrates almost swoons at the sight of the exquisite beauty of an Athenian youth, so Sappho trembles all over when she gazes on her lovely girls. And she weaves all the beauties of nature into the expression of the depth of her emotion. She seems to have had a rarely intense love of nature. The bright sun, the moon and

the stars, the music of birds, the cool river, the shady grove, Hesperus, and the golden-sandalled Dawn—all are to her ministers of love, of this intense love for her poetical pupils, for one of whom she says she would not take the whole of Lydia. But though this association may have been one great object, it cannot be affirmed that she formed any idea of making the love of women a substitute for the love of men. Some of her girls unquestionably married, and Sappho composed their hymeneal songs. She entered into their future destinies and sympathized with them throughout their career, following them to the grave with the sad lament which they only can utter who have felt intensely the joys of life, and see in death the entrance to a cold, shadowy, and pithless existence.

It is possible that she may have ventured on new opinions as to the nature of marriage. When we come to treat of Athens, we shall see that the restrictions on marriage in the ancient world were of the sternest and most narrow character. Her Lesbian countrywomen enjoyed considerable liberty, and Heraclides Ponticus says that they were daring and bold. But they were surrounded by Ionians among whom the position of women was almost servile. Sappho may have opened her home to the girls who were tired of such close restriction, and may have counselled marriage from choice. Probably this circumstance would account for the treatment which the character of Sappho received in subsequent times, for all women who have dared to help forward the progress of their sex, and all men who have boldly aided them, have almost uniformly been slandered and reviled in all ages.* All the notices which we have of her from contemporary or nearly contemporary sources speak of her in high terms of praise. Alcæus, her fellow-townsmen, sings of her as "the violet-crowned, chaste, sweet-smiling Sappho," and approaches her in verses which imply a belief in her purity. Herodotus tells how she bitterly rebuked a brother who squandered all his money on a beautiful courtesan. Her fellow-citizens honoured her by stamping her figure upon their coins,—“honoured her,” says Aristotle, “though she was a woman.” And the fragments of her own poems bear testimony to the same fact. They show, indeed, the warm blood of a Southern girl who has no concealments. If she loves, she tells it in verses that vibrate with emotion, that tremble with passion. And she was no prude. Like the rest of her sex of that day, she thought that it was woman's destiny to love, and that the woman who tried to resist the impulse of the god tried an impossible feat. But there is not one line to show that she fell in love with any man. She may have done so, she probably did so, but there is no clear proof. There is only one reference to a man, and it is most likely that she is celebrating not her own passion, but the love of one of her girls. And if she wrote many a hymn to

* “To attack a woman's reputation is the ready resort of the blockhead who is jealous of her talents.”—*Miss Cornwallis*.

the golden-throned Aphrodite, she wrote also hymns to the chaste Artemis, and prayed to the chaste Graces.

But when we pass from her contemporaries to the Athenian comic writers, all is changed. No less than six comedies, written by six different poets, bore her name and exhibited her loves, and four other plays probably treated the same subject. In these she was represented as loving a poet who died before she was born, and two poets who were born after she died. But especially she fell into an infatuated love at the age of fifty for a kind of mythological young man who was gifted by Aphrodite with the power of driving any woman he liked into desperation for him. Old Sappho became desperate according to these poets, and plunged into the sea to cool this mad passion; but whether she ever reached the bottom, no comic poet or subsequent historian has vouchsafed to tell us. All these villanous stories, which gathered vileness till, as Philarète Chasles remarks, they reached a climax in Pope, seem to me indicative that she ventured on some bold innovations in regard to her own sex which shocked the Athenian mind. And perhaps confirmation is added to this by a reliable inscription that she was banished and fled to Sicily. She may, indeed, have taken part in some of the numerous political movements which agitated her native island, but it seems more likely that she would give offence by trying to strike off some of the restrictions which in her opinion harassed or degraded her sex.*

We come now to the Athenians. The phenomenon that presents itself here is as peculiar and striking as anything we have yet examined. In Athens we find two classes of women who were not slaves. There was one class who could scarcely move a step from their own rooms, and who were watched and restricted in every possible way. There was another class on whom no restrictions whatever were laid, who could move about and do whatever seemed good in their own eyes. And the unrestricted would in all probability have exchanged places with the restricted, and many of the restricted envied the freedom of the other members of their sex. We proceed to the explanation of this phenomenon.

First of all the ancient idea of a State has to be firmly kept in mind. The ancient Greeks did not dream, as we have said, of any political constitution more extensive than a city. Athens was the largest of these city-States in Greece, and yet it probably never numbered more than thirty thousand citizens. These citizens, according to the Greek idea, were all connected by ties of blood more or less distant; they all had the same divine ancestor; they all worshipped the same gods in the same temples, and they possessed many rights, properties, and

* The controversy about Sappho's character between Welcker and Col. Mure is well known. Welcker's "*Kleine Schriften*" contain several essays on her, in addition to his famous Defence. There is a very good essay on her and her times in Koechly's "*Akademische Vorträge*."

privileges in common. It was therefore of supreme importance that in the continuation of the State only true citizens should be admitted, and accordingly the general principle was laid down that none could become citizens but those whose fathers and mothers had been the children of citizens. From this it followed that the utmost care should be taken that no spurious offspring should be palmed upon the State. The women could not be trusted in this matter to their own sense of propriety. It was natural for a woman to love. Even men were powerless before irresistible love, and much less self-control could be expected from weak women. Means must therefore be devised to prevent the possibility of anything going wrong, and accordingly the citizen-women had special apartments assigned to them, generally in the upper story, that they might have to come downstairs, and men might see them if they ventured out. Then they were forbidden to be present at any banquet. The men preferred to dine by themselves, rather than expose their wives to their neighbour's gaze. And in order to defy all possibility of temptation, the women must wrap up every part of their bodies. In addition to these external arrangements, laws were passed such as might deter the most venturesome. A citizen woman could have almost* no other association with a citizen than marriage. The most transient forcible connection imposed the duty of marriage, or was followed by severe penalties. And she could not marry any but a citizen. Association with a stranger never could become a marriage. And after she was married, infidelity was punished with the most terrible disgrace. Her husband was compelled to send her away. No man could marry her again; for if any one ventured on such a course, he was thereby disfranchised. She was practically expelled from society, and excommunicated. If she appeared in a temple, any one could tear her dress off, and maltreat her to any extent with impunity, provided he stopped short of killing her. Her accomplice also might be put to death, if the husband caught him. Restrictions of the most stringent nature and punishments the most terrible were employed to keep the citizenship pure. To help further to realize the position of the Athenian wife, we have to add that she was generally married about the age of fifteen or sixteen. Up to this time she had seen and heard as little as possible, and had inquired about nothing.† Her acquaintance with the outside world had been made almost exclusively in religious processions. "When I was seven years of age," say the chorus of women in the "*Lysistrata*,"‡ "I carried the mystic box in procession; then when I was ten I ground the cakes for our patron goddess, and then, clad in a saffron-coloured robe, I was the

* It seems to have been possible for an Athenian to take a free Athenian woman as a concubine; but the rights of such concubines and children, and indeed the whole subject, are involved in difficulties. See Van den Es: *De Jure Familiarum apud Athenienses*.

† Xen. *Ec.* iii. 13; vii. 5.

‡ v. 641.

bear at the Brauronian festival; and I carried the sacred basket when I became a beautiful girl." Such were the great external events in the life of a high-born Athenian maid. When she married, her life was not much more varied. Her duties lay entirely within the house. They were summed up in the words, "to remain inside and to be obedient to her husband." She superintended the female slaves who carded the wool; she made or assisted in making the garments of her husband and children; she had charge of the provisions; and she was expected to devote some time to the infants. If she went out at all, it was to some religious procession or to a funeral, and if old she might occasionally visit a female friend and take breakfast with her, or help her in some hour of need. For the discharge of the duties which fell to an Athenian woman no great intellectual power was needed, and accordingly the education of girls was confined to the merest elements.

Such was the treatment of Athenian women: what were the results? One can easily perceive that there was very little of love-making before marriage. A girl of thirteen or fourteen preparing for a life of sewing, spinning, provision-getting, and child-nursing is not generally an object of much attraction to grown-up men. The romantic element is decidedly deficient. And then even if there had been some romantic element, the young men had no opportunities of free intercourse. Accordingly matches were managed to a large extent by old women, who were allowed to go from house to house, and who explained to the young woman the qualities of the young man, and to the young man the qualities of the young woman. A marriage concluded in such a way might or might not be happy, but there could be little ideal love about it. Nor is there any reason to believe that the Athenians were very fond of their wives. They liked them if they managed their houses economically, and had healthy children, especially sons. But they were absent from them the most part of the day, they did not discuss with them subjects of the highest moment, they did not share with them their thoughts and aspirations. The domestic sentiment was feeble: this comes out in various ways. One instance will suffice. Sophocles presents one of his characters as regretting the loss of a brother or sister much more than that of a wife. If the wife dies you can get another, but if a brother or sister dies and the mother is dead, you can never get another brother or sister. The one loss is easily reparable, the other is irreparable. This state of matters had a powerful effect on the wives. Many of them consoled themselves in their loneliness with copious draughts of unmixed wine. They often made assignations through their slaves, and were fond of stealing out of the house whenever they could find an opportunity. And faithlessness, though the punishment was so terrible, was not uncommon. In fact their human nature could not bear the strain laid upon it. No doubt there were many among them who were good and faithful wives, and we

must not always judge Southern girls by our Northern constitutions of body and soul. I have known a Greek girl who attained to peerless beauty before she was fourteen. Every feature was perfect, her dark eyes twinkled at one time with the wildest merriment, at another gazed with a strange and weird-like melancholy as if into infinite darkness. She could speak fluently four languages, and she had read largely in the literatures of each. And when I came upon her in her sad melancholy moods, she would tell me that she was puzzled with the mystery of life and was wondering what it all meant. I have no doubt there were many such girls in old Athens, and many an Athenian wife could discuss the highest subjects with her husband. In fact it is scarcely possible to conceive that such a marvellous crop of remarkable men, renowned in literature and art, could have arisen, if all the Athenian mothers were ordinary housewives. But circumstances certainly were exceedingly unfavourable to them; and though there never was in the history of the world such a numerous race of great thinkers, poets, sculptors, painters, and architects, in one city at one time as in Athens, not one Athenian woman ever attained to the slightest distinction in any one department of literature, art, or science. "Great," says Pericles, in the famous funeral oration which Thucydides* puts into his mouth, "is the glory of that woman who is least talked of amongst the men, either in the way of praise or blame." And this glory the Athenian women attained to perfection.

We pass from the citizen-women of Athens to the other class of free women—the strangers. A stranger had no rights or privileges in any of the ancient States. Any justice that he might obtain could be gained only by the friendly services of some citizen. If this was true of the man-stranger, it was also true of the woman-stranger. She was not entitled to the protection of the city-State. No laws were made for her benefit. She had to look after her own interests herself or get some man to do it for her by her own arts of persuasion. The one object that the State kept before it in regard to these stranger-women was to see to it that they did not in any way corrupt the purity of the citizen blood. The statesmen thought that great dangers might arise from their presence in a community. Political peril might threaten the very existence of the State if strangers, with strange traditions and foreign interests, were to take even the slightest part in the management of public affairs. And the gods might be fearfully insulted and inflict dreadful vengeance if any one of these stranger-women were to find her way into the secret recesses of ancestral worship and perform some of the sacred functions which only the citizen-women could perform. The Spartans accordingly did not permit any strangers, male or female, to reside in their city. These strangers might come to certain festivals for a few days, but the period of their stay was strictly limited. Athens pursued a different

* ii. 45.

policy. She was a commercial city. She was at the head, and ultimately ruler, of a large confederacy of Greek States which sent their taxes to her. Besides, the city itself was full of attractions for the stranger, with its innumerable works of art, its brilliant dramatic exhibitions, its splendid religious processions, its gay festivals, its schools of philosophy, and its keen political life. Athens could not exclude strangers. It had therefore to take the most stringent precautions that this concourse of strangers should not corrupt the pure citizen blood. Accordingly laws were enacted which prohibited any citizen-man from marrying a stranger-woman or any stranger-man from marrying a citizen-woman. If the stranger-man or woman ventured on such a heinous offence any one could inform against him or her. The culprit was seized, all his or her property was confiscated, and he or she was sold into slavery. The citizen-man or woman involved in such an offence had to suffer very severe penalties. The stranger-women therefore could not marry. Marriage was the only sin that they could commit politically in the eye of an Athenian statesman. They might do anything else that they liked. Now it is not conceivable that in such circumstances a numerous class of women would betake themselves to perpetual virginity. If any one had propounded such a sentiment the Greek mind would have recoiled from it as unnatural, and plainly contrary to the will of the gods. And accordingly these women might form any other connections with men, temporary or permanent, except marriage, and the Greek saw nothing in this but the ordinary outcome of human nature under the peculiar circumstances of the case. Besides, in Athens a special sphere lay open for them to fill. The citizen-women were confined to their houses and did not dine in company with the men. But the men refused to limit their associations with women to the house. They wished to have women with them in their walks, in their banquets, in their military expeditions. The wives could not be with them then, but there was no constraint on the stranger-women. The Greek men did not care whether the offspring of stranger-women was pure or not. It mattered not either to the State or to religion. There was no reason for confining them. And accordingly they selected these stranger-women as their companions, and "Hetaira," or companion, was the name by which the whole class was designated. Thus arose a most unnatural division of functions among the women of those days. The citizen-women had to be mothers and housewives—nothing more; the stranger-women had to discharge duties of companions, but remain outside the pale of the privileged and marriageable class. These stranger-women applied their minds to their function, with various ideas of it, and various methods. Many adopted the lowest possible means of gaining the good-will of men; but many set about making themselves fit companions for the most intellectual and most elevated among men.

They were the only educated women in Athens. They studied all the arts, became acquainted with all new philosophical speculations, and interested themselves in politics. Women who thus cultivated their minds were sure to gain the esteem of the best men in Greece. Many of them also were women of high moral character, temperate, thoughtful, and earnest, and were either unattached or attached to one man, and to all intents and purposes married. Even if they had two or three attachments, but behaved in other respects with temperance and sobriety, such was the Greek feeling in regard to their peculiar position, that they did not bring down upon themselves any censure from even the sternest of Greek moralists. One of these women came to Athens when Socrates was living, and he had no scruple in conversing with her on her art and discussing how she could best procure true friends. And, in fact, these were almost the only Greek women who exhibited what was best and noblest in woman's nature. One of these, Diotima of Mantinea,* must have been a woman of splendid mind, for Socrates speaks of her as his teacher in love, when he gives utterance, in the "Symposium," to the grandest thoughts in regard to the true nature and essence of divine and eternal beauty. Almost every one of the great men of Athens had such a companion, and these women seem to have sympathized with them in their high imaginations and profound meditations. Many of them were also courageously true to their lovers. When the versatile Alcibiades had to flee for his life, it was a "Companion" that went with him,† and, being present at his end, performed the funeral rites over him. But of all these women there is one that stands prominently forward as the most remarkable woman of antiquity, Aspasia of Miletus. We do not know what circumstance induced her to leave her native city Miletus. Plutarch suggests that she was inflamed by the desire to imitate the conduct of Thargelia, another Milesian, who gained a position of high political importance by using her persuasive arts on the Greeks whom she knew, to win them over to the cause of the King of Persia. This may have been the case, but a good deal that is said about Aspasia must be received with considerable scepticism. Like Sappho, she became the subject of comedies, but, unlike Sappho, she was bitterly attacked by the comic poets and others during her lifetime. The later Greek writers were in the habit of setting down the jests of the comic writers as veritable history, and modern commentators and historians have not been entirely free from this practice. Whatever brought her to Athens, certain it is that she found her way there, and became acquainted with the great statesman Pericles. She made a complete conquest of him. He was at the

* Some have affirmed Diotima to be a fiction of Plato (Mähly, *Die Frauen des Griechischen Alterthums*, p. 14), but this supposition has been amply refuted: Stallbaum on the *Symposium*, p. 120 D. Otto Jahn collects all the references to Diotima by ancient writers in his edition of the *Symposium*.

† Timandra, Plut. Alc. c. 30.

time married, but there was incompatibility of temper between him and his wife. Pericles therefore made an agreement with his wife to have a divorce, and get her married to another, and so they separated to the satisfaction of both. He then took Aspasia as his companion, and there is no good reason for supposing that they were not entirely faithful to each other, and lived as husband and wife till death separated them. Of course husband and wife they could not be according to Athenian law, but Pericles treated her with all the respect and affection which were due to a wife. Plutarch tells us, as an extraordinary trait in the habits of a statesman who was remarkable for imperturbability and self-control, that he regularly kissed Aspasia when he went out and came in. Her house became the resort of all the great men of Athens. Socrates was often there. Phidias and Anaxagoras were intimate acquaintances; and probably Sophocles and Euripides were in constant attendance. Indeed, never had any woman such a *salon* in the whole history of man. The greatest sculptor that ever lived, the grandest man of all antiquity, philosophers and poets, sculptors and painters, statesmen and historians, met each other and discussed congenial subjects in her rooms. And probably hence has arisen the tradition that she was the teacher of Socrates in philosophy and politics, and of Pericles in rhetoric.* Her influence was such as to stimulate men to do their best, and they attributed to her all that was best in themselves. Aspasia seems especially to have thought earnestly on the duties and destiny of women. The cultivated men who thronged her assemblies had no hesitation in breaking through the conventionalities of Athenian society, and brought their wives to the parties of Aspasia, and she discussed with them the duties of wives. She thought that they should strive to be something more than mere mothers and housewives. She urged them to cultivate their minds, and be in all respects fit companions for their husbands. Unfortunately we know very little more. Did she come to any definite conclusion as to the functions of woman? It is difficult to say. The hints are very obscure. But in all probability the conclusion to which she came was that neither man nor woman can adequately perform their mission in life separately, that a man can never do his best without the inspiration and support of a congenial woman, and that woman should seek her work in vigorous and sympathetic co-operation with some congenial man. Probably Plato has put into the mouth of Aristophanes the sentiments which the philosopher had heard often in the Socratic circles, which regarded Aspasia as their instructress in those matters. Referring to the myth that man was split in two, and that his two halves go in search of each other, he says,† "For my part, I now affirm, in reference to all human beings, both men and

* The latest biographer of Pericles believes these statements, and attributes the making of Pericles and Socrates to Aspasia: *Das Perikleische Zeitalter* von Adolf Schmidt.

† *Symp.* 193.

women, that our race would become happy if we were able to carry out our love perfectly, and each one were to obtain his own special beloved, thus returning to his original nature. And if this is best, the best in present circumstances is to come as near as possible to this, and this occurs when we obtain the beloved that is by nature meet for us." There is no reason to suppose that Aspasia had any romantic notions in regard to love or the destiny of woman. She was, on the whole, practical, and thought that woman should find her satisfaction in work not in dreams. She did not imagine that one could have only one love, and that if she did not get that, or lost it, she should repine and turn from life. She was in the world to be an active being, and accordingly when Pericles died, she formed a connection with Lysicles, a sheep-seller, believing him to be the best subject she could obtain, and made him, though not a bright man, the foremost politician in Athens for a time.*

The entire activity of Aspasia, her speculations, her intercourse with men whose opinions were novel and daring, and who were believed, like Anaxagoras and Socrates, to be unsparing innovators; her own hold over the noblest married women in Athens, and her introduction of greater social liberty among them, were all calculated to outrage the conventional spirit. Almost all the prominent members of her coterie were assailed. The greatest sculptor of all ages was meanly and falsely accused of theft, and died in a prison. The outspoken Anaxagoras was charged with impiety, and had to flee. And at length Aspasia was brought to trial on the same accusation. It was easy to get up such an accusation against her. She might have visited some temple, and taken part in some religious ceremony, impelled by truly pious motives; but such an act on the part of a stranger, whatever her motives might be, would have been deemed a great impiety by orthodox Athenians; or she may have induced some Athenian citizen-ladies to go with her and engage in some foreign worship. The Athenians permitted foreigners to observe their own religious rites in their city, without let or hindrance, but they had strong objections to genuine Athenian women becoming converts to any foreign worship. The Athenian ladies did not look on religious matters with the same eyes as the men. They yearned to have the benefit of the more enthusiastic worships which came from Asia Minor; and, accordingly, if Aspasia had been inclined to lead them that way, she would no doubt have had many eager followers. Or, finally, and most probably, she may have been supposed to share the opinions of the philosophers with whom she was on such intimate terms, and to have aided and abetted their opposition to the national

* Chronological difficulties have been suggested in the way of this statement being true (see especially a beautiful monograph on Aspasia, "*Aspasie de Milet*," par L. Bœq de Fouquières, p. 342), but I do not think that the difficulties are insuperable. Müller-Strübing (*Aristophanes*, p. 585) has found an allusion to this connection with Lysicles in Aristophanes with greater ingenuity than success.

creed. What were the grounds of the charge we do not know. All we know is, that she was acquitted, but that she owed her acquittal to the earnest pleading of Pericles, who, on this one occasion accompanied his entreaties with tears.

There can be no doubt that Aspasia exercised a powerful political influence during her residence in Athens. This fact is assured to us by the abuse which she received from the comic poets. They called her Hera, queen of the gods, wife of Olympian Zeus, as they named Pericles. They also called her Dejanira, wife of Hercules, and the new Omphale, whom Hercules slavishly served—all pointing at the power which she had over Pericles. Aristophanes, in his "Acharnians," asserts that Pericles brought about the Peloponnesian war to take vengeance for an insult offered to Aspasia, and others affirmed that the Samian war was undertaken entirely to gratify her. These are absurd statements on the face of them, and were probably never meant to be anything else than jokes; but they render unquestionable the profound influence of Aspasia. It is probable that this influence was exercised in an effort to break down the barriers that kept the Greek city-States from each other, to create a strong Hellenic feeling, to make a compact Hellenic confederacy.* But whatever were the aims of her politics, it may be safely asserted that no woman ever exercised influence by more legitimate means. It was her goodness, her noble aims, her clear insight, that gave her the power. There was probably no adventitious circumstance to aid her. It is not likely that she was beautiful. I think Sappho was beautiful. The comic poets said that she was little, and had a dark complexion. Littleness was incompatible with beauty in the eye of a Greek, and a dark complexion would also be against her. But all that we can gather about Sappho's form leads to the conclusion that the comic poets traduced her in this as in other matters. Plato calls her "beautiful," an expression which most have taken to refer to her poetic genius, but this interpretation is at least doubtful. A vase of the fifth century B.C., found in Girgenti, gives us representations of Alcæus and Sappho, and on these Sappho is taller than Alcæus, and exceedingly beautiful. We have also a portrait of Sappho on the coins of the Mitylenæans; and here again the face is exquisite in feature, and suggests a tall woman. If it has any defect, it is that it is rather masculine. At first one might hesitate to believe that it is the face of a woman, but there can be no doubt as to its beauty. On the other hand, no ancient writer speaks of Aspasia as beautiful. She is called the good, the wise, the eloquent, but never the beautiful. We have one bust bearing her name certainly not beautiful. It represents a comfortable meditative woman, but I doubt very much whether it is genuine. And I am far more inclined to believe that we have a true portrait of Aspasia in a marble bust of which there are two

* See especially Miss Cornwallis's able defence of Aspasia: *Letters*, p. 181.

copies, one in the Louvre and one in Berlin. The bust evidently belongs to the best times of Greek sculpture, and, as a recent writer in the *Archæologische Zeitung* argues, can well be that of no other than Aspasia. The face is not altogether beautiful according to Greek ideas. It has an expression of earnest and deep thought; but what strikes one most of all is the perplexed and baffled look which the whole face presents—as of some life-long anguish, resulting from some contest which no mortal could wage successfully—not without a touch of exquisite sweetness, tenderness, and charity. Could it be the fight in behalf of her own sex?

If ever there was a case which might have suggested to the Athenians the propriety of extending the sphere of marriageability, surely it was this case of Aspasia. But we cannot affirm that any one thought of this. The Athenian women, even the citizens, had no political standing. They were always minors, subject to their fathers, or to their husbands, or to some male. Aristotle always classes women and children together. But such was the force of character of these Companions, or such their hold on powerful men, that not unfrequently their sons were recognized as citizens, and attained to the full rights of citizenship. This could take place in three ways. There might exist between Athens and another Greek or foreign state a right of intermarriage (*ἐπιγαμία*), established by treaty. Strange to say, there is no clear instance of such a treaty in the history of the Athenians. There was no such treaty between Athens and Sparta, or Argos, or Corinth, or any other of the famous towns of Greece. The privilege was indeed conferred on the Plataeans, but it was when they became citizens of Athens, and were likely in a generation or two to become undistinguishable among the rest of the Athenian citizens. A passage in Lysias* seems to intimate that the right of intermarriage was ceded to the Euboeans, but there cannot be a doubt that the passage is corrupt. The text in that part has other marks of corruption, and the entire history of the relations between Athens and Euboea speaks strongly against the possibility of the establishment of such a treaty.† Mention is also made of the proposal of such a treaty between Athenians and Thebans in the speech of Demosthenes on the Crown,‡ but the decree is unquestionably spurious, as Grote has most conclusively shown. In that same speech a decree is quoted in which the Byzantines bestow on the Athenians the right of intermarriage, and it is likely that other States would confer the same privilege on the Athenians, but there is no proof that they ever returned the favour. A second method of rendering the son of a foreign woman legitimate was by decree of the Athenian Assembly; and it was probably in this way that Pericles,

* P. 920.

† See especially the recently discovered Decree of the Athenians in regard to Chalcis: *Αθήναιον*, t. v. p. 76; *Mittheilungen des Archæol. Inst. in Athens*, vol. i. p. 184; and *Revue Archéologique*, 1877, April, p. 242.

‡ P. 201.

the son of Aspasia, became an Athenian citizen with full rights. There was a third way, not acknowledged by law, by which many such children must have found their way into the ranks of citizens. The ordinary process by which a legitimate child came to the possession of his full rights was by his being presented by his father to the *phratría* and acknowledged by the *φράτρες* as a genuine member of their class or brotherhood. The father had to swear that the child was his legitimate child. In many cases fathers had no difficulty in swearing that children born to them of a beloved stranger were legitimate, and the *φράτρες* doubtless winked at the deception. This was specially the practice with the aristocratic party. In earlier times there had been no such strict law as afterwards prevailed in the democratic period. Indeed, the theory seems to have been held that the blood of a mother could not affect the purity of the birth of a child, because there was really nothing of the mother in the child. She had nothing to do with the production of the child. She was merely its recipient and nurse. Æschylus has very strongly expressed this idea in the "Eumenides," and we have good reason for thinking that the opinion was held by large numbers of the aristocratic party to the end. It was Pericles that established the law that the child to be legitimate must be the son or daughter of an Athenian male citizen with full rights and an Athenian female citizen with full rights, legally betrothed to each other. It is when a distribution of corn takes place, or similar advantages are reaped, that the law is strenuously applied by the democratic party, and all the children of strangers disfranchised. But always when investigation is made many are found enjoying the privileges of citizens unchallenged, whose mothers were not genuine Athenian citizens. Themistocles was the son of a Thracian stranger, and so was the general Timotheus, according to one account. It was probably through the *φρατρία* that Sophocles got his favourite grandson through Theoris the Sicyonian, recognized as an Athenian citizen.* But though the women may have gained recognition for their children, no interest was taken in their own case, and mankind had to pay dearly for this exclusiveness.

Probably the condition of women in Athens had much to do with the decay of that city. The effort which Aspasia made to rouse the Athenian wives to higher mental efforts must have lost much of its effect after her death. The names of these wives are not to be found in history. But the influence of the Companions came more and more into play. Almost every famous man, after this date, has one Companion with whom he discusses the pursuits and soothes the evils of

* Some have doubted the existence of this grandson Sophocles, because an inscription was found in 1849, "Sophocles the son of Iophon" (Rangabe, *Antiq. Hell.*, ii. p. 297); but there is nothing to prevent the supposition that Sophocles had two grandsons named Sophocles. If Iophon had a son, he would naturally be called Sophocles; and if the son of Theoris had a son, Sophocles also would be the name that would certainly be given to him.

his life. Plato had Archeanassa, Aristotle Herpyllis, Epicurus Leontium, Isocrates Metaneira, Menander Glycera, and others in like manner. And some of them attained the highest positions. Princes can do as they like. In the earlier days of Athens, when tyrants ruled, princes frequently married foreigners. And now again princes married their Companions, and several of them thus sat on thrones. The beauty of some, especially of Phryne, the most beautiful woman that ever lived, attracted the eyes of all Greece; and Apelles painted her, and Praxiteles made her the model for the Cnidian Aphrodite, the most lovely representation of woman that ever came from sculptor's chisel. And some were renowned for their musical ability, and a few could paint. They cultivated all the graces of life; they dressed with exquisite taste; they took their food, as a comic poet remarks, with refinement, and not like the citizen-women, who crammed their cheeks, and tore away at the meat. And they were witty. They also occupied the attention of historians. One writer described one hundred and thirty-three of them. Their witty sayings were chronicled and turned into verse. Their exploits were celebrated, and their beauty and attractiveness were the theme of many an epigram. But it must not be forgotten that hundreds and thousands of these unprotected women were employed as tools of the basest passions; that, finding all true love but a prelude to bitter disappointment, they became rapacious, vindictive, hypocritical ministrants of love, seeking only, under the form of affection, to ruin men, and send them in misery to an early grave. Nothing could be more fearful than the pictures which the comic poets give of some of these women. But what else could have been expected in the circumstances? There was no reason in the nature of the women themselves why they should not have been virtuous, unselfish, noble beings; but destiny was hard towards them; they had to fight a battle with dreadful odds against them. They succumbed; but which of us could have resisted?

I said a little ago that no one claimed political rights for either the citizen-women or the strangers. I must make a slight exception, and I am not sure but the exception may be owing to the influence of Aspasia. We have seen that she was said to be the teacher of Socrates. Indeed, Socrates calls her his teacher in the "*Memorabilia*." She was one of the great characters in the Socratic dialogues. She appeared several times in those of *Æschines*; and in the *Menexenus*, a Socratic dialogue, if not a Platonic, she prepares a model funeral oration. Is it not likely then that she influenced the opinions of Plato? and in the "*Republic*" of Plato we have the strongest assertion of the equality of woman with man. Plato, and many others with him who lived after the ruin of Athens at *Ægospotami*, had become discontented with the Athenian form of government, and probably with the treatment of the women. Accordingly, in his ideal State, which, however, still remained a city-State he took for his groundwork the Spartan

system of education. The State was to be all in all. He went so far as to remove the monogamy which formed the barrier in the Spartan system to communistic principles, and he recommended the same mode of gymnastic exercises for both sexes. But he went farther. He affirmed that there was no essential difference between man and woman.

"And so," he says, "in the administration of a State neither a woman as a woman nor a man as a man has any special function, but the gifts of nature are equally diffused in both sexes; all the pursuits of men are the pursuits of women also, and in all of them woman is only a lesser man." "Very true." "Then are we to impose all our enactments on men and none of them on women?" "That will never do." "One woman has a gift of healing, another not; one is a musician and another is not?" "Very true." "And one woman has a turn for gymnastic and military exercises, while another is unwarlike and hates gymnastics?" "Beyond question." "And one woman is a philosopher, and another is an enemy of philosophy; one has spirit and another is without spirit?" "That is also true."*

From these premises he draws the conclusion that the women endowed with the higher gifts should have the same education as the gifted men, and that they should have the same duties, even to fighting in defence of their country, only that in the distribution of labour the lightest labours should be assigned to the women, as being naturally weaker in body. Some think that Plato's community of wives was ridiculed the same year that it was propounded, by Aristophanes, in his comedy of the "*Ecclesiazusæ*, or Parliament of Women," but it is more probable that the comedy was exhibited before Plato's "*Republic*" was written. In fact there is a likelihood that woman's position was a subject much agitated. Xenophon certainly puts into the mouth of Socrates a decided assertion of woman's equality with man. "Woman's nature," he says,† "happens to be in no respect inferior to man's, but she needs insight and strength." And it is likely that many others held the same opinion, and proposed methods for elevating the position of women. It was some communistic theory of the day that Aristophanes attacked, but he was not bitter in his ridicule. It has always to be remembered that it was the business of the Dionysiac priests, as we may call the comic poets, to show the laughable side of even the most solemn things, and often little harm was meant by these merry outbursts. Aristophanes, moreover, had changed greatly from what he was in the time when in the "*Acharnians*" he had bitterly attacked Aspasia. He had become gentle to strangers. He did not dislike the Spartans and their ways. Though he said many harsh things against women, he also said many good things for them. It was through them that in the "*Lysistrata*" he urged on the Athenians the duty of reconciliation and peace. And now in the "*Ecclesiazusæ*" he gives a kindly picture of what the women would do if they had the reins of power in their hands. This was the only form of government

* Jowett, p. 285; Rep. 455.

† Symp. c. ii. 9.

that the Athenians had not tried, and as all the rest had notoriously failed, there could be no great harm in entrusting the women with the administration of affairs. The gentle spirit of women might prevail. And surely under such a government men would be happy. The women would see to it that there would be no poor in the city, theft and slander would cease, and all would be content. Plato's speculations and Aristophanes' fun, however, were of no use. The city-State was too small an organization for the progress of man. It was destined to give way before a more humanizing government. And so the petty States had to yield to the Empire of Alexander, and with the change began a great change in the position of women. But this change had to be carried out under another and greater rule. The Romans swept over Greece and established a firmer and more comprehensive empire than that of Alexander.

JAMES DONALDSON.

CONFESSION : ITS SCIENTIFIC AND MEDICAL ASPECTS.

ψυχῆς ἐνεργεια κατ' ἀρετῆν.

—ARISTOTLE, *Nicomachean Ethics*, Book I.

IT is sometimes put forward as the boast of the present age that Public Opinion is the great corrective of human belief and action. And yet, it is difficult to give one reason for such an assertion that will bear a moment's reflection. The presumption that what the majority of men thinks and does is more likely *ipso facto* to be right is no reason, but is only a re-stating of the same idea in a different form. The boast can only be true in matters, if such there be, which can be determined by an appeal to the instincts or intuitive perceptions of people, and then only on the supposition that the individual opinions which are formed by the exercise of those natural and inherent faculties will possess a value which is to some extent equal. Even if such cases exist, questions must arise as to how far different degrees of education, how far prejudice, how far individual influence, must and do control the exercise of instinct, even if they do not prevent it altogether. With regard to most questions, it must be admitted that it would be difficult to find a less trustworthy tribunal than Public Opinion; one that was less deliberative or more liable to sudden impulse; one that was less unbiassed or more frequently misled by prejudice. In spite, however, of its thorough untrustworthiness, an appeal to public opinion has its uses. The publicity thereby obtained may be and often is of the greatest benefit. Whilst the opinion which is immediately produced, whether right or wrong, is valueless, the expression of that opinion and the discussion which it excites appeal to the minds of thoughtful men; and the deliberate judgment which they will form and express, although it may not command a popular majority, will certainly command a public respect, and in its maturer influence will gradually supersede any former expression of opinion, however excited may have been the circumstances under which it was enunciated.

As a case in point, it is not long since that a member of the House of Lords was induced to offer to the appreciation of popular opinion extracts from a book compiled ostensibly as a guide to educated and honourable men in the performance of a most difficult task. The first question which naturally arises in our minds is this: What possible good can be produced in any case by seeking the opinion, of a technically uninstructed multitude, upon extracts, removed from their context, and intelligible only, even when read with their full context, to members of a particular profession? The opinion sought must of necessity be valueless, even if the extracts submitted for public consideration had not been imperfect and therefore capable of misconstruction, and had not been served up with all the rhetorical adjuncts usual in inflamed appeals to popular prejudice. But passion and prejudice must ever yield to thoughtful and earnest inquiry; and it is for the promotion of earnest inquiry that I venture to discuss, from their scientific and medical point of view, some of the questions that are pressed forward most prominently by the appeal that has been made.

It would seem to be almost a work of supererogation to show how close is the connection and how great is the similarity between the work of the priest and the work of the physician, had it not been denied that any parallel existed. If we believe that sin entered into the world, and had so disastrous an effect, that as a consequence of that sin a tendency to disease and death and a tendency to sin and death arose together, we must admit the intimate connection which exists between them. How often may that connection be most plainly demonstrated as one of cause and effect! In how many sad cases may disease be directly traced to individual sin, recognizable by the subject of the disease himself! How frequently too may disease in the children or in the children's children be traced by the observant physician to sin in the parent! Here the relation of cause and effect is not so generally known to the unhappy cause of suffering to innocent beings: but there are few physicians who could not recall such cases, most painful as they are, few who have not witnessed the remorse and anguish of mind which such awakened knowledge often produces. Those who have seen much of disease amongst the depraved and destitute poor of large cities, those for instance who do the work of our town hospitals, cannot have failed to recognize how much of the disease with which they have to deal is directly or indirectly due to intemperance or immorality. It is terrible to see how much disease amongst the children of large towns is consequent upon these vices, it may be in one, or even in both parents,—how much suffering these innocent little ones have in fact inherited, and often so patiently bear.

Besides those vices which cannot long be indulged without producing disease in the individual, or in the offspring, or in both, there is a large class of evils which cannot be said to produce physical

disease, at all events directly. But all alike produce some effect upon the mind; and this in turn will sooner or later manifest itself outwardly in the body, either in the cast of countenance, in the gait, or in the physical or mental condition. As familiar examples of this outward manifestation of vice, how lean and withered does the avaricious or the envious man become; how careworn and suspicious the thief; how evil and forbidding those who give way to anger and hate.

Surely then we must feel that there is an intimate connection between sin and disease; that they must be discovered by the same methods and examined with the same sympathies; that their growth must be combated on the same principles, and their effects cured or alleviated with the same discipline. Soul and body are intimately blended together, and in a state of happiness and health must harmonize with each other. If one suffers the other suffers with it; just as an injury to one member of the body will cause the whole body to suffer with it. As vice will produce disease, so also will disease sometimes lead to sin. Striking instances of this will readily occur to the minds of medical men. But appealing to more general observation, who has not noticed how few persons, comparatively, are patient in sickness, and how many give way to irritability, to temper, and even to cruelty; and how many make their bodily affliction an excuse for some kind of intemperate excess?

It is impossible to dis sever the various parts of our compound human nature. Both priest and physician have to deal with the obscure problems of human life. The one, it is true, looks to the moral side of life, and the other looks to its physical; but the work of both is intimately allied, inasmuch as the moral and the physical parts of man's nature act and react upon each other. It is objected against the reality of this parallel, that the priest has to deal with the supernatural, the physician with the natural, and that therefore they stand altogether upon different grounds. But the scientific man has studied his subject to little purpose if he forgets that the same God created and rules both the supernatural and the natural alike. The known bears but a small proportion to the unknown; but yet both together form a part of one harmonious whole. The priest therefore, in his relations with the supernatural, can no more ignore the laws of nature than can the physician, in his attempts to combat disease and decay, ignore the will and the power of God. The attempt in the one case leads us to the blindest superstition; and in the other it lands us in the most miserable doubt and unbelief.

But does the priest deal only with the supernatural? Or, can the greater portion of his work be said even to border on the supernatural? It is true that it is both his duty and his privilege to "administer the Word and Sacraments." It is his work to speak of a future life beyond the grave, and to remind men of the hope that is in

them. It is his duty to hold up for imitation the one Example of pure goodness in the person of the Son of God, the Man Christ Jesus. But in his dealings with collective human life, the social world around him, with the individual units of his charge, with the habits and vices of the age and of the locality in which he labours, is not his work distinctly the opposite of supernatural? must not the counsel and advice which he gives be human and earthly at the same time that he dispenses gifts which are superhuman and heavenly? He has to deal with sin in its various and multitudinous forms and the relation of sin to the soul; but this relation is just as natural and no more supernatural than the relation of disease to the physical body.

One is very apt, in considering how much there is in common in the work of the priest and of the physician, to forget that, after all, the work which they are specially trained and gifted to do more fully, is to a slighter extent the duty of every Christian man and woman living in the world. The great characteristics of Christianity, as compared with every other form of religion, are goodness and love. All who accept Christianity are bound, as far as their ability permits, to relieve the pain and misery of others, whether it be physical or moral, and to do all that in them lies to support those who are weak against temptation and danger. It is the duty of all, according to their power, to fulfil the universal law of love.

It is sometimes asked, how do we comprehend this law of love, the goodness which is the characteristic of Christianity, if it be not by the contrast of evil? We do not sufficiently appreciate the blessing of health until sickness comes and we are laid upon our beds. We look around us, and regard not the gift of sight at its true value; but if we should be stricken with blindness, the full measure of the gift that is lost becomes evident to us. We are apt, then, to look upon goodness as the absence of evil, and to forget that there is something absolutely definite about goodness in itself. Our first parents, when they were first created, knew nothing whatever about evil. They loved and enjoyed goodness for its own sake. They could not judge of goodness by contrast until after the fall.

If goodness be a definite principle, so also is evil a definite principle. Those manifestations of evil, sin and disease, are both mysteries to us. The body was created perfect and beautiful. Not a trace of deformity, not a seed of disease, marred that most perfect of God's works on earth. It was for the time incapable of disease, immortal. The surroundings of this perfect work were also perfect. The earth brought forth her fruit of her own accord. No weeds choked her soil; no tilling was required. There was no fading; there was no decay. Apparently no opportunity for evil existed, but all around was peace and happiness, loveliness and plenty.

But man was not created a dependent creature. He had given to him by God dominion over everything on the earth and in the sea,

and, what was more important, dominion over himself. He was endowed with a will. In some mysterious way, God seems to have limited His own divine power over man, and to have permitted man to exercise his own judgment, his own will. And it was in the exercise of his own will that man cast aside God's guidance, and put an end to that perfect, spotless state in which all nature had been created. Man had discovered that he could thwart God's will by his own human will: but his rebellion was made at a fearful cost. The immediate result of the introduction of sin, of putting in motion as it were the active principle of evil in the world, was to render all nature liable to decay. It exercises its poisonous influence over every created being and over every created thing. Man had declared his independence. But he must henceforth till the ground, if the earth is to bring forth the fruit which it before produced spontaneously; he must root up the weeds which were unknown before, but which now grow up around both fruit and flower, to choke and destroy them. Everywhere around him he sees the flowers fading, the fruit falling, animal life languishing and dying, and even man himself subject to change. That perfect body which appeared so sound and so enduring has become liable to be deranged. In one part or in another, every organized body sooner or later becomes subject to that death and decay which now pervades all animated nature.*

This is a great mystery. Every human being that is born into the world is guilty of thwarting God's will by the exercise of his own free-will; and the result is a perversion of nature in which man shares. But he is still endowed with a will; and although he cannot avoid the influence of sin, and his body cannot resist derangement and decay, yet he is free to accept or to refuse the means of reconciliation that God in His mercy has provided for him. To this extent man still possesses the independence with which he was created; but he has lost that power over nature with which he was originally endowed, and, instead of holding all things under subjection, has himself fallen into subjection.

It may be well, perhaps, to give a few moments' consideration to the remarkable capacity for suffering which the soul and body of man possess. Did God, with the divine foreknowledge of Adam's fall, originally create man with this capacity for mental suffering and physical disease? or, was this capacity a something superadded as a consequence of that fall? It no doubt happened that, when once man possessed a knowledge both of good and evil, this capacity was developed because it became necessary in order that man might feel the suffering which was inseparable from the bondage of sin. Was it not, too, a condition essential to the working out of man's final reconciliation and forgiveness? Who of all men that ever lived upon

* See Müller: *On the Christian Doctrine of Sin*. Clark's Foreign Theological Library.

earth suffered greater agony of mind or more exquisite physical torture than our Lord Himself? We may doubtless take it for granted, then, that the capacity of which I am speaking is mysteriously connected with the redemption of mankind; but we can hardly conceive that this capacity for suffering and decay was superadded after the fall. The same senses convey to us the sensations of pleasure and pain, but so long as neither agony nor pain existed, they could only be exercised in one direction. The mental and physical sensibilities existed as they were essential to man's perfect happiness; but it was not until the fall had taken place, not until suffering had immediately resulted from it, that the sensibilities which had hitherto been used solely for the appreciation of pleasure and happiness, were so far put to a fresh use as to be the means also of feeling pain.

And further, by the constant exercise of these feelings in their new direction, the original power of feeling pleasure became blunted and perverted. That which used to produce a feeling of pleasure, no longer sufficed to do so, and fresh *stimuli* became necessary; and hence it has come to pass, that acts of sin give sensations of pleasure similar to, or which at all events take the place of, those which in the sinless state were otherwise produced.

The capacity for disease which is so remarkable a characteristic of the fallen human body, is also a perversion of the processes of life, rather than a something superadded to the physical being of man as he was first created. We know that by the laws of our being, life and motion and the temperature of our bodies are maintained by molecular change. Particles of our bodies are constantly being used and changed and thrown off, and as constantly being replaced by others which are obtained from the food that we consume. In a state of health, the balance of waste and restoration is maintained, and during a portion of life growth also has to be provided for and upheld. In a perfect state of existence there was no reason why this process of waste and restoration should ever fail, why it should not continue to be completely performed.

But it is otherwise when once the conditions of life have been changed. Our sensibilities are, as I have shown, altered and perverted; and our bodies are thus brought under influences very different from those which they had previously experienced. Disease was of gradual growth, and it was probably several generations before it showed itself. In the early times, violence and old age were the immediate causes of death. Under the new condition of things, the processes of life continued to go on according to the natural law divinely established at the beginning. But there came a time when those processes began to fail, and when the balance between waste and restoration began to be disturbed; and sooner or later death was the result. As generations followed, the processes of life became more and more perverted. New deviations from the first simple life

occurred. New modes of sinful pleasure were devised. The body, although it was known to be made in the image of God, was put to uses for which it was not intended. Its wondrous powers were variously abused. Food was taken in excess. And as a consequence the perverted processes of life held out for a shorter time, and finally assumed the various forms of what we understand as disease.

By another law of life, the disease of the parents was inherited by the children; and thus it is that we see at the present time the capacity for disease developed far and wide. Many are now born with the germs of disease present in one or other of the various organs of the body; some even with disease in active operation. In how many instances are the perverted processes of life stopped within a few hours or a few weeks of birth! proving to us, all too surely, that the guiltless cannot avoid disease and death, and that the sinless inherit the full weight and influence of the active principle of evil.

And herein, again, is fully seen the parallel between the spiritual and physical conditions of the human race. In both, a taint is inherited which is certain and unavoidable. In both, this taint undermines our being and surely conveys an irresistible tendency to destruction and decay. In both, this taint, although in its essence the same in all mankind, is measured out individually in different degrees of intensity. It does not fall to the lot of all men to incur the same amount of physical disease and suffering. It does not fall to the lot of all to be subject to the same temptations or to become enslaved by the same vices. In both conditions, again, insidious attacks can, by the exercise of care, be guarded against and prevented. In both, the effects of this taint can be modified and are alleviated by circumspect living, by proper and sanitary care, and by skilfully applied discipline and remedies. For both, there are required carefully trained guides and advisers whose duty it is to fulfil these important ends, by warning men against the risks and the dangers that surround them, and by teaching and assisting them to modify, relieve, or cure the ravages which they produce.

The relation between the priest and the penitent bears a strong analogy to that between a physician and his patient. The analogy is too often either ignored or disputed. It is perhaps very natural, or rather very human, that the minds of men should be more intent upon supplying the wants of their material bodies, than upon thinking of the preservation of their immaterial souls. And in fact, it is part of a modernly revised paganism to deny the premiss that men have souls. Most persons therefore are familiar with the relative positions of physician and patient, and are practically ignorant of the relative positions of priest and penitent. The practice of confession has always been maintained in the Catholic Church, both Eastern and Western: but in the Anglican Communion, which in the eighteenth century had become dormant and almost lifeless, the practice fell

largely into disuse, being retained, however, by a few faithful people. It was reserved first to John Wesley and subsequently to the wondrous Church Revival of the present century to restore this aid to a holy life, or as Wesley himself called it this "help to repentance." That the practice is not without value is testified by the rapid increase in the number of those who use it, and in the better lives they are known to lead. Those who abuse the practice have never tried it; whilst those who have subsequently adopted it, have not only ceased to abuse it, but defend the privilege as an ordinance of God. The revival of this practice has then become sufficiently extended to make many persons familiar with the relative positions of the priest and penitent, and it is possible now to compare them with those which exist between the physician and patient.

1. The relation between the physician and his patient ought to be one of complete confidence on the part of the latter. There are no doubt some persons who are foolish enough purposely to attempt to conceal from their physician some of their past history, which it is important that he should know. But they do so at the serious risk of having the disease from which they are suffering misunderstood, and therefore of being more doubtfully treated. It is true, that physicians are often able to obtain the information which they require from collateral evidence, and in ways other than the direct interrogation of their patients; and therefore they are but rarely misled by intentional concealment or absolute want of truth. But there are cases now and then where such foolishness proves disastrous. The desire, however, of relief from pain and the other results of physical disease, will prompt most people, some with more or less of pressure, others quite spontaneously, to lay bare their former lives, when it is necessary, in order that their physician may be placed in the best position for successfully combating the disease from which they are suffering. The wisdom of this course is apparent, if it be remembered that there is scarcely an organ or part of the body in which the same or a similar disease may not be produced in a variety of ways, each requiring to be differently met. Again, there must be complete reserve on the part of the physician as to the statements of the patient. The only exception to this reserve would be when, for the proper care of the patient, it becomes necessary to inform the friends of his condition, and of the measures necessary for his welfare. There is no surer way of destroying the feeling of confidence which ought to subsist, and which, as a rule, does subsist, between a patient and his physician than for the latter to abuse it by divulging the statements that have been made to him. As an important point of medical ethics, this principle does not always receive the attention which it ought to command.

So also must there be complete confidence on the part of the penitent. It would obviously be worse than useless to seek from a

priest "ghostly counsel and advice," and to conceal half the trouble for which relief is sought. It would be adding to that trouble the sins of falsehood and deceit. I need say nothing of secrecy on the part of the priest in confession, as inviolable secrecy is the law of the Church. But it is sometimes objected to the use of confession that it results in placing oneself in the power of the priest. We can readily understand that this would be the case, had we to confess crimes that brought us under the power of the State law. Even here, the restitution that would be demanded of us would soon remove the thralldom. In former times, when the majority of people could neither read nor write, and when the mental, political, and religious condition of the world was very different from the state of society now, the clergy obtained a power over the people which certain historians show much vigour in attacking. But if these criticisms are denuded of the distortion and exaggeration with which they are often clothed, there is left, so far as our subject is concerned, this fact, that in the corrupt mediæval age there were, together with many other abuses, instances of a wrong use having been made, by some priests and some bishops, of the practice of confession. But the question that has to be decided is, whether or not the good effected by a proper use of any custom outweighs the evil that is possible by its corrupt use.

It has occasionally happened that a medical man has abused the confidence reposed in him; and the public prints have revelled in a painful scandal. But it is not sought, in consequence, to brand the whole profession as vile and unworthy of confidence. Medical men might reply that in at least five out of six of the marvellously few scandals that have arisen, they themselves have been the victims of unfounded charges. So it is with the clergy. The experience of the last forty years has shown that the good resulting from the use of confession far outweighs any abuse to which it may be liable. Indeed, at the present day, the abuses of mediæval times could with difficulty again become common. The relations of social life have completely changed; and priests, in the unflinching discharge of their duty, must be content to share the same risks to which physicians are liable. Perhaps the clergy incur additional risk in this respect, because they are not equally accustomed with medical men to recognize and deal with the peculiar phases of hysteria and incipient insanity.

Many physicians make it a rule never to examine and prescribe for patients of the opposite sex except in the presence of a friend or nurse. In consulting practice this rule cannot be too strongly insisted upon, in the interest of both patients and medical men, although it is often relaxed in the case of the family doctor. I mention this unwritten law here, in order that it may be seen how far priests can obtain the advantage of a similar rule. The appearance in a church of the structure called a "confessional" usually provokes great excitement. I have read somewhere an account of persons, apparently in a

state of frenzy, forcing their way into a church and tearing a confessional-box to fragments. And yet to receive confessions in the church is one of the greatest safeguards against the acts of impropriety which such persons freely charge against the clergy. During a recent visit to Brittany and Normandy, it frequently happened that confessions were being heard during my visits to the churches, and I could not avoid being struck by the valuable combination of privacy and publicity which the confessional-box afforded. So many persons now claim the right of going to confession that instead of ignoring or repudiating or opposing the practice, it would be far wiser to encourage the adoption of every possible safeguard against abuse.

People sometimes say that if they felt it necessary to communicate their troubles to any one, they would rather do so to a medical man than to a clergyman. And the reason they give is this: that the former, as a rule, is a man of wider views and sympathies, or, as they express it, "is more a man of the world," than the latter. By this men mean that from the physician they would expect to receive more sympathy, and that he would be likely to make more allowance for their faults, because he had had a greater experience of human nature. This assertion points to two plain defects in our system, the removal of which would take away all reasonable objection to the proper use of confession. I would point out first that, beyond the narrowness that has been said to characterize all professions, the training of men for the priesthood, in the active exercise of their calling, lies in a still narrower groove than that of physicians. It is true, that it is only of late years that the clergy are again, after long neglect, awaking to their duties in this respect, and that more attention is already being given to the special training that is required. Much might be done by prolonging the usual twelve-months allotted to the diaconate, making it more really a period of probation and training, some part of which should always be spent in town work, amongst the masses. The other blot in our system is the possibility of every priest as soon as he is ordained, and, as at present, before he has had any special training, being permitted to perform the special duty of receiving confessions. I am afraid that this objection lies at the door of the episcopate. A few years ago a body of nearly five hundred of the clergy, themselves conscious of this grave difficulty, humbly requested the bishops to recognize a return to the practice of confession as part of the great revival of religious feeling and life around them, and to take the matter into their own hands by licensing learned and discreet priests in every diocese to hear confessions. It is much to be regretted that our bishops did not comply with this request. It is probably due to the defective practical training in their early days of which I have spoken, that very few of the bishops have been able to travel sufficiently far from that narrow groove to enable them fully to recognize the signs of the times, and especially the revived apprecia-

tion of the value of Church discipline which is happily growing up around them, and to assume, as they could easily have done, a position of complete control of a movement which may almost be said to have now left them far behind. I do not say this in any feeling of irreverence towards our bishops. The work of a bishop in the unwieldy dioceses of this country must be arduous in the extreme; but one does long for signs from the episcopate of more independence of action, of more individual and paternal authority, of more sympathy with earnest work, even if it be in a groove different from the bishop's own, and of more fearlessness of anonymous writers in the public press.

2. Many of the facts necessary for a complete diagnosis of any given case have to be ascertained by a system of interrogation. It may be readily supposed that in some of the more simple cases of indisposition, when the patient is competent to make a statement of his symptoms, the physician may be able to form an opinion on the case, and to administer the proper remedies, without the necessity on his part of a single question. But this is the exception which proves the rule. It is but seldom that the sufferer, even if medically instructed himself, is able to interpret the significance of his own symptoms, and their relation to the derangements of the organs of his own body. The skilled interrogations of the physician often open the eyes of his patient to the existence of disease which he had never before suspected, or to the utter triviality of a symptom which had raised up untold terrors in his mind. The system of the interrogation of patients is a very important part of medical education. Men will soon cease to consult and to trust those whose questions bear evidence of no order, of no cohesion, and of no relevancy. And with good reason; for such practitioners are utterly unable to arrange and judicially to weigh the facts on both sides, and therefore are unable to form a sound diagnosis of any but the simplest cases. Care has to be taken, also, to avoid all unnecessary questions—those that would wound the feelings, those that would suggest symptoms to nervous and hysterical people, and those that would suggest evil. Physicians must sometimes ask painful questions, and they would neglect their duty to their patients if they held back when that duty is plain; but they fully appreciate the cautions which have been enumerated.

The interrogation of penitents by clergymen requires even more care than the interrogation of patients at the hands of medical men. And it is the appreciation of this necessary carefulness and the knowledge of the greatness of his responsibility that invests the work of the confessor with its great difficulty. Hence the wisdom of setting apart discreet and learned priests for this work. Hence, too, the preparation of manuals to assist the clergy in their difficult task. Such a book for the assistance of the English clergy has recently found its way into unfriendly hands; and it would be amusing, if it were not

distressing, to find its critics ignoring the fact that the clergy are engaged in combating infractions of other commandments than the one they all agree in selecting as the best fitted for public discussion; harping upon extracts referring to difficult cases amongst ignorant persons; and assuming that questions that might be suitable and necessary in certain cases are indiscriminately used amongst persons of both sexes and of all ages, whatever may be their religious state or state of sinfulness, whatever may be their social condition, education, and temporal surroundings. So far as I have been able to obtain evidence on the subject, it tends to show that in the great majority of cases very little in the way of interrogation is practised, nor, in fact, is it necessary. But in the case of those of the uninstructed, nervous, or uncandid; in the case of those who are not quite clear what they ought to say, or how they ought to say it, or of those who cannot arrange what they have to say, or who show that they are keeping something back which they ought to mention, some firm, judicious, and kind assistance is necessarily required. Dr. Pusey, in a letter to the *Times* of December 11th, 1866, showed that only exceptionally is there any need of interrogation.

As bearing intimately upon this part of the subject, I may add one word of caution with regard to several classes of persons. There are patients who suffer from hypochondriasis, the peculiar characteristic of which condition is the concentration of the patient's attention upon a particular organ or part. Such men are very apt to imagine themselves the subjects of disease of which they have been hearing or reading a description, and they thereby frighten themselves into real illness or great mental distress. These people require the most judicious management at the hands of their medical advisers. To tell such persons that they have nothing the matter with them is to hand them over to the tender mercies of unprincipled charlatans. Their minds are diseased, and must be carefully tended and brought gradually from their own morbid self-concentration to a more healthy state. There are other persons, chiefly women, who are the subjects of another morbid condition of the nervous system, hysteria, in whom the emotional phenomena have become active and too strong for an already weakened, defective, and perverted will. Their health suffers, and they are often really ill. The forms of disease that may be involuntarily simulated are as remarkable as they are innumerable. Such patients require, in their medical interrogation and treatment, the utmost acuteness and care, if their self-control is to be cultivated and their peculiar nervous condition remedied. It is not easy to follow the middle course between harshness and too much kindness, between no sympathy and too great solicitude, and yet either of these extremes is fatal to success.

There are persons of both these classes amongst those who go to confession. Their minds have been aroused in some more or less

injudicious way, and from continually dwelling upon one subject, have become so unhealthy, that these persons frighten themselves into the belief that they have committed some great sin, or altogether exaggerate the importance of some less serious delinquency. Such people require the most careful treatment to restore them to mental and spiritual health. Change of scene and mode of life, and even medical treatment, are generally indicated; whilst neglect, or ridicule, or pandering to their morbid ideas, may have the unfortunate result of converting what is only a morbid idea into a confirmed hallucination. It has been said that the confessional contributes many cases to our lunatic asylums; and it is such cases as the above which lend plausibility to the statement, because in their craving for sympathy and assistance such persons are very likely to seek them by going to confession, some of them resorting to it very frequently and persistently. It is indeed of the utmost importance to recognize that they require the most judicious and kind treatment that experience can give, if they are to be reclaimed from a living death. These are just the cases where the priest and the physician can work together to the greatest advantage of the penitent and patient, and where either working alone would probably fail.

The question of insanity in relation to the subject before us is far too wide a one for full discussion here. It is well known that religious anxiety and excitement are occasionally causes of insanity. An eminent authority on the subject of insanity, Dr. Maudsley, offers an explanation of this undoubted fact. After speaking of money-getting as the practical religion of the day, and of the Church of England as "the religion of respectability," which however fails to reach "the poor and struggling—those who truly need a gospel of life," he explains that it is the extremes of religious feeling, where they "insensibly merge into Roman Catholicism and Methodism," which really influence life. He charges alike the excitement and "moroseness of the religious life favoured by some of the Dissenters," and "the ignorant influence and misapplied zeal" of some Ritualistic priests, as encouraging self-brooding, and as sometimes a direct cause of insanity. The essence of this charge is, first, that wherever there is religious enthusiasm there is a tendency in certain persons to develop and manifest insanity. But this is a danger which attaches to all forms of mental activity. The predominance of one sex amongst those who are affected by religion is explained by the greater number of women who observe and are influenced by the duties of religion, and by the greater rarity amongst women of other forms of mental activity, they being more excluded from the serious business of the world. The remaining part of the charge is one of inexperience and ignorance on the part of the clergy. This difficulty I have already admitted and explained, and for it I have also suggested a remedy. In the same passage Dr. Maudsley is very careful to exclude the

Roman Catholic religion from the charge, as he thinks that religious enthusiasm is not frequent amongst "those who have been born and bred up within its pale." The gravamen is not, therefore, against confession *per se*, but only against confession when used in the Church of England. Dr. Maudsley, however, gives a further explanation, and I venture to think that it is the true one. He says:—

"In weighing the effect on the mind of any form of religion, it is necessary to bear in mind that a person's particular creed is to some extent the result of his character and mode of development. The egotist whose vanity and self-love have not other outlets of display, will manifest his disposition in his religious views and practice. The victim of a morbid self-feeling, or an extreme self-conceit, will find in a certain religious zeal the convenient gratification of an egotistic passion, of the real nature of which he himself is ignorant. Those who make it their business to get rich by overreaching and deceiving others, invariably end by overreaching and deceiving themselves in the sincere assumption of religious observances entirely inconsistent with the tenor of their daily lives. When such persons become insane, we cannot truly say that religion has been the cause of the disease, although it can admit of no question that the mental degeneration, which has been the natural issue of the mode of development of the character, has found in the religious views and practices adopted circumstances very favourable to its increase."*

So that it is much more probable that the peculiar cast of mind and character should determine the choice of the religious views and practice, than that the religion which has been chosen should be itself the original and active cause of insanity. This is in fact borne out by existing statistics. Although religion influences the course of many cases, it is rarely the original cause. An analysis of a large number of collected cases gives a proportion of three per cent.† Other writers make it even less, with founders of religious sects and "convulsionnaires" included amongst the cases.

3. The patient, if he is to derive any benefit from consulting his physician, must follow the regimen and diet directed and take the remedies prescribed. This is surely a self-evident proposition, although it is less frequently followed than would be supposed. There is an intolerance of restraint in human nature; a preference for acting according to one's own will, rather than in obedience to that of another; a feeling which shows itself when rules are laid down in small things, more than when some great thing is prescribed.

The parallel in the last case is, perhaps, not so complete as in the three former instances. This arises from the fact that the penitent, in his intercourse with the priest, does not always consult, and is not even bound to consult him on his course of life, nor upon the steps he shall take for the subdual of any particular fault. In other words, he may go to the priest in his capacity of confessor, he need not go to him in that of director. Direction is no doubt intimately connected with the practice of confession, as a penitent will often ask, and some-

* The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind: Henry Maudsley, M.D. (1867), p. 301.

† A Manual of Psychological Medicine: Drs. Bucknill and Tuke. Third Edition, p. 106.

times ought to ask, for direction as to his future mode of living; but it is, of course, a distinct subject, and the two should not be confounded together. There is nothing to prevent a person from placing himself or herself under the direction of the priest whom he or she has sought for spiritual help; and there may be many cases in which such action is desirable. When such action has been taken, then the parallel appears to hold good: and it seems only reasonable that a person should be equally bound with the patient in his consultation with a physician, to act upon the tenor of the advice which he may receive—perhaps even, he is more bound. But the Church does not contemplate, and Religion would not allow, that any one should silence his individual conscience, and seek what is really impossible, to place the priest in its place. Indeed one great object of direction is to educate the ignorant conscience and to stimulate the inert or sluggish conscience: and in the cases of the great majority of persons, it is more healthy, both mentally and physically, for them to recognize and to obey their own consciences than the directions of another. This fact does not hinder the use of confession; perhaps it helps it. So far, again, as I can gather on this subject, by far the more usual plan is for the clergy to act simply as confessors and not as directors. And I venture on the expression of a very strong opinion that priests would do well to encourage confession in its curative character only, and that they should not assume the general direction of their penitents, unless they are specially asked to do so. The constant association of the two distinct ministerial acts tends very much to foster objections against both: and objections more or less valid against direction may bring the practice of confession, against which no similar objections can be made, into disrepute. I may mention one such objection here. It is that directors are apt to show too much rigour in the discipline that they administer. I have known several cases where health has severely suffered because the rules that have been followed, with regard to fasting and other matters, were enforced with too little appreciation of some existing debility or disease, and without the full recognition of the arbitrary requirements of nature, and of the sometimes exhausting character of her processes. The occurrence of errors of this kind bears additional witness to the defective training of our clergy for this important work.

It is frequently asserted that the hearing of confessions “pollutes” the minds of those who hear them and points them out as persons unfit to be received into the homes and families of decent people. I can hardly admit that this charge has been made on any authority that demands serious recognition; but I discuss it only on the ground that it is often accepted as true by persons who have no knowledge of the facts, and who have been misled and frightened by the saddest misrepresentation.

To return to our parallel. Has it ever been said of physicians that their minds become "polluted" by the revelations that are so constantly made to them, and that they are thereby rendered unfit to associate with the best and purest of our sons and daughters? Is it ever hinted that surgeons and Members of Parliament who toil together in thinking out and discussing the terms of such legislative measures as the "Contagious Diseases Acts," in order that they may accomplish the humane object that they have in view, rest from their labours with "polluted" minds? Nothing is said of the effect upon the minds of judges, lawyers, and other officials of the revelations to which they are forced to listen day by day in the divorce court or in our police courts. Nothing is said, though something might be said, of the men and women who form the public on such occasions, who voluntarily frequent the "polluting" atmosphere of the divorce courts, and who crowd the benches of other courts when some exciting "mystery" or "scandal" is in course of disentanglement or revelation. No account, once more, is taken of the reports of the business of these courts, published far and wide, in our newspapers, reports which in many of these papers—specially in the *Times* newspaper in its lengthened reports of the prosecution of the editors of the "Fruits of Philosophy" and other recent cases which may well be termed "polluting"—are published with details more or less minute and suggestive of evil, and are read and discussed by tens of thousands of young and old. No! No account is taken of all this "polluting" literature which in the shape of news finds its way into every family household of the nation. Very little account too is taken of that other form of mischievous literature, the modern novel, sensational or otherwise, which is sown less broadcast only than the newspapers. But the acme of "pollution" is discovered in the heart of the priest who dares to make war upon the mass of sin around him, who has the courage to attack the curse of our fallen nature in its very citadel, the human heart.

But the charge does not rest here. Those who are so jealously anxious to prevent the minds of the clergy from becoming "polluted" by hearing confessions, state further that the minds of the penitents themselves who go to confession become "polluted." This further charge is either a very grave one or a very foolish one. Those who put it forward mean on the one hand that the priest either makes a vile use of this sacred ordinance by intentionally suggesting evil, or misuses it in such a way that he ignorantly or accidentally suggests sin because he has made a wrong diagnosis of the case. Or on the other hand they ignore entirely the public channels for teaching evil which I have mentioned, the numberless influences from infancy to adult life, nurses, servants, companions, which may sow the seeds of impurity, and the wonderful though natural power of the human heart to discover evil for itself at a marvellously early age. In the one case, it is hardly necessary, I think, to say anything to defend

the clergy from the charge.* It is difficult to conceive that any priest, any more than any physician, should be so vile or so ignorant as to suggest evil to those who are innocent. No charge so serious is made against other professions which cannot be supposed to be more or less the custodians of virtue; and why should it be reserved for those whose special work it avowedly is to contend against vice in every shape? Is there any proof, has any evidence been produced, that such baseness or such carelessness exist amongst the clergy of England, or of any other country, much less that what would be so serious an evil is habitual?

And if the charge cannot be maintained on account of intentional vileness or grave carelessness on the part of the clergy, it can hardly be acquitted of foolishness on the part of those who make it. It may be said by those who prefer and believe the charge, that even if there exist the numerous methods of learning evil, some of which I have already enumerated, it is no reason why the clergy should encourage persons to allow their minds to dwell upon subjects so distasteful. I am quite willing to admit that it is an evil for the mind to dwell upon impurity; but the object of going to confession is to speak of it once and for the last time, in order to cease dwelling upon it, and to get rid of it at once and altogether. Conscience makes men brood over their sins; but penitence and forgiveness blot them out. It is, of course, painful to the priest to have to listen, as it is often very painful to the physician to hear many things that are said to him. But neither can stop to consider what is good for himself; each has a duty to perform from which he cannot conscientiously flinch.

The methods of learning and discovering evil are so exhaustive, that the room that is left to the clergy for doing more in this respect is too infinitesimal for a charge of this kind to possess sufficient cogency to be quoted for one moment as an argument against the practice of confession. I need not again allude to the dissemination of evil by means of our law-courts and the public prints, further than to say that to diminish and guard this evil would be a work well worthy of the attention of those who would be the self-appointed custodians of the public virtue, and who at present I fear commit the grievous blunder of swelling the number of publications which do this harm, instead of taking steps to diminish them. As further means of spreading evil I need only mention the example and

* Against the serious charge of corrupting the female mind, the late Sir John Forbes, M.D., F.R.S., D.C.L., in his "Memorandums made in Ireland in the Autumn of 1852" (vol. ii. p. 83), writes as follows:—"So far from such being the case, it is the general belief in Ireland—a belief expressed to me by many trustworthy men in all parts of the country, and by Protestants as well as Catholics—that the singular purity of female life among the lower classes there is in a considerable degree dependent on this very circumstance. No general statements, however strong, unless supported by evidence of the most positive kind, can be admitted against the testimony of facts like these; and if the confessional is to be condemned—and I am far from saying that it is not—its condemnation must rest on something else than its influence in leading to vice and immorality among the Catholics of Ireland."

conversation of vicious attendants and companions, and the flaunting vice which is a disgrace to the streets of our towns, to warn those who have charge of the young to exercise as far as it is possible the greatest care in the choice of associates for them, and to guard them also against the more public contamination.

But I have rather to speak of that innate vice of our fallen human nature, that tendency within us which has its operation from the cradle to the grave and by which we possess intuitively as it were the knowledge of good and evil. This is, as I have already said, a mystery of our nature ; but it is only partly a mystery, for nature has revealed much to us. We now know much of the principle of heredity throughout nature—for it is not confined to the human race. We all know to how great an extent qualities are transmitted from parent to offspring, for instance in the horse and the dog. We are familiar with good qualities, with peculiar gifts, with habits, with disease and with vice, transmitted from father to son and to the children's children amongst ourselves. We have all seen instances in which there have thus been transmitted philanthropy and industry, oratory and manual dexterity, somnambulency and stammering, gout and consumption, intemperance and idleness—all transmitted without aid from, and even in spite of ourselves. Let us take the case of intemperance, that stupendous evil which seems to be peculiarly rife amongst English-speaking peoples, and one so difficult to combat. How often does a man inherit this vice ! It may be that his father had succumbed to disease induced by intemperance whilst the son was still a boy and ignorant of the cause of his father's death. The son may be carefully tended by those around him, and guarded from drink ; he may be warned of his father's fate, or he may be kept in complete ignorance of it. It matters little which course is taken : a time comes when the unhappy being must be left by himself to face the enemy he has to fear, and by no human power can he avoid becoming a victim to so irresistible a vice.

There are those who have no belief in Divine grace, many who if they have such belief deny that it may be dispensed by human agency ; and yet throughout the history of Christianity human hands have been the means ordained for the distribution of Divine gifts. The sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion are dispensed by human hands. Confirmation and Holy Matrimony are performed by human agents. And Orders are conveyed by the laying on also of human hands. If it be allowed that God's grace, or indeed any Divine gift, may be communicated through any one of these channels, there is no reason why it cannot flow through all of them, and no reason why God should not make use of human agency to forgive post-baptismal sin. The Church of England acknowledges the means, and exhorts her sons to avail themselves of them. I allude to the theological side of the question because I am afraid that inherited

vice and inveterate habits are too deeply a part of our nature to be ever effectually overcome except with the assistance of Divine grace. Philosophers have tried to solve the problem, how best to reclaim those who are the slaves of vice: but they have grievously failed. We may adopt coercive measures; yet a relapse occurs if for a moment vigilance be relaxed, and we find that, though we have restrained by force, we have not effected a cure.

And if this is the case with vices that are open and unconcealed—and it must not be forgotten that thieving and violence are just as much inherited amongst the criminal classes as intemperance and immorality are amongst all classes, and just as impossible to cure—if, I say, these open vices are festering sores which humanly speaking we cannot cure, what must be said of those more hidden vices such as secret intemperance, secret impurity, secret immorality, vices abounding in our midst, which are less known only because they do not see the light of day?

Few people have any adequate idea of the amount of hidden vice that pervades the crowded populations of our large towns. But few would give any credence to the ghastly tale that could be told of the amount of moral degradation and depravity which exist in all classes of society, and even at all ages. There are many, it seems, who would prefer to ignore altogether the existence of hidden vice, or to rest satisfied that it does not show upon the surface; holding that it is the business of no one to interfere with vice so long as it does not become a public scandal. But is it not a fact, well attested by history, that widespread moral degradation must and does produce a deleterious effect upon both the individual and the corporate life of people? Widespread degradation of mind and body, if not checked, means degradation of race. It therefore behoves those who are convinced of the existence of widespread mischief to speak out boldly for the information and warning of those who do not recognize the growth of evil around them.

It is some years since the venerable Dr. Pusey had the courage to warn parents of the prevalence of habits of impurity amongst children; but the abuse which has been heaped upon his well-timed advice, has, amidst the excitement of party-spirit, in some measure withdrawn attention from its usefulness. It may therefore be well to call attention to his two letters which appeared in the *Times* of December 11th and 15th, 1866. The letters dealt mainly with the controversy on the authority of the Priesthood, and at the same time recorded openly and in strong words the result of his previous long and varied experience in the hearing of confessions.

Clergy who have been inspired by devotion to the Church's work in the crowded parishes of our large towns, have discovered by their labours there, that Dr. Pusey's kindly warnings fell far short of the reality. Their work has opened to them evidence of a depth of

depravity which was little suspected by them and with which they are unable alone to cope. They have discovered that the besetting sin which Dr. Pusey so bitterly laments is not confined to one sex. By experience gained in hospitals, reformatories, and gaols, and our crowded parishes too, it is known that there are far worse sins abounding in our large towns. Unnatural crimes are all but openly organized, although they are punishable by the state law; and families without number herd together like cattle. The latter is an evil of which we used to hear much before the improvement of dwellings was an accomplished fact, but it is still far more frequent than is supposed or admitted: then, indeed, it was a necessity of long years of neglect of the ruling powers and of owners of property, but now, alas! it is too often the voluntary choice of an unblushing, though sometimes ignorant depravity.

Many of the clergy are doing their best to cope with all these varieties of evil, to seek them out in their lurking-places, and to bring individuals to a knowledge of their sin; but they require and deserve from the laity active and moral assistance, rather than their portion of active persecution and unqualified abuse. With respect to the sins of early years a heavy responsibility rests in the first instance upon the parents of children, and next upon the instructors of youth of both sexes. Parents should be informed and warned by their medical advisers of the habits into which so many children fall quite innocently or rather quite ignorantly—habits which, if not inherited or acquired spontaneously, may be learnt from others of equally tender years, or from attendants if proper care has not been taken in the selection of them. Who does not know the danger of very many schools in this respect? Parents and instructors of youth too often have a mistaken belief and trust in the purity of ignorance, a condition which is in reality very rare, and which when it exists is not a condition of strength and safety. I am very strongly of opinion that no child ought to be allowed to leave his or her home without being warned in general terms what to resist, what to be ashamed of, as alike destructive of happiness, of health, of holiness, and of honour. If fathers and mothers from some unwise feelings of timidity, or from false delicacy, or even it may be conscience-stricken by their own history, neglect their duty in this respect—and the vast majority do neglect it—the duty must fall upon others, either upon those who are responsible for the education of the children, or upon the clergy. Better far that children and young persons should not obtain in the first instance from some chance companion the instruction and information they ought to receive in a guarded manner and with proper authority from persons of maturer years.

I am sure that a most important remedy, or rather preventive, of the evil of which I have been speaking, would be afforded by instructing our children in the principles of Physiology. Much has been said and

written upon this question in relation with other subjects, and it is much to be deplored that the great mass of the people are totally ignorant of the functions and processes of life, and of the laws under which these functions and processes can be properly performed. Of late years, something has been done to teach both boys and girls a smattering of this important subject, and that, already, its principles are bearing fruit, is manifest in a diminution of the absurdities and distortions of dress amongst both the teachers and the taught. The English are perhaps the most prudish people in the world. They appear to attach some feeling of shame to the performance of even the most ordinary duties of nature, and offer a peculiar contrast in this respect to other Europeans—a contrast which is particularly striking to those who travel abroad for the first time. And this peculiar national feeling explains perhaps the desire that is manifested to keep out of the little manuals of physiology for schools all mention of the important subject of reproduction. There is, surely, nothing sinful in reading or speaking of such a subject, nothing corrupting in learning to appreciate, as a question of science and knowledge, this most wonderful of the marvellous provisions of nature. We may lay down as an axiom, that there can be nothing corrupting in understanding the works of God. The harm comes from making a mystery of facts which must be learnt in some way, sooner or later. If they be learnt either from companions, or from the gradual development of sensations within ourselves, they will remain facts, a knowledge of which has been gained surreptitiously, as it were; facts to be retained as mysterious secrets, until they be communicated to others, who have been launched forth in the same ignorance in which we ourselves were formerly wrapped; facts, an acquaintance with which shame bids us even conceal from our parents. If, on the other hand, they be learnt as dry matters of science and necessary information, learnt at the hands of the parents themselves, or with the parents' full concurrence and knowledge, they will cease to be looked upon as mysteries, and the very openness with which the information has been gained will remove the feeling of shame inseparable from the knowledge when secretly acquired, and prevent, too, the undue attention which anything mysterious surely commands.

It is certain that we inflict trials upon our children by our very prudishness. In the animal world Nature herself teaches by instinct. In man, instinct has become almost dormant, so dormant that it is marvellous how ignorant men are as to the performance of purely animal functions. This has been gradually brought about by an artificial mode of living. The condition of society is most artificial and most complex; and it is this very artificial and complex condition that more and more perverts nature, and more and more creates the necessity and scope for forethought and guidance. In the necessary cultivation of that which is artificial, that which is natural must not

be ignored. An able writer in a late number of the *Quarterly Review* (Article on "The Englishwoman at School," July, 1878) points out that the object of culture is to purify the natural by elevating the artificial. It would be well to hold this object steadily in view. I have already shown how evil lurks everywhere, and takes advantage of the ignorance that it finds. The above writer admits "the difficulty of saying how or when the seed of evil first finds its way into the young mind"—regrets the "dulness" of some homes, "falsely called innocence"—speaks "of girls being denied all knowledge of the world they must occupy"—and also of "the powerlessness of such systems to keep out evil." These are all pleas for more education, more culture; and do they not also show that it would be wise to endeavour to keep out the evil by removing that cruel ignorance which constitutes the best soil for its reception and development?

It is impossible in this place to speak out more fully, to tell of habits thus contracted in ignorance, becoming confirmed habits most difficult to cure, or to tell of the misery they produce. Neither is it possible to speak here of the secret intemperance which so widely exists amongst both men and women of all classes, of the adult immorality that honeycombs society, nor of the "prostitution made easy" by such a book as the "Fruits of Philosophy"—as the *Master of the Rolls* is reported, in the *Daily News*, to have described the book in question, when the case of Mrs. Besant's care of her daughter lately came before the law-courts. I cannot warn men and women too strongly, not only of the utter viciousness and self-degradation, but of the great risk to health, and even to life, of following the teaching of that most miserable book. Neither can I speak too highly of those clergy who have had the courage, I had almost said the audacity, during the last thirty years, of inculcating the duty of confession upon men, women, and children, and by that ordinance attacking hidden sin and wickedness of all kinds, and stemming the fierce tide of vice and excess. It no doubt saves an immensity of trouble and anxiety to ignore the evils around us. But should we thus fulfil that law of love, of which I have spoken, if conscious of this festering sore in our midst, the wide development of this mysterious taint, this curse of our nature, we yet put forth no voice to dissipate the ignorance, stretched out no hand to help the weakness, held up no hope to promote the cure?

It may be possible to attack open vice in other ways; but hidden sin can only be discerned and cured in private confession. It may be said that there is no necessity to discern hidden sin; that it is a matter between the individual soul and its God, and that it is not necessary to confess sin to a priest in order that it may be forgiven. This may be true. We may believe that perfect contrition ensures God's forgiveness: but still, the individual soul, bowed down with the

weight of some great sin, is perfectly free to seek the help that confession and absolution give. Without such assistance how seldom does the soul revive, how often does it languish and fall still more deeply, it may be even to the depths of despair! But if the sympathy and aid for which it sighs are within reach, if the burdened spirit take the first step of desiring to flee from the evil, if it knows where it is sure to obtain the help it needs, if it finds held out to it some hope of forgiveness, if together with that forgiveness it feels itself strengthened by some measure of the gift of God's grace, it will become revived, and obtain a power of reformation which is divine.

It is sometimes said that "habitual confession is to be avoided." I have already alluded to the difficulty which exists in dealing with hysterical people who are, I think, the only offenders on the score of frequency. It is also said that "confession is good as medicine, but bad as food." This and the former statement are often quoted as meaning that confession must be the exception and not the rule. Without discussing whether a quiet conscience is the rule or the exception, I would say that confession is *always* a medicine, but a preventive medicine as well as a curative medicine. The old saying that "prevention is better than cure" is quite as true in regard to sin as it is to disease; and it is the power of confession as a preventive that makes it so incalculably valuable in the case of children. It is of immense importance to nip sin as it were in the bud; for cure is difficult when growth has taken place. The practice of confession may be said therefore to possess a sanitary value. Sir John Forbes, whose book I have already quoted, gives (p. 81) remarkable evidence of this value amongst the Irish Roman Catholics, and tested his facts by the Poor Law returns. The information which I myself gained, a few years since, while travelling in the west of Ireland, fully corroborates the evidence of Sir John Forbes.

It has not been my province to enter, except incidentally, upon either the theological or historical arguments on the subject of confession. My object has been to discuss its usefulness honestly and fairly, and from a medical and scientific point of view, and to consider many practical matters which are more or less frequently made the subjects of disquisition, and on which objections to the use of confession are often founded. I have by no means exhausted either facts or arguments, but I have discussed many points which bear upon the practical question, how far sin interferes with the physical well-being of the body. I have endeavoured to show how universal this interference is, how little it is recognized on the one hand, how largely it is ignored on the other. And, lastly, I have considered how best to meet the evil, and how alone much of it may be discerned, cured, and prevented. The subject is not one that I have sought, or one that is pleasant to write upon. Many years of public practice have opened

my eyes to the prevalence of evils, the existence of which I should formerly have refused to believe, and even have indignantly denied. It is then under the influence of a firm and conscientious conviction that I have endeavoured to show, on sanitary and moral grounds, the necessity which widely exists for moral supervision and guidance. I have drawn attention to the means that, in my humble opinion, are suitable to diminish some of the evils of which I have spoken. I have also pointed out, that the means that the Church has used in all ages are those that under God are alone able to withstand the afflictions and temptations of the human race, and to stem the vast tide of sin and the consequent disease and misery around us. We have much need, in the present day, of upholding the ancient faith and practice of the Church, and of maintaining her influence not only for the purposes that I have named, but also as the only safeguard against unbelief.

Shall then an unhappy prejudice stand in the way of the revival of one of the most useful of the Church's weapons, one that had been long allowed to rust—confession—of which Luther said, “he would rather lose a thousand worlds than suffer it to be thrust out of the Church?” A pressing and heavy responsibility rests upon the clergy at the present time, of making a bold attempt to withstand the spread of vice and unbelief. Let them not, like the Pharisee and the Levite in the parable, pass by on the other side, and conveniently shut their eyes to these evils; but let them, like the Good Samaritan, search out those festering wounds, and pour in the oil and wine of forgiveness and reconciliation.

GEORGE COWELL.

ANCIENT EGYPT.

III.

IT was natural that the little Theban kingdom which took the lead in the war of independence should win the undivided rule of Egypt; but the sudden leap from this limited dominion to the conquest of a great empire is without a parallel in Egyptian history. There are indeed few events outside that history to which it can be compared. It was not due to fanaticism, nor to the desire for pleasanter lands to dwell in, nor to the migratory instinct. The Egyptians never conquered for the sake of spreading their religion; they were contented with their fertile mother-country, which could easily be extended along the banks of the Nile into the heart of Africa; and as we know them in the rest of their history, they were slow to move, changing very little in the course of centuries. The nearest parallel in the world's history is the conquest of the Persian Empire by Alexander; but Alexander took up an enterprise which had been before meditated, and he fought against a worn-out state. The Egyptians started at once a scheme of conquest against vigorous enemies, and though they speedily won, their rule could only be maintained by constant wars, until at last their empire perished from exhaustion, like the second Assyrian Empire which fell with the fall of Nineveh. It may be that the sudden activity of Egypt was a compensation for a long period of inaction; but whether this be so or not, it is a warning that we must not attempt to apply any supposed law of progress to the development of Egyptian civilization. The Empire of the Egyptians over material forces and artistic forms may have been won far more suddenly than analogy would lead us to suppose.

Early in the reign of Aahmes, head of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as already shown, the final conquest of the Shepherds was achieved by the capture of their great stronghold Avaris. The second successor

of Aahmes, Thothmes I., at the beginning of his reign, set up a tablet on the bank of the Euphrates. Thothmes III., one generation later, subdued Assyria. This summit of power was reached within a hundred years from B.C. 1600 or 1500.

Of the preparations for conquest we know nothing. All the indications of the state of the army under Aahmes and his immediate successor show a force inadequate in numbers to the great enterprises which followed. Not improbably Thothmes I. was the earliest great conqueror; but of his achievements we know scarcely anything. His daughter Hatasu or Hatshepu, married first to her elder brother Thothmes II., and then regent for the younger, Thothmes III., though not admitted into the ancient Egyptian official lists, largely contributed to the formation of the Empire. During her regency the Eastern tributaries do not seem to have risen, and she had thus leisure to make a naval expedition, of which she has left a record, up the Red Sea to Punt, which was either the Somálee country or Arabia Felix. This was the land of spicery, of precious metals, and of precious stones. The voyage was, it would appear, not so much for conquest as for discovery in the manner of the enterprises in the New World which inaugurate modern history. It shows that the ambition of the Egyptians did not arise only from love of conquest or desire of wide dominion, but was also stirred by the feeling that has moved all great and adventurous nations. The expedition not only subdued the spice-country, but it also secured the emporiums of the merchandise of India, whose productions in the booty give us a first glimpse of its ancient civilization. Not the least curious result of the expedition was what M. Maspero remarks is the first recorded effort of acclimatization. Thirty-two small spice-trees were brought, packed in earth in baskets, to Thebes, to be there planted (Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* 202, 203). Queen Hatasu was not content to be a woman of daring enterprise: she desired to be king; and during the minority of Thothmes III. she dressed as a man, appearing on her monuments as the Pharaoh. Her active reign having ended, how we know not, Thothmes III., probably the greatest of the Kings of Egypt, gained the sovereign power.

Up to this date the memoirs of subjects have contributed much to Egyptian history; from this period onward we have side by side with them royal memoirs. These want, indeed, the simplicity of the humbler records; they are official and written in the court style, but they usually traverse a larger field, and, so far as the external relations of Egypt are concerned, they are the nearest approach that we have to history. They are, however, one-sided, chiefly recording success, and admitting disaster only to give greater emphasis to subsequent victory. Of these royal memoirs the *Annals of Thothmes III.* are at once the most extensive and the most interesting. From them the story of his great wars has been reconstructed, and we can

thus see the causes of the military success and political failure of the Egyptian Empire. On the accession of Thothmes the Eastern tributaries revolted, as on many subsequent occasions, until the Ramessides set their foreign policy on a securer though humbler basis. At this time the dominant race of Syria and Assyria were the Ruten, of whom we can only say that they were Shemites.* Thothmes took the field, and at the Battle of Megiddo, then, as afterwards, the key to the route from Phœnicia to Assyria, he routed the forces of the Ruten and their allies. A few days later he captured the city. He then received the submission of the chiefs of Syria, Mesopotamia, and Assyria. Year after year the war began afresh. The King of Egypt penetrated to Assyria and reached Nineveh, where the submission of the inhabitants left the army to enjoy the chase and bring back the spoils of a hundred and twenty elephants slain there.† Every annual expedition was a success, for it returned laden with gold and silver, and the choice products of the industry of the most civilized countries of Asia. It was not a war of desolation, like the wars of the Assyrian kings; the King of Egypt demanded submission and tribute, but seems neither to have placed Egyptian governors over the conquered territories nor to have made treaties with the tributary chiefs. Thus the work of conquest had nothing permanent in it; the conquered nations rose again and again, to be subdued but not discouraged. The result to Egypt was a great increase of material wealth and a sure exhaustion of the fighting part of the population. For the rest of the time during which the Eighteenth Dynasty ruled, which may be put roughly at a century and a half, the external relations of Egypt are the same as in the time of Thothmes, but the achievements of the kings are rarely as brilliant as his, and towards the close of the line there are symptoms of weakness.

The chief value of the records of Egyptian conquest is the light they throw upon the state of the civilized world at their remote age. They not only give us such startling glimpses into the unknown as we gain from Queen Hatasu's expedition up the Red Sea, which carries the date of the Indian and Arabian trade to at least five centuries before Solomon, and ten before Darius Hystaspis, but they also enable us to draw up a geographical and ethnological map of Asia east of Egypt as far as the Tigris, according to the Egyptian nomenclature. It must not be supposed that this map is complete in its details, or that each nation, country, and city can be written down in its right place with the Semitic and classical equivalents. The first

* In the Ruten some have seen the Shemite Ludim, and considered them to be the Lydians in a primitive seat. The Egyptians would, however, probably have written Ludim with signs preferably used for "l" and "d," unless the name had been known to them before the Empire, at a time when transliteration of Semitic words was less precise. It is also probable that the name would have ended in "n" in place of "en."

† This is very interesting in reference to the ancient geographical distribution of the elephant, and as indicating a condition of Assyria that would explain the slow growth of the power of its old monarchy.

step towards this end will have been taken when the later map formed on Assyrian evidence has been compared with it and both with the Biblical data. There are great difficulties in the way of the attempt to attach the Egyptian names to definite tracts; the identification of towns is easier. The difficulties arise from two causes. At this age the westward flow of nations had already set in. Although then, as since, its strong tide sometimes ebbed or was forced back, yet in the four hundred years during which Egypt was the mistress of civilized Asia, we observe the same territory ruled or occupied by nations of different names. A still harder difficulty arises from the different name given in Egyptian and other geography to the same country or tribe. Egypt itself was usually called by one name by its inhabitants, and by two others by the Shemites and the Greeks, from the age of the Homeric poems downwards, these names being wholly unconnected. Modern geography abounds in such cases, from which students of ancient Oriental geography might take warning.* In spite, however, of all obstacles, great advances have been made, chiefly by the founder of Egyptian geography, Dr. Brugsch. It is of special advantage that the information gained is ethnologically correct. We can determine from the characteristic pictures of the monuments to what race each nation belonged. Thus the gain, though far from complete, has a truly solid value.

The sudden growth of Egypt in foreign dominion is marked, as one would expect, by as sudden a growth of luxury at home. In scale and costliness the temples now assume new proportions, almost the greatest attained in Egypt, only to be surpassed under the Ramessides. The whole character of private life is changed, and in viewing the pictures of the tombs we see a sharp transition from patriarchal simplicity to civic splendour, in manners, in dress, and in all the surroundings of life. The liberties of the upper classes do not seem to have gained by the change. Certainly the old aristocracy, as it was under the Twelfth Dynasty, is at first traceable, but it soon disappears, and all posts are held by court favour between soldiers, priests, and a growing official class, whose power is, as always, a sign of national decay.

Thebes was the capital of Egypt under the Empire. The great temple of Amen-ra, now called after the village of El-Karnak, was its central edifice. The chief object of each of the earlier kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty was to adorn this temple, and no one failed to add something to its long succession of halls and chambers. The traveller who begins his examination in the inner rooms, and advances towards the stupendous winged portal, never completed, which looks to the Nile, can perceive the history of almost each reign and in some degree

* The Emperor of Hindustan, Jehángéer, speaks in his *Memoirs* of the contemporary Sultan of Turkey as the Caesar of Room, a title not less curious than Her Majesty's title "Caesar of India."

measure by its records both its length and its prosperity. If he would know the private life of the Egyptians, he must cross to the western bank of the river, and see what still remain of the beautiful frescoes which till lately covered the walls of the tombs which honeycomb the rocks. It will aid students at home to know that the copies of most of the scenes of luxurious private life, of banqueting, of the music and dancing of hired performers, and of costly furniture, are taken from the Theban tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, whereas the pictures of country life, its pleasures and occupations, hunting, fishing, and fowling, the visit to the farm, and those portraying handicrafts in which the dependents of great men worked for them, all things to which rural simplicity or patriarchal organization are the key-note, are usually taken from the older tombs of Benue Hasan and Memphis. It is also to be noticed that funeral subjects appear under the Eighteenth Dynasty, and are an important part of the pictures of the tombs, in contrast to the reticence of earlier times.

The Eighteenth Dynasty near its close witnessed a striking religious revolution the true history of which we can only guess. In Middle Egypt, at Tell el-Amárineh, the traveller is surprised by the ruins of a city overthrown in the age of the Pharaohs and never afterwards rebuilt. The other ancient cities of Egypt are marked by mounds, the growth of ages, the *débris* of Pharaonic, Ptolemaic, Roman, and sometimes Arab times, lying in strata one beneath the other. The temple, owing to the strength of its materials, is the chief and often the only ruin. If traces of archaic houses remain, they are to be sought for deep in the mounds. But at Tell el-Amárineh the site is not marked by mounds, the ruins lie flat on the surface, and the temple has been levelled to the earth. What remains is the ground-plan of the temple, the palace, and the houses, of the whole city in fact as it was left at its overthrow. Had it not been for the religious feeling which has spared the sepulchral grottoes in the mountain behind, we should be wholly ignorant of the story of the strange events which caused the foundation and speedy destruction of a new capital, the city Khu-aten.

The British Museum contains two commemorative scarabæi of Amenoph III., great-grandson of Thothmes III. One records the king's marriage to a foreigner, Queen Tai, and the extent of his dominions, the other his exploits in lion-hunting. His great temple at Thebes has vanished, but the two colossi which represent the king, the Vocal Memnon and its fellow, still bear witness to the splendour of the last great reign of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Amenoph IV., the offspring of the foreign marriage, succeeded his father. It may be due to his mother's race that he is the strangest figure on the Egyptian monuments. At his time, be it remembered, Egyptian art was most flexible, and we cannot suspect it of caricaturing a king, least of all one who was exceptionally absolute. He is portrayed of a strange type, at once corpulent and meagre, and his wife, his daughters, and

his court officers have the same characteristics. Nothing but foreign blood can reasonably account for this, though of course allowance for flattery would explain the assimilation of the courtiers to the royal type. If we could trace this type in the various and very characteristic pictures of foreigners as such which the monuments afford, the history of this curious episode would probably be at once explained. But it is not so, and we must rather look for the wished-for evidence outside the horizon of Egyptian conquest.

The clue may perhaps be afforded by the religion of Amenoph IV., which was either an attempt to return to a real or imaginary primitive form of Egyptian sun-worship, or, what is far more probable, a foreign system. It scarcely seems possible that this worship could have been purely Egyptian, for it involved a marked departure from the rites and language of the Egyptian religion. The names of the Theban gods and the very characters that were their symbols were abandoned and obliterated, so that a new sign had to be found for the word "mother," written in Egyptian with the symbol of Mu-t, the mother-goddess. Nothing was retained but the name of the sun, and this usually in the form of Aten, "the disk," to avoid relation to the sun-god Ra. Amenoph changed his name, as compounded of that of Amen, to Khu-n-aten, "Splendour of the disk." The great temple at Khu-aten contained no image of a divinity; the sun alone was worshipped there, and only represented in the form of the disk of the luminary with rays, one or more of which terminate in a human hand giving the symbol of life to the worshipper or clasping him. The temple was decked with flowers, and flowers with fruits and incense were among the chief offerings. Choirs of priestesses, who sang hymns to the sun to the sound of harps, formed a special characteristic of the worship. In this there is a striking likeness to the Vedic religion, and the peculiar type of the innovating king is not unlike the Indo-Scythic. Was his mother an Indian princess?

The attempt of Khu-n-aten to make sun-worship the only religion of Egypt ended with his reign, or soon after. The subsequent kings, his relations by marriage, evidently adopted a policy of conciliation. The episode ended with the restoration of the national religion, and the destruction of the monuments of the sun-worshippers, shortly after which the Eighteenth Dynasty closed, and the royal power passed to the new family of the Ramessides. This great house, of which Ramses I. was the founder, and which counted Ramses II. and III. among its sovereigns, seems to have been of Lower Egyptian race, and not impossibly of partly Shemite descent, perhaps even counting some of the Shepherd kings among its ancestors. Any one who will compare the splendid heads of Ramses II. in the British Museum, especially that which is a cast of the Memphite colossus, with the heads of monarchs of the Thothmes and Amenoph line, will not fail to admit a strong tinge of Shemite national characteristics. The internal and external

policy of the Ramessides points in the same direction. As the first king of the Eighteenth Dynasty was supported by an Ethiopian marriage, the sovereigns of the Nineteenth took a new attitude, and formed treaties with their Asiatic neighbours by which their whole foreign relations were changed. This may, however, have been a policy dictated by the appearance on their northern shore of new and terrible enemies, the restless islanders and coast-men of the Mediterranean.

The new line was forced to reconquer the Asiatic dependencies. After the short reign of the founder Ramses I., this enterprise occupied his active son Setee I., and the earlier years of his grandson Ramses II. Much had been accomplished, yet a fresh rising needed all the energy of the young king to overcome it. His father's empire did not reach the vast limits attained by Thothmes, but it gained in solidity on this account, and still more from the wise policy of placing garrisons in the strongholds of Palestine and Phœnicia. Thus, when the Syrian war broke out, Ramses had a surer basis of operations than Thothmes. In the interval the condition of Hither Asia had changed. No longer the Ruten, but the Kheta, or Hittites of the Orontes Valley, were the dominant power nearest to Egypt. It was by them that a great confederacy was formed, against which the most celebrated campaigns of Ramses were directed. Kadesh, "the holy city," on the Orontes, was their capital, and under its walls the decisive action was fought.

In the battle of Kadesh, the historian of the king of the Kheta was slain. The success of the King of Egypt was sung by a native poet, Pentaur, whose *Ramesseis* has come down to our time, engraven on the wall of the temple of El-Karnak, and also written in a papyrus. There is much in this poem that has the air of a primitive *Iliad*. It is the record of the personal prowess of Ramses at a critical moment of the great campaign. If tribes of Asia Minor were in the Khetan confederacy, or if the maritime Greeks at this very time fell under Egyptian influence, the coincidence is curious. To this we must return hereafter.

The decisive battle did not end the war. It was not for many years that peace was established, and then not by the submission of the Kheta, but by the conclusion of a definite treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with extraditionary clauses, very humanely framed, between Ramses and the Hittite prince, who are spoken of as of co-ordinate rank, a relation for which the records of the Eighteenth Dynasty have as yet shown no precedent.

Another great military success marked the career of Ramses. While his father yet reigned but he was co-regent, the maritime tribes of the Mediterranean, allied with the Libyans, made the first recorded of the series of attacks which tended more than any other external cause to bring about the fall of the Empire. The enemies entered on the west of the Delta. Ramses defeated them and drove back the tide of invasion, which did not again take this direction until the reign of his son, seventy years or more later. The conqueror placed the prisoners

in the royal body-guard (Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* 217). This policy was a disastrous consequence of the exhaustion of the fighting material of Egypt, for it founded a force of mercenaries, closely attached to the crown, who weakened the state from within, no less than the conflicts with their compatriots weakened it from without.

Ramses reigned sixty-seven years; the first third of this time was occupied by wars, the rest by vast architectural enterprises which covered Egypt and Lower Nubia with his records. Of the monuments still remaining the finest are the sepulchral temple at Thebes, commonly called the Memnonium, and the rock-temple of Abou-Simbel, in Nubia. These are worthy in their beauty of the power of Egypt at that time; others show a negligence that marks the imperial desire for quantity rather than quality, in contrast to the comparatively few monuments of Thothmes III., which have a refined beauty often combined with small dimensions. Again the king is, more markedly than was Thothmes, the central figure of the state. Like the vast colossus representing him, which encumbered the first court of his sepulchral temple, his dignity is out of all proportion to that of his subjects. Even a more special cultus of the living sovereign appears to begin in his reign and at once to gain its highest development. Naturally, there are fewer private monuments, and the tombs of great officers are less in number and of lower interest than before. Meanwhile the official class had multiplied in the colleges attached to the temples, and a new literary activity strongly influenced by Shemite associations showed itself. The papyri of this age take the place of the earlier memoirs. Besides copies of the standard works of religion, they comprise poems both religious and historical, statistical records, fiction, and the whole circle of a scribe's official work, letters, memoranda, records of legal procedure, and so forth.

Under the conditions of the reign of Ramses II., the genial life of Egypt seems to have departed. The air is heavy with the sound of the labour of slaves in the condition of the Hebrew thralldom. The Egyptian workmen are pillaged by bandits and non-suited by corrupt judges. The lower priests have become robbers of tombs. No wonder that the idea of the future state became dominant. The Egyptians no longer had that joy in life which expressed itself in the pictures of their tombs as late as the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Like men wearied in body and soul, their thought was more of the future than of the present life. There are too few private tombs of this period to give the data for a safe induction, but we may draw this inference from the royal tombs. They are excavated in the sides of two secluded valleys in the western mountain behind Thebes. Of the two which belong to the Eighteenth Dynasty, one is religious in its subjects, the other still contains the records of the king's sports. Those of the Ramessides are known in a continuous series. The subjects of the walls of their long galleries and their chambers are,

with a trifling exception, wholly religious, and relate to the progress of the disembodied soul through the regions of the nether world. They tell the mystical story of the punishments, the trials, and the rewards of the Egyptian inferno, purgatorio, and paradiso. If they lack the beauty of the great Italian poet, they equal his grim realism in the pictures which portray the passage of the justified soul through trial to happiness, and show us how the sinner passed into misery. Here the idea of the other world fills the whole horizon.

The extreme length of the reign of Ramses was, as in other histories, the cause of subsequent weakness and disaster. His successor was an aged son, Menptah, who had to meet the difficulties which were easily overcome by the youth of his energetic father. The Libyans and their maritime allies broke the long tranquillity of Egypt by a formidable invasion and temporary conquest of the north-west. The power of the monarchy was thus shaken, and the old king was not the leader to restore it. His obscure reign was followed by others even obscurer, and the Nineteenth Dynasty ended in complete anarchy, which reached its height when a Syrian chief, in what manner we know not, gained the rule of the whole country.

It is to the reign of Menptah that Egyptian tradition assigned the Exodus, and modern research has come to a general agreement that this is its true place in Egyptian history. It is this question which we have next to notice, with that larger one of which it is a part, the bearing of the Egyptian records on the history of the Hebrews from Joseph to Moses. With the rise of the Twentieth Dynasty we obtain a wider view of the relations of the Egyptians with the maritime nations of the Mediterranean, the earlier incidents of which have been merely touched on. The whole question is most valuable as illustrating the Homeric poems, and the earliest pre-Hellenic and proto-Hellenic antiquities, discovered in the Troad, at Mycenæ, and in Cyprus. It may fitly follow the problem of Israel in Egypt.

As soon as hieroglyphic texts had been read, the public eagerly asked the interpreters, "What do the monuments tell us of Joseph and Moses, of the settlement in Egypt, the sojourn, and the Exodus?" For the answer the Egyptologists long fruitlessly questioned the monuments. In their eager search they found materials of which they raised a series of ill-constructed theories, fated to fall as soon as they were completed. Thirty years ago, Dr. Lepsius made the first step in the direction of sound criticism. His valuable results were scarcely added to until quite recently, when M. Chabas, and still more, Dr. Brugsch, carried the inquiry much farther. It may be fairly said that we now hold the wished-for evidence, and that each year is sure to add to its value. For it must be understood that the materials are as yet scarcely as available as they might be even to Egyptologists. Some are only known to us through translations, and the original documents are needed before criticism shall decide on their bearing. The inquiry

itself has shifted its ground in the inquirers' hands, and only a very careful comparison of their statements can give the general worth of the results. Yet these results, put at their lowest, are what was truly wanted. We have, indeed, no record of Joseph's administration, or of the oppression and the Exodus. What we have is an accurate general knowledge of the geography of the part of Egypt where the Israelites were settled, and much information as to the political and social state of the country at the time of their stay. It is true that we cannot point with certainty to the Egyptian name of each Pharaoh mentioned in the Hebrew record, though, indeed, we can probably do this in the cases of the two most important of them, but we hold an independent set of documents, most of them of the period as to which we are inquiring, which we can use, not as detailed illustrations, but as an almost continuous commentary. Thus we can read the Bible history by the clear light afforded by monuments contemporary with the events, with occasional aid from later Egyptian sources.

The first result is a general agreement as to the date of the Exodus. This is mainly due to Dr. Lepsius, the earliest of our inquirers. If his theory is correct, we have no longer to make our choice between the extremes of B.C. 1648 (Hales) and B.C. 1314 (Rabbinical chronology), the date of B.C. 1491 (Ussher) in the margin of the English Bible occupying nearly the middle point in more than three hundred years of uncertainty. Lepsius's theory would, in the form in which it is now generally accepted, place that event towards the close of the fourteenth century.* The essential argument is very simple.

We read in *Exodus* that the Israelites, during the oppression, built for Pharaoh a town called Rameses, which, or another of the same name, is afterwards mentioned as the starting-point of the Exodus. A Rameses was therefore near the north-eastern boundary of Egypt. The name Rameses is the same as that of several kings of Egypt, the first of whom was, as already stated, the head of the Nineteenth Dynasty. This king consequently was the earliest to whom the building of a city Rameses could be assigned. His, however, was an extremely short reign, and it is most unlikely that any city was named after him. Dr. Brugsch has shown that his grandson Rameses II. rebuilt Tanis, the Zoan of the Bible, and called it Pa-Ramses, the city of Ramses, or else founded the new city close to the older one. Tanis suits the geographical conditions, and, if another city be intended by the Biblical Rameses, the builder would be the same, as any subsequent Ramses is far too late. Ramses II. would thus correspond to the great oppressor, and the Exodus would have taken place shortly after his reign, the long

* The stress laid by Lepsius on the Rabbinical date of the Exodus, B.C. 1314, is, we would venture to think, injudicious. It is founded, like Ussher's, on the interval of four hundred and eighty years before the building of Solomon's Temple, and it therefore ought to fall more than a century and a-half before B.C. 1314. Its lateness is due to the accidental errors of the reckoning after the building of the Temple. Egyptologists generally would, no doubt, prefer a less exact statement.

duration of which (sixty-seven years) leaves a few years of the eighty assigned in the Bible to carry us on through the oppression for the next reign, until the Exodus. Manetho, the Egyptian historian, speaking, if Josephus is to be trusted, on the authority of tradition, states that this event occurred in the reign of Menptah, the successor of Ramses. The date of Menptah was probably during the fourteenth century B.C., and may be reasonably placed near its close. Thus the date of the Exodus would be a little before B.C. 1300.

So late a date of the Exodus is startling to most English scholars. It may therefore be mentioned that it receives collateral support from the most reasonable view of the evidence of the Hebrew genealogies for the period between the Exodus and the kings, although this evidence can scarcely be used in the construction of a theory. If these genealogies are of successive generations, the Exodus would fall about B.C. 1300. It would be replied that Hebrew genealogies frequently omit a generation, or even several generations, but the pedigree of David, remarkable for the few generations it contains, is supported by evidence of completeness which seems to forbid the idea that any single link has been dropped.

The date of Joseph may be next taken. It presents a greater difficulty than that of the Exodus. At the outset a concession must be made to the Egyptologists. The later Hebrew chronology, if the view given above is correct, is consistent with the theory that the genealogies of that time are unbroken, but the majority of scholars are in favour of reckoning the earlier period, that now under consideration, by what they hold to be the genuine numbers of the Biblical text. The development of the family which settled in Egypt into the nation which went out of it implies a long period of time, and the Hebrew text states the interval to have been four hundred and thirty years. If we base our reckoning upon this number, and place the Exodus in the reign of Menptah, the government of Joseph would fall before the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the later part of the Shepherd dominion, somewhat before B.C. 1700. Here we find on the monuments no definite point of contact, and the theory must be tested by general historical probability.

Joseph would thus have been governor of Egypt under a Pharaoh who, though a foreigner himself and thus able to appreciate foreign merit, was one of those who had adopted Egyptian titles and usages. The subsequent oppression would thus have been a near or remote consequence of the expulsion of the Shepherds. It is precisely in the later Shepherd period that Dr. Brugsch finds an Egyptian record of a famine of many years' duration. No other such famine is recorded in later Egyptian annals until that of the Fátimée Khaleefeh El-Mustansir billáh, remarkable as having lasted seven years (A.D. 1064-1071) like that of Joseph. Great famines in Egypt are extremely rare, because they require a succession of very low inundations. Such failures of the river seldom happen singly, and a sequence of seven is most extraordinary.

Any one who reads the history of the time of Joseph side by side with that of the Exodus must be struck by the different conditions of Egypt which they portray. The transition is from almost patriarchal simplicity to a highly organized condition of society.

Unfortunately the monuments of the Shepherd kings are too scanty for us to be able to draw from them a picture of the manners of their subjects. We know, however, that in the later period of their rule, the time to which the government of Joseph is now assigned, the kings had adopted Egyptian manners, and we cannot suppose that in civilization they had advanced beyond the conquered race, in this the masters of the conquerors. We do know the condition of the Egyptians about this time. Then, and later, up to the earlier reigns of the Eighteenth Dynasty, they were not more cultivated, if as cultivated, as under the Twelfth Dynasty. All the conditions of life were those of the old monarchy as distinguished from the Empire, so simple that it would require a critical eye to discern the germs of the elaborate social organization of the imperial time.

The geographical indications in the Biblical history of Joseph are scanty; but they are consistent with his proposed place in Egyptian history: those of a later period fill in their outline. It seems evident that the capital of the Pharaoh to whom he was minister was in Lower Egypt. When Joseph places his kinsfolk in Goshen, it is that his father may be near him. Throughout the comings and goings of his brethren he appears to be near the eastern border. Zoan, or the stronghold Avaris, in the same part of Egypt, was the capital of the later Shepherds, and the position of either would suit the circumstances of the narrative.

The name of Goshen has been recognized by Dr. Brugsch in the Egyptian texts as Kesem (Gesem), the Phaccusa of the Greek writers. He places the land of Goshen near this town, and therefore not far south of Tanis (Rameses), which would perfectly agree with the conditions implied in the narrative of the Exodus, in which a Rameses is the starting-point of the settlers in Goshen.

The story of Joseph is illustrated step by step from the Egyptian texts. The *Tale of the Two Brothers*, the earliest known of Egyptian fictions, was no sooner read than it was seen to relate in its turning-point an incident identical with the trial of Joseph. Pharaoh's dream of the kine describes the years of plenty and famine under the usual type of the inundation, as Dr. Birch has shown. The installation of Joseph has its parallel in the case of an Egyptian governor of the age of the Eighteenth Dynasty who received exactly the same office, "lord of all Egypt" (Gen. xlv. 9), in the Egyptian record a "lord of the whole land," the word lord being *adon* in both cases (Brugsch, *History*, i. 269, 270). The term in Hebrew means "ruler;" in Egyptian its sense is more special, and the whole title of Joseph may best be rendered "regent" (Brugsch, *l. c.*). Two circumstances of the narrative bring us very near Egyptian official usages. "By the life

of Pharaoh" is used as a strong asseveration by Joseph (Gen. xlii. 15, 16); and when he has sworn to his father after the Hebrew manner that he will not bury him in Egypt, then "Israel bowed himself upon the head of his staff" (xlvi. 29—31). Both the expression "by the life of Pharaoh," and the custom of bowing upon the staff of an officer, are traced by M. Chabas in his interesting essays on Egyptian judicial proceedings, where he cites the following passage describing the taking an oath by a witness in a trial at Thebes: "He made a life of the royal lord, striking his nose and his ears, and placing himself on the head of the staff" (*Mélanges Egyptologiques*, iii. I. 80) the ordinary oath when the witness bowed himself on the magistrate's staff of office. He well remarks that this explains the passage in Genesis quoted above as a recognition by Jacob of his son's authority (ibid. 91, 92). This illustration shows that the Septuagint is right in reading staff, *הַמַּטֵּה*, in agreement with Heb. xi. 21, where the Masoretes read bed, *הַמַּטֵּה*; and a question of controversy disappears.

The narrative of the oppression and the Exodus, more detailed in reference to Egypt than that of Joseph's period, is fuller in points of contact.

Unfortunately we do not know the duration of the oppression of the Israelites, nor the condition of Lower Egypt during the Eighteenth Dynasty, which, according to the hypothesis here adopted, corresponds to a great part of the Hebrew sojourn. It is, however, clear from the Bible that the oppression did not begin till after the period of Joseph's contemporaries, and had lasted eighty years before the Exodus. It seems almost certain that this was the actual beginning of the oppression, for it is very improbable that two separate Pharaohs are intended by the "new king which knew not Joseph" and the builder of Ramesses, or, in other words, Ramses II., and the time from the accession of Ramses II. to the end of Menptah's reign can have little exceeded the eighty years of Scripture between the birth of Moses and the Exodus.

The Egyptian monuments are almost silent as to Lower Egypt from the time of Aahmes, conqueror of the Shepherds, to that of Ramses II. Whether the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty oppressed or tolerated the Shemite population we do not know. Under the Nineteenth Dynasty, not impossible of partly Shepherd race, Tanis is refounded, and the whole of the east of Lower Egypt is adorned with temples and specially strengthened with forts. Semitic ideas come into fashion. The new literary activity may well be due to contact with Shemites. This might seem strange of a time of persecution, but we must reflect that it implies a long previous contact of two nationalities, and that precisely what we observe in the Semitic character of the Egyptian of the Nineteenth Dynasty is conversely true of the Hebrew of the same age which is coloured by Egyptian, though far less markedly. The contact had its effect on both sides.

If the adjustment of Hebrew and Egyptian history for the oppression,

as stated above, be accepted, Ramses II. was probably the first, and certainly the great oppressor. His character suits this theory; he was an undisputed autocrat who raised the regal power into a religious abstraction, and covered Egypt and Lower Nubia with vast structures that could only have been produced by slave-labour on the largest scale. The Egyptians had been exhausted by the needs of the army, of which the ranks had already been recruited from captives. Strong as was the government, it lived in danger of internal discontent, military revolt, and the invasion of a more active race. The King of Egypt might, with some show of policy, endeavour to limit the growth of a young and vigorous foreign stock without civil organization or military training, and at the same time make use of it for his public works. The Egyptians as a nation seem to have had little share in the persecution. They were too Shemite, and the Shemites too Egyptian, for any national sympathy with the oppressor. He, however, being by his instincts of rule apart from his people, would be in no way influenced by their better feelings. As the character of the oppressor suits Ramses II., so does that of the Pharaoh of the Exodus suit Menptah. Regent in the latter years of Ramses, he came to the throne an old man. His reign, marked by a dangerous invasion from the west, was unfortunate. He inherited his father's ideas of prerogative, but not his force of will or personal courage. Once if not twice he shrank from leading his armies to battle in times of the utmost danger. This implies the mixture of tyranny and vacillation that marks the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

No positive mention on any Egyptian monument of the slavery of the Hebrews has yet been found. We know that the great works of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, and especially of the latter, were in part at least executed by foreign slaves. It has been argued that one race so employed, the 'Aperiu, correspond to the Hebrews. The identification is, however, philologically faulty, and Dr. Brugsch has rejected it on historical grounds. Probably the Hebrews were designated by the Egyptians by terms also applied to other slave populations. The building of Pithom and Rameses during the oppression gives us a better clue. The great probability that Rameses is identical with Pa-Ramses, Tanis, has already been shown, and M. Chabas suggests Pa-tum, the abode (city) of (the god) Tum as equivalent to Pithom, pointing out a place of that name in eastern Lower Egypt (*Mél. Eg.* 2 sér. 155). Dr. Brugsch identifies the Biblical Pithom with the capital of the Sethroïte nome where Tum was worshipped (*Hist.* i. 202 seqq.).

It is chiefly in proper names that we recognize the Egyptian influence on the Hebrews. That of Moses has been admitted to be Egyptian, and recognized in the name Mes, Messu, Messui, not unusual under the Empire, which means "born, brought forth, child." Dr. Brugsch has lately proposed Mesha, or, as he reads it, Mosha, which is of

common occurrence, and is found in the name of a place in Egypt, "the island" or "coast of Mesha" (*Dict. Geog.* 308). There is no Hebrew derivation for Aaron or Miriam. Aaron has an Egyptian sound; Miriam may be Mere(e)t "beloved," with a Hebrew termination. Phinehas (Pi-nehas) is not "mouth of brass," which is doubtful etymologically and not sense, but Pi-nehas "the Negro," an Egyptian name no doubt applied to dark men. Harnepher, whose name occurs in apparently the sixth generation from Asher (1 Chron. vii. 36) is evidently Har-nefer, "Horus the good," which is to be preferred to Gesenius's startling conjecture that it may be Neharnepher from a Hebrew root "to snore," and a Syriac "to pant."

In the history of the oppression and Exodus there are many details which show a knowledge of Egypt, particularly in the time of the Empire. Some of these have been long known, others have but lately come to light. It has been long pointed out that the employment at this period of foreigners in brickmaking under taskmasters is represented on a mural painting: the record of forced labour in making bricks, of which a daily tale was required, is a later discovery (*Chabas, Mel. Eg.* 2 sér. 123, 124).

The geography of the route of the Exodus has been treated by Dr. Brugsch in a most interesting paper, which was read before the Oriental Congress of London in 1874. His theory waits full critical discussion, for the sufficient reason that the Egyptian documents on which it rests are not all before the public. Its main features may, however, be here indicated. Rameses being identified with Tanis, the route of the Hebrews is compared with that of an Egyptian scribe in pursuit of two fugitive servants, as recorded in Papyrus Anastasi, v. 19, 20. The stations of the Egyptian are Pa-Ramses, Thuko, and Khetam, where the pursuer learns that the fugitives had passed northward of Migdol. The stations of the Israelites are Rameses, Succoth, Etham, and near Migdol. The stations noted in the narrative of the scribe are each a day's journey apart, except that he is two days between Thuko and Khetam, probably on account of a delay for inquiry. The Israelite stations mark each a day's journey. After leaving Khetam the fugitive servants turned northwards; after leaving Etham the Israelites also turned.

These resemblances are most remarkable. It is, however, unfortunate that the second and third stations do not better agree. The name of the second is written by Dr. Brugsch Suko or Sukot except in the list of Nomes in which he writes it accurately Thukot (ii. 318). He has not proved it can be read with initial "S." Unfortunately for the identification, Succoth, "tents," is good Hebrew, and a likely name for a settlement in this country, always frequented by tent-dwelling tribes. Khetam, admitting the vowels to be correctly added, is not really like Etham, and, being a word traceable in Hebrew as well as in Egyptian, would scarcely have lost its initial radical in transcription.

If, however, the route is thus identified, there can be little doubt that Dr. Brugsch has made out a strong case for the passage by the Israelites not of the Red Sea, but of Lake Serbonis—

" that Serbonian bog
Betwixt Damietta and Mount Casius old
Where armies whole have sunk."

This marsh, be it remembered, was anciently subject to overflows from the Mediterranean (Strabo, i.), which, added to its treacherous quicksands, made it most difficult to pass. The term used in the Hebrew text, "Sea of Reeds," is specially applicable to Lake Serbonis, and there does not seem to be any sufficient reason for rendering it "Red Sea." The only other tenable theory, now that the main outlines of the geography of this part of Lower Egypt are certain, is that the Israelites crossed the Red Sea near its ancient head, now represented in part by the small lakes and marshes on the line of the Suez Canal.

The close relation now established between the Egyptians and the Hebrew settlers brings us face to face with a question of far higher interest than that last noticed. We must now ask whether the monuments of Egypt throw any light on the possible connection of the Egyptian religion and morals with the religion and morals of the Hebrews.

The Hebrew Law and the Egyptian religion have nothing in common but that which is the basis of the Law, and is merely traceable in the theology of Egypt, the doctrine of the unity of God. In the Law this idea excludes all idolatry, and even forbids the idea of inferior divine intelligences; in the Egyptian belief it is almost lost in the crowd of the Pantheon, and when discernible in the more profound part of the sacred writings it merely appears as the source of polytheism, springing not so much from monotheism as from the idea of a First Cause. To an ordinary Egyptian, monotheism must have been the very opposite of the national creed; and if he recognized a trace of it in the religious writings, he could not have detached it from the polytheistic associations which there surround it.

The moral philosophy of the Egyptians, if we may judge from its scanty remains, has a far different relation to the Hebrew teaching. In Egypt, as in Greece from the fifth century before the Christian Era, there were serious thinkers who held the great truths of religion, and rejected the phraseology in which the priests concealed them. No other conclusion can be drawn from such a book as the *Proverbs of Ptah-hotep*, where the idea of one God runs through its moral teaching, as the key to man's responsibility for his actions. The unnamed First Cause of the Ritual is not mentioned in this text; the Supreme Being is spoken of as God. The sacerdotal term used by those who composed the Ritual is discarded as implying polytheism, and another used which is in itself a protest against polytheism. Moses, "educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians," could not have failed to have

known this teaching. The documents on both sides do not, however, warrant the supposition that Hebrew monotheism had its origin in this esoteric Egyptian conception (Cf. Maspero, *Hist. Anc.* 289). A doctrine which is clear in idea and precise in expression does not spring from a vague abstraction. The shadowy truth that remained after Egyptian untruth had been eliminated could not have been the source of the vigorous belief that filled the whole horizon of Hebrew thought. Yet as in the patriarchal belief, so in the Egyptian philosophy, the unity of God was known, and thus there seems to have been a certain fitness in the education as well as in the parentage of Moses the Lawgiver.

The contrast between the two religions is in nothing more remarkable than in the doctrine of the future state. Upon that doctrine, which does not appear in the Mosaic Law, rests the whole Egyptian teaching as to man's moral and religious duties. With its failure as the motive of life arose in its stead the performance of magical rites and routine acts of worship under the power of an ever-growing priesthood who held the terrors of purgatory over the heads of the laity. The practical value of the doctrine thus vanished utterly.

In the Hebrew system the rewards and punishments are of this life, and the future state, the greatest subject of thought in Egypt, is not once alluded to. Yet as the whole Hebrew settlement must have been aware of a great truth, which be it remembered is ignored in the Mosaic Law, not denied, it may be supposed to have remained in the background, ultimately fading from the consciousness of the people, to reappear when the prophets gradually taught it to them. Had this doctrine been taught by Moses to the Hebrews dogmatically, they would probably have returned to the worship of Osiris.

With such startling differences in the main structures of the two religions, certain points of agreement in detail, some pre-Mosaic, some common to the Egyptians and other nations, must not be allowed too great a significance. We are accustomed to attach too much importance to the mention of symbolic representations in the Mosaic narrative. Provided they were not for purposes of worship, they could not have come under the prohibition usually thought to extend to them. The material adjuncts of worship may well have been similar in both religions. Sacrifices could not have been performed without knives. A tabernacle and a temple were necessary, and if so, perhaps an ark as a central object, which, as unconnected with any image, would be a perpetual protest against the ideas which were associated with the Egyptian arks.

The date of the Hebrew documents in general has been here assumed to be that assigned to them by the older scholars. This position is justified by the Egyptian evidence. German and Dutch critics have laboured with extraordinary acuteness and skill upon the Mosaic documents alone, with such illustrations as they could obtain from collateral

records, using, be it remembered, such records as all the older, and too many of the later, classical scholars out of Germany and France have used coins and inscriptions, not as independent sources, but as mere illustrations. The work has been that of great literary critics, not of archæologists. The result has been to reduce the date of the documents, except a few fragments, by many centuries.

The Egyptian documents emphatically call for a reconsideration of the whole question of the date of the Pentateuch. It is now certain that the narrative of the history of Joseph and the sojourn and Exodus of the Israelites, that is to say, the portion from Genesis xxxix. to Exodus xv., so far as it relates to Egypt, is substantially not much later than B.C. 1300, in other words was written while the memory of the events was fresh. The minute accuracy of the text is inconsistent with any later date. It is not merely that it shows knowledge of Egypt, but knowledge of Egypt under the Ramessides and yet earlier. The condition of the country, the chief cities of the frontier, the composition of the army, are true of the age of the Ramessides, and not true of the age of the Pharaohs contemporary with Solomon and his successors. If the Hebrew documents are of the close of the period of the kings of Judah, how is it that they are true of the earlier condition, not of that which was contemporary with those kings? Why is the Egypt of the Law markedly different from the Egypt of the Prophets, each condition being described consistently with its Egyptian records, themselves contemporary with the events? Why is Egypt described in the Law as one kingdom, and no hint given of the break-up of the Empire into the small principalities mentioned by Isaiah (xix. 2)? Why do the proper names belong to the Ramesside and earlier age, without a single instance of those Semitic names which came into fashion with the Bubastite line in Solomon's time? Why do Zoan-Rameses and Zoar* take the places of Migdol and Tahpanhes? Why are the foreign mercenaries, such as the Lubim, spoken of in the constitution of Egyptian armies in the time of the kingdom of Judah, wholly unmentioned? The relations of Egypt with foreign countries are not less characteristic. The kingdom of Ethiopia, which overshadowed Egypt from before Hezekiah's time and throughout his reign, is unmentioned in the earlier documents. The earlier Assyrian Empire which rose for a time on the fall of the Egyptian nowhere appears.

These agreements have not failed to strike foreign Egyptologists, who have no theological bias. These independent scholars, without actually formulating any view of the date of the greater part of the Pentateuch, appear uniformly to treat its text as an authority to be cited side by side with the Egyptian monuments. So Lepsius in his researches on the date of the Exodus, and Brugsch in his discussion of the route,

* The discovery of a great frontier fort, Zar, perhaps, as Brugsch thinks, identical with Tanis, explains the passage in Gen. xiii. 10, which otherwise involves a long parenthesis, "the plain of Jordan" being there described "as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as thou comest unto Zoar."

Chabas in his paper on Rameses and Pithom. Of course it would be unfair to implicate any one of these scholars in the inferences expressed above, but at the same time it is impossible that they can, for instance, hold Kuenen's theories of the date of the Pentateuch so far as the part relating to Egypt is concerned. They have taken the two sets of documents, Hebrew and Egyptian, side by side, and in the working of elaborate problems found everything consistent with accuracy on both sides; and of course accuracy would not be maintained in a tradition handed down through several centuries.

If the large portion of the Pentateuch relating to the Egyptian period of Hebrew history, including as it does Elohistie as well as Jehovistic sections, is of the remote antiquity here claimed for it, no one can doubt that the first four books of Moses are substantially of the same age. The date of Deuteronomy is a separate question.* Leaving this problem aside, the early age of the first four books does unquestionably involve great difficulties, but not nearly so great as the hypothesis of late date when they are confronted with the Egyptian records.

Those who refuse to accept the results of the most advanced school of Hebrew critics on the ground that they are inconsistent with the evidence of the Egyptian documents, must beware of throwing themselves into the arms of the other extreme party, who deny the value of criticism, and refuse to accept the evidence of partial compilation and redaction patent in the Biblical texts. It would be a fatal loss to science were the fruits of German and Dutch criticism neglected for a year, criticism which, though sometimes rash and arrogant, is in general acute, learned, honest, and not without a reverence the apologists, those Uzzas who are always putting their clumsy hands to the Ark, cannot imagine. Of this criticism it may be said that its excellences in analysis are marred by its defects in constructive skill. Its facts are admirably chosen, but its theories are hastily put together, their very multitude being sufficient to arouse the keenest mistrust. For if a school has produced from the same evidence many distinct hypotheses of the date of a set of documents, all but one theory must be false, and therefore the great majority are in error, and if we trust ourselves to a guide he is in a minority of one.

The wise course is to devote all our labour to the collection of facts, the accumulation of which, on the true principle of all scientific discovery, will ultimately form correct theories. The learned world is more grateful for one solid volume of new facts than for a library of airy fancies. All such work honestly done is in truth work of which the results will last for ever.

REGINALD STUART POOLE.

* The lamented Deutsch, remarkable among Hebraists for his acute literary perception, remarked to the writer that he could not explain the origin of Deuteronomy on any other hypothesis than its original Mosaic authorship, redaction being enough to account for its peculiarities. This opinion may not have been maintained, and therefore it is merely stated as a remarkable hint thrown out in conversation. Many scholars would not believe that Deutsch could have held the view for a moment: this is why the recollection deserves to be put on record.

NOTE ON DR. BRUGSCH'S "HISTORY OF EGYPT UNDER THE
PHARAOHS."

In Dr. Brugsch's *History of Egypt** an authority of the first rank has stated his views of the latest results of Egyptology in a style so attractive as to ensure a large body of readers among the class unacquainted with the subject. As he has avoided the usual cautions with which most scholars, and especially his countrymen, are accustomed to guard themselves in stating hypotheses, his readers will accept as final much that he says on matters which are still controversial. As the writer of these papers is not convinced on some very important questions of this nature, and believes that his scruples are shared by several authorities of great weight, he would venture to state his reasons very briefly in the present place.

There are three leading questions noticed in this work—the route of the Exodus, the relation of the Egyptians to the maritime nations of the Mediterranean, and the alleged conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians about the time of Solomon.

The theory of the route of the Exodus has been noticed in the previous paper, and it has been shown that the identifications of the stations are by no means certain. It is not necessary here to do more than to repeat that Dr. Brugsch's remarkable argument is weakened by the positive manner in which the identifications are put, as is specially seen in the case of the Egyptian Thuko or Thukot, which, being identified with the Hebrew Succoth, appears throughout the argument with an initial S. The exact transcription should be maintained until the identity with Succoth is proved, otherwise logic is violated.

The identification of the maritime enemies of the Ramessides with certain primitive Pelasgic, and other pre-Hellenic or proto-Hellenic tribes, not necessarily established in the seats where Greek history shows them, but moving towards those seats, has been generally accepted as a firmly-established position won for science by the acute scholarship of M. de Rougé and fortified by the solid learning of M. Chabas. It has received additional strength by the adhesion of Dr. Birch, the most cautious of leading Egyptologists in the domain of historical conjecture (*Records of the Past*, iv. 37, seqq.). Dr. Brugsch rejects this view "as a dangerous error, which has been unfortunately introduced into our science" (i. 16). In lieu he proposes Caucaso-Colchians, chiefly because, according to his reading of a difficult term, most of the hostile tribes in question were circumcised, with which the well-known statement of Herodotus as to the Colchians agrees. Certain Colchian tribes are most ingeniously identified with the maritime enemies of Egypt, and where this fails they are recognized in tribes settled in Libya, the Libyans having been allied with the maritime nations in

* London: John Murray.

question. It may be fairly said that M. de Rougé's identifications are verbally as good as Dr. Brugsch's, and, what is more to the point, they have a historical consistency which his lack. Indeed, he seems somewhat to doubt his theory, for the Caucaso-Colchians are associated with Carian immigrants (ii. 124), and then become Colchio-Cretans (125), and lastly, we hear, as to a later time, of "the migrations of the Carian-Colchian nations which, from Cilicia and the mountains of Armenia, partly by land through Asia Minor, and partly by water on the Mediterranean, made a formidable campaign against Egypt" (147). No exception could be taken to a change of nomenclature in the case to which the quotation refers, when new enemies are joined to the old ones, but it is difficult to see how such strange mixed populations can be imagined without the strongest possible evidence, and how such a land journey as that from Colchis to Egypt can be combined with a series of maritime attacks. Eliminate the Colchians, of whose migrations we have no hint elsewhere, and Dr. Brugsch's geographical view is in its large outlines not very different from M. de Rougé's. He concedes that these enemies of Egypt occupied the opposite coasts and islands of the Mediterranean. It is rather to this general view that the inquiry of the next paper will be directed, for it is an impregnable position, in no way shaken by disagreements as to details. It must, however, be remembered that the identifications of M. de Rougé are of names that reappear in history, whereas those of Dr. Brugsch have merely a geographical survival. It is almost inconceivable that a great maritime confederacy should have been wiped out and left no trace but in some obscure names on the Libyan coast.

The Assyrian conquest of Egypt is the most startling of Dr. Brugsch's theories. It was well known that Sheshonk I., the Shishak of the Bible, who founded a new Egyptian line, the Twenty-Second Dynasty, about B.C. 970, was of Shemite origin. He was contemporary with the latter part of Solomon's reign, and invaded Judah in that of Rehoboam. His Shemite origin is accounted for by Dr. Brugsch in the following manner. His grandfather, also called Sheshonk, married an Egyptian princess; their heir Nemurot (Nimrod) was buried by his parents at Abydos in Egypt. An inscription there discovered states the circumstance. In it, as now translated by Dr. Brugsch, we are astonished to read that both the earlier Sheshonk and his son Nimrod are called "great lord of Assyria," "great king of Assyria," "the great king of kings," and "great king of the Assyrians," and the like (ii. 199, seqq.). The text was partly made known by Dr. Brugsch in the *Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache* (1871, 85, 86). Of this presently. From the translation now given is evolved the conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians a little before B.C. 970, and Dr. Brugsch accordingly discovers the names of certain kings of Assyria on the Egyptian monuments. But on referring to the history of Assyria at this period as given by M. Ménant in his *Annales des Rois d'Assyrie* (p. 53, seqq.), not one of those names

can be recognized. It is just possible that a *fainéant* king or two may have ruled between the close of the old Assyrian Empire and the rise of the new Assyrian Kingdom about B.C. 1020. Yet neither the later kings of the Empire nor the earlier of the Kingdom which succeeded it could possibly have conquered Egypt. They were kings of limited power and narrow dominions. Equally does the strength of the Hebrew monarchy under David and Solomon forbid Dr. Brugsch's theory. It is, however, possible that the heirs of the earlier line may have fled to Egypt on their overthrow, and there maintained their pretensions.

What, however, is the evidence that the personages mentioned in the inscription referred to by Dr. Brugsch are Assyrians or kings? The word now rendered Assyria is "Mat," thus understood "with the assistance of the cuneiform inscriptions" (ii. 192, 192). But in Assyrian "mat" is merely country (Norris, *Assyrian Dictionary*, s. r. 888). Referring to Dr. Brugsch's original publication of the inscription, the theory loses its other support. Sheshonk, the grandfather of the Egyptian king of the same name, is there called *ser ā en serau*, "the great prince of princes," and his son Nimrod *ser en matau*, "prince of the Mata (body-guard)," these being Dr. Brugsch's original translations. The idea that *ser* must be rendered "king" is quite new. The Egyptian symbol is a polyphone ideograph reading *ur* or *ser* (Brugsch, *Grammaire Hierog.* 116). *Ur* is the Egyptian, *ser* the Egypto-Semitic, for "chief," and the term is applied to any foreign ruler, the Egyptian terms for "king" being limited to those who ruled Egypt. When unaccompanied by a phonetic equivalent the reading of the symbol is doubtful, but when it is applied to a foreigner from the Rammesside age downwards the more likely reading is *ser*. In a very interesting decree of Ptolemy I., while governing Egypt for Alexander Aegus, the king receives the Pharaonic titles, and Ptolemy is called *ser ā*, "great prince" of Egypt, and *ser*, "prince," and *kshatrapon*, "satrap," the word *ser* being rendered by Dr. Brugsch in this case "governor" (*Zeitschrift für Aeg. Sprache*, 1871, 1, seqq.). It must be added that he cannot now change the reading of *ser* in this inscription, for Ptolemy was clearly governor under a king. Thus there is no necessary support for the new hypothesis in the titles applied to the Shemite princes of Egypt.

Any criticism of Dr. Brugsch would seem ungracious were not the reputations of other great scholars at stake, and were it not that his extensive learning and admirable power of putting a case are apt to create a confusion in the minds of ordinary readers between what is doubtful and what is proved.

R. S. P.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL'S HISTORY OF THE EASTERN QUESTION.

The Eastern Question, from the Treaty of Paris 1856 to the Treaty of Berlin 1878, and to the Second Afghan War. By the DUKE OF ARGYLL. 2 vols. London Strahan & Co. Limited.

THE case of those who defend the foreign policy of the Government during the last three years may, I think, be accurately summarized as follows:—

England was bound by treaty to uphold the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire; and with this obligation coincided the duty of defending British interests, which would be menaced by any disturbance of the *status quo* in Turkey. Turkish rule was, no doubt, bad; but its abuses and excesses were much exaggerated. Great improvements had taken place throughout the Turkish Empire since the Treaty of Paris, and were still in progress. British statesmanship should therefore aim at encouraging this process of gradual reform, and consequently at discouraging any foreign intervention, diplomatic or otherwise, in the affairs of Turkey. This was the traditional policy of English statesmanship, and in pursuing it Lord Beaconsfield was following in the footsteps of a long line of predecessors. Liberals, at all events, have no right to complain, for during their long tenure of office since the Treaty of Paris they did nothing on behalf of the Christians of Turkey. The insurrections which broke out in European Turkey in 1875-6 were caused more by Russian intrigue than by Turkish misgovernment and oppression. The agitation in England, led by Mr. Gladstone, paralyzed the action of the Government, and encouraged Russia to wage an unrighteous war against the Porte, greatly to the detriment of British interests. That war resulted in the Treaty of San Stefano, the provisions of which were ruinous to the Turkish Empire, and most damaging to the interests of England. It thus became the duty of the British Government to insist on the whole of that Treaty being submitted to the scrutiny of a European Congress. The firmness of the British Government compelled Russia at last to

yield, and the Congress of Berlin was the consequence. In the Congress of Berlin the British plenipotentiaries succeeded in doing three excellent things: they restored a large province to the direct political and military rule of the Sultan; they "consolidated" his empire by lopping off three rich provinces in Europe, and surrendering to Russia the keys of his Asiatic dominions; and they gave to the European possessions of the Sultan a "scientific frontier," by the division of Bulgaria and the occupation of the Balkan Passes by Turkish troops. In this way the British Government secured "peace with honour;" and "by the Supplemental Convention which was signed between the Porte and the Emperor of Russia very recently, the last traces of the Treaty of San Stefano have been abolished."*

So much as regards Turkey. The defence of the Government policy in India is that the progress of Russia in Central Asia imperils the security of our Indian Empire, unless proper precautions are taken. The proper precautions are "a scientific frontier" on our north-western side, and British Residents in the chief towns of Afghanistan. These Residents would themselves have constituted the "scientific frontier," if Shere Ali had received them peaceably.† Since he has provoked us to war against him, the "scientific frontier" will be acquired by annexing as much Afghan territory as we may think convenient.‡ At the same time, "so far as the invasion of India in that quarter is concerned, it is the opinion of Her Majesty's Government that it is hardly practicable"—the difficulties in the way of an invader being so many and so great.§

This is in brief, I think, a fair statement of the Government's case as expounded by its authoritative organs. It is traversed in all its parts by the Duke of Argyll in the work which he has just published. It would be impossible within the limits at my disposal to review the mass of evidence which the Duke marshals in support of his counter-case. But I think I can place before the reader the main lines of the argument, together with an intelligible clue to the evidence on which they rest.

The Duke opens his case by discussing the true meaning of those clauses of the Treaty of Paris which Russia is supposed to have violated by her war against Turkey. The seventh Article of the Treaty says:—

"Their Majesties engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire: guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement; and will, in consequence, consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest."

Does this mean that Turkey was to be protected against the consequences of her own misdeeds? Did the Powers of Europe actually

* Lord Beaconsfield's speech in the House of Lords, February 13, 1879.

† Ditto, December 10, 1878.

‡ Ditto, February 13, 1879.

§ Lord Beaconsfield's speech on the 9th of last November.

bind themselves to prevent each other from making war on the Porte, no matter what the provocation might be? "This would have been to place Turkey, not on a footing of equality with the other States, but in a position of superiority and of chartered licence." It is absurd to suppose that the signatories of the Treaty of Paris had any such intention, for in guaranteeing such an extravagant independence to Turkey they would in reality be infringing their own. The true meaning of the seventh Article of the Treaty is explained by the eighth:—

"If there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other Signing Powers any misunderstanding which might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Sublime Porte, and each of such Powers, before having recourse to the use of force, shall afford the other Contracting Parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation."

This proves that the Treaty of Paris, so far from invalidating the right of any of the Powers to take separate action against Turkey, contemplated such separate action and made distinct provision for it. The Powers which signed the Treaty were severally to retain their previous liberty of action, subject to the limitation of submitting their quarrels with the Porte to the mediation of their co-signatories. If the mediation failed, there was no obligation on either party, not even on the party which was ruled to be in the wrong, to abstain from prosecuting its quarrel to the point of war. Should that party happen to be the Porte, it seems to follow that, in case of defeat, it had forfeited the right to invoke the Treaty of Paris in protection either of its territorial integrity or its independence.

But had the Powers, collectively or individually, a right to interfere between the Sultan and any class of his subjects? Let us look at the facts. The Turkish Government received two great boons from the Treaty of Paris. In the seventh Article of that Treaty the European Powers "declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system (concert) of Europe." That was the first boon, and the second was the collective guarantee of the Porte's independence and territorial integrity in the sense just explained. In return for these advantages the Porte also undertook, on its part, certain engagements. The Sultan communicated to the signatories of the Treaty a firman of reforms, which had for their object to "ameliorate the condition" of his Majesty's subjects "without distinction of religion or of race," and to give them security in their persons, their property, and their honour. In the ninth article of the Treaty the Contracting Powers "recognize the high value of this communication," but add that it "cannot, in any case, give to the said Powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of his Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire." What is the meaning of this disclaimer? Did the Powers actually debar themselves from the right of insisting on

the fulfilment of the solemn promise of which they had just recognized "the high value"? That would be an absurdity. The Duke of Argyll is clearly right in holding that the object of the ninth Article was twofold. It aimed, first, at placing the Christians of Turkey under the collective protectorate of Europe instead of the single protectorate till then claimed and exercised by Russia. In the second place, it entrusted to the Porte itself the execution of its own reforms. The Powers renounced no right which any of them had previously possessed. They merely acknowledged that no new right arose out of the promise made by the Sultan. In other words, the ninth Article guaranteed to the Sultan the benefit of non-intervention in consideration of the promise which he had just made. It surely follows that if the promise was broken, the guarantee lapsed by forfeiture. Non-intervention was conditional on the promised reforms being carried out. Failing the condition, the right of intervention between the Sultan and his subjects is plainly implied. This interpretation was substantially admitted by Lord Salisbury at the Conference of Constantinople, when he declared that "the engagements of the Treaty were not and could not be unilateral;" and by Lord Derby in the House of Lords on July 11, 1876, when he said that the guarantee of the Porte's independence "implied a corresponding duty of control;" and that the ninth Article "did not in any way forbid a joint intervention in the interests of humanity, the intention clearly being to guard against exclusive control." Lord Derby himself, as we shall see further on, acted afterwards on that very interpretation of the treaty which he here repudiates. It is one of the many inconsistencies which marked his diplomacy on the Eastern Question.

But what about the Treaty of 1871, in which the Powers "recognize it as an essential principle of the law of nations that no Power can liberate itself from the engagements of a treaty, nor modify the stipulations thereof, unless with the consent of the Contracting Powers by means of an amicable arrangement?" This has been often quoted as if it precluded action against Turkey on the part of any of the Powers without the consent of the rest, even if the Porte had given just ground of offence. It is impossible to suppose that the Powers intended to stultify themselves in that manner, and their conduct on various subsequent occasions proves that they had no such intention. The Duke of Argyll's interpretation is the only one which stands to reason and agrees with the facts:—

"The whole form of the Declaration clearly shows that it was understood as condemning the particular course taken by Russia in denouncing certain articles of the Treaty of Paris without any cause of quarrel with Turkey or with any of the co-signatory Powers. The Declaration has obviously no reference whatever to the contingency of such a quarrel, and of a resulting war."

In the next chapter the Duke of Argyll proceeds to show, from

official evidence, "what we knew of the state of Turkey from 1856 to 1875." The picture is a very gloomy and repulsive one. The Sultan's promised reforms had not been carried out anywhere. On the contrary, the Turkish administration had been going on from bad to worse, and the condition of the Christians, instead of having been "ameliorated," had become so intolerable that at last it goaded them into insurrection in Bosnia and Bulgaria. They were exposed to constant outrage in their persons, their property, their honour, and their religion. And this state of things, as the Duke says, "was not the mere result of weakness or inability to maintain order; it was due immediately to corruption at head-quarters, so that the officers and agents of the Government were the principal authors of all the mischiefs inflicted on the people under them." Consul Holmes has on several occasions earned and publicly received the gratitude of the Turkish Government. His testimony against that Government therefore will not be suspected of prejudice or exaggeration. In a despatch written from Bosnia in 1871 he admits that savagery of the following kind was less common in Bosnia than it used to be; in other respects, and especially in the administration of justice (?) matters were rather worse:—

"A young Christian groom, in the service of a Turk, being about to be married, had the imprudence to dress himself for the occasion in certain colours and articles of an apparel which the Turks jealously appropriate to persons of their own religion, and his bride in gay silks. They proceeded to the Christian cemetery outside the town, where, in the absence of a church, marriages were then celebrated. While the service was proceeding several armed Turks, who had accidentally appeared as spectators, were observed to collect some wood and kindle a fire. As soon as the ceremony was finished they seized the unhappy pair, hacked the girl to pieces with their yatagans, and having half murdered the man, they burnt him on the fire they had prepared declaring to the affrighted assembly that they would thus treat all Giaours who dared to presume to wear clothes such as the Turks."

What a vivid picture this gives of the utter helplessness of the Christian population of Turkey! In the province where this tragedy was enacted the Christians are in the majority; yet here was a wedding party gazing in terror on a few Turks hacking to pieces and roasting the bride and bridegroom merely because they chanced to wear clothes which the Turks thought too good for Christians! Not one dared to raise a protecting arm or utter a word of protest, for they knew that any interference on their part would doom themselves to the same fate. They were as helpless as a flock of sheep in the presence of a few wolves. And matters were no better, says Consul Holmes, in any other part of the Sultan's dominions.

Sir H. Eliot had given Consul Holmes a somewhat rosy account of improvements of which he had heard in some of the provinces of Turkey. Consul Holmes is "at a loss to understand" how this can be. His official experience, he says, extended back to 1840, and ranged over most parts of Turkey in Europe and Asia. "I ask who and

what the officials are who administer in all these different parts of the Empire? Are they not the same of whom I have had so long an experience? Are they not those who are here to-day; and in any of those parts to-morrow? And do not those who come here come from all those places? Do I not see, as formerly, Governor after Governor dismissed from one place for dishonesty or incapacity, and sent immediately to another? Do I not know these functionaries, very many personally, and nearly all by what their fellow-officials tell me? And can I imagine that they can change their characters with their residence? If ever I inquire from a consular colleague who comes from parts with which I was formerly well acquainted the information of the state of affairs in that quarter, it is exactly what I supposed it to be. Consul Holmes admits, indeed, a great "general improvement" in Turkey since his first arrival in the country; but he denies emphatically any improvement in the official class, and seems to regard such improvement as well-nigh hopeless. "I do not ever recollect," he says, "to have met with any fellow-consul in the Levant service, with any moderate experience of the Turkish Empire, who has not confirmed my experience by his own." In "some few places the governing class is obliged, by force of circumstances, to greatly modify its usual tendencies," and "a consul with only the experience of such locality would form his opinion accordingly."

In a despatch not quoted by the Duke of Argyll, and which bears the date of July 3, 1873, Consul Holmes characterizes all the subordinate agents of the Turkish Government in Bosnia as "venal, ignorant, fanatical, and untruthful." In another despatch, dated February 24, 1871, the same Consul (now Sir William Holmes) closes as follows a long tale of oppression and cruelty on the part of the Turkish administration:—

"The unnecessary delay and neglect, to the prejudice often of innocent persons, the open bribery and corruption, the invariable and unjust favour shown to Mussulmans in all cases between Turks and Christians, which distinguish the Turkish administration of what is called 'justice' throughout the Empire, cannot fail to suggest the question—What would be the lot of foreigners in Turkey were the European Powers to give up the Capitulations? I am convinced that their position, in the provinces at all events, would be intolerable, and that they would quit the country to a man, while the outcry and feeling in Europe against Turkey would ultimately cause her ruin. The universal ignorance, corruption, and fanaticism of all classes preclude all hope of an efficient administration of justice for at least another generation."

Consul Holmes does not say what reason he had to suppose that "at least another generation" would make any difference; and I imagine that he would find it very difficult to explain the vague hope which he timidly throws out.

The Duke of Argyll quotes much official evidence which paints the condition of the Christian population of Turkey in much more sombre and terrible colours than the despatches of Consul Holmes. But that

gentleman has obtained some celebrity for his thorough-going advocacy of the Turkish cause during the last insurrection in Bosnia—an advocacy so valuable to the Porte that it took the unusual step of recommending him to Lord Derby for promotion. If Consul Holmes, then, despairs of reforms in Turkey under Turkish officials, the case must indeed be admitted to be desperate.

The truth is that those who dream of reforms in Turkey have not taken the trouble to master some of the elementary facts in the problem with which they are dealing. There is one, and but one, condition under which it is possible for a Mussulman Power to discharge the functions of civilized government. Given a population which is wholly Mussulman, it is possible for it under the eternally immutable law of Islam to enjoy security in respect to life, honour, religion, and property; though, in matter of fact, this has very rarely been realized outside the pages of the Arabian Nights. But when a Mussulman Power rules over a non-Mussulman population it cannot possibly govern that population justly. It cannot give it equality before the law. It cannot mix with it. It cannot assimilate it or be assimilated. There is an impassable gulf between the two which nothing can bridge except the destruction of Mussulman domination. I appeal to history. The case cannot be produced where an independent Mussulman Power admitted its non-Mussulman population to the enjoyment of the elementary rights of citizenship. Let those who fancy that Mussulman rule in Spain and Sicily was an exception, consult such standard authorities as Dozy* and Amari,† and they will find that the Christian population of those countries then was just as much oppressed as the Christian population of Turkey now. And the explanation is that every Mussulman State is ruled by a Sacred Law, which is, on all fundamental points, absolutely unchangeable. One of those fundamental points is the eternal inferiority of the non-Mussulman to the Mussulman. A stray non-Mussulman here and there may be employed in positions of honour and trust. But this is a matter of expediency and policy, never of right; and it affects in no way the condition of the Rayahs or non-Mussulman subjects as a class. In presence of this inflexible law the Sultan is absolutely powerless, even if he were himself desirous of reform. The head and supreme expounder of Mahomedan law in Turkey is the Sheik-ul-Islam. The Sultan can appoint and dismiss him at pleasure. But he must always appoint to the office a member of the Ulema hierarchy, and, once appointed, the Sheik-ul-Islam is during his tenure of office all-powerful in matters of legislation. His *Fetva*, or dogmatic sanction, is necessary to give validity to the Sultan's political acts. Without that sanction they are null and void in the eyes of every True Believer. It is not enough, therefore, that the Sultan should publish a scheme of reforms. That he may do, and has often done, under the pressure of foreign

* *Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne.*

† *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia.*

intervention. But unless the reform has been sealed by the Fetva of the Sheik-ul-Islam it is treated by the official class and by the Mussulman population generally as a sop to silence for a while the clamour of the European Cerberus, and not as a law to which they need pay any attention. This has been the fate of the famous Hatti-humayoun, of whose "high value" the Congress of Paris in 1856 took note. In fact, it had no value at all without the *imprimatur* of the Sheik-ul-Islam. That *imprimatur* it never received, and consequently it has remained a dead letter to this day.

After this explanation the reader will more easily understand the following quotations from the Duke of Argyll's book. The first is an extract from a despatch from Consul Longworth, an ardent philo-Turk. The despatch is dated Belgrade, September, 1873 :—

"As regards the Porte, it was scarcely to have been expected that conditions inferring a reversal of their law, derived from the Koran, should have been rigorously carried out, both in spirit and in letter; at any rate, that this should be done without active participation on the part of the allied Powers. . . . The admissibility, for instance, of Christian evidence in Turkish tribunals, perhaps the most essential point conceded, has never to this time been sufficiently provided for. The reason for this, as I stated in a former despatch, was satisfactorily accounted for by a kadi, or Turkish judge, belonging to the Corps of Ulema, or law officers of Turkey. He informed me that this important innovation in their law had never been sanctioned by the Sheik-ul-Islam, who is considered the chief of it."

The next quotation is from a despatch of Consul Stuart, from Epirus, in 1873. He gives a graphic account of the grinding oppression which was then and is still the daily lot of the unfortunate Christians of that province; but I need only quote as much of it as goes to show the utter hopelessness of any amendment under Turkish rule :—

"The relations into which the Turks have been drawn with powerful nations of another faith and civilization have obliged them, conscious as they are of their decaying strength, to simulate a liberality of sentiment at variance with the rigid exclusiveness of their religion. Awed by those powerful nations, which they equally fear as friends and foes, they made concessions in 1856, which are embodied in the famous document known by the name of the Hatti-humayoun. . . . But some of the chief concessions were never assented to by the Ulema. Consequently, as time wore on, means were devised of rendering them null and void. And, though they still exist on paper, and may again be as triumphantly appealed to as they were by Fuad Pasha in 1867, they are now, in Epirus at least, as dead a letter as if they had never been penned."

The Mussulmans argue as follows :—"God, who gave us these countries, can, if He pleases, enable us to hold them. If we are to lose them, His will be done. But, happen what will, we must follow the commandments of His Prophet. At the same time we must try as long as we can to keep up appearances with the Giaours; promise anything, and boldly affirm the execution of the promises; deception is lawful with the Giaours."

"These," adds Consul Stuart, "are the political maxims of the whole body of the Ulema, and, I believe, of a very large section of the Mussulman population, notably of the party called 'Young Turkey.' And these maxims are now in operation in Epirus."

Such was the information in possession of the Foreign Office at the outbreak of the insurrection in Bosnia in 1875. Lord Derby knew that all the vaunted reforms of the Turkish Government were still in the region of mere promises, and that no reforms by the Porte would ever quit that barren region except under the stimulus of foreign coercion. He knew, moreover, that the insurgents were driven to revolt in defence of the ordinary rights of humanity, which the Sultan's Government denied them.

Let us now see how the various Governments which held office between 1856 and 1875 dealt with the Eastern Question. They all knew that the period of grace granted to the Sick Man at Constantinople was being wasted by him in riotous living and profligate tyranny. But the Eastern Question was a thorny problem which nobody was eager to handle without the excuse of some urgent and conspicuous cause. The consular reports in the pigeon-holes of the English Foreign Office proved, indeed, a state of things in Turkey which was horrible to contemplate. But it was the record of dumb suffering. The oppressed populations were impotent and voiceless. Their only means of calling the attention of Europe to their intolerable wrongs was by the desperate medium of an insurrection. The Governments, it seemed, which had guaranteed the fulfilment of the pompous promises of the Hatti-humayoun were deaf to their moans and could only be roused by the reverberation of a revolt or a massacre. The first Government to move was that of Russia. In May, 1860, Prince Gortchakoff called the attention of the signatories of the Treaty of Paris to the utter neglect of the Porte to fulfil its promises, and named in particular Bulgaria and Bosnia and the Herzegovina as provinces where the condition of the Christian population was deplorable. He invited the Powers to test the accuracy of his information by the inquiries of their own agents. The British Consuls in Turkey were accordingly directed to report, and the reports which they returned, though "instructed" by the British Ambassador at Constantinople to palliate Turkish misrule, more than confirmed the despatch of Prince Gortchakoff.

Meanwhile the Syrian massacres took place, and England and France obtained the sanction of the other Powers to coerce the Porte into obedience to the will of Europe. The Porte blustered and vapoured about its "independence," but yielded the moment it saw that England and France were in earnest and that no other Power would help it. Then, as always, the ringleader of the massacres was a pasha. Lord Russell denounced him. He was tried and acquitted. But so far from acquiescing in this insolent rebuff, Lord Russell sternly insisted on the criminal's punishment, and he was executed in the

streets of Damascus. An Anglo-French Commission at the same time drew up a Constitution for the Lebanon, which the Porte refused to accept, as trenching on its independence. A quiet intimation that Syria would be occupied by foreign troops till the Constitution was accepted wrought instant conversion. Autonomy under a Christian governor was thus given to the Lebanon, and peace and order have reigned there since.

The next phase of the Eastern Question was the Cretan insurrection in 1867. The seals of the Foreign Office were then held by Lord Stanley, now Lord Derby. Crete, as the Duke of Argyll points out, had special claims on the good offices of England. None of the Christian populations of Turkey have suffered more cruelly, none have fought more bravely for freedom, than the Cretans. In the Greek War of Independence they drove the Turks from all parts of the island, as they did last year also, except a few fortified places. When the Greek kingdom was constituted it was proposed to incorporate Crete with it. And though the proposal was not carried out, the Allies compelled an arrangement on the part of the Porte, which promised constitutional privileges to the Cretans. It is needless to say that the promise remained unfulfilled. When, therefore, the long-suffering Cretans were goaded into rebellion, it was natural to suppose that they would receive at least the sympathy of an English Foreign Secretary, and that he would heartily co-operate in any scheme having for its object the providing of some real guarantee for the better government of the island. All the Powers, except England, were agreed on the justice and expediency of giving the Cretans some better security for good government than the paper promises of the Porte. The Austrian Prime Minister (Count Beust) insisted that the Treaty of Paris had failed to improve the lot of the Christians of Turkey, and recommended "the establishment of a system of autonomy, to be limited only by a tie of vassalage," and this not in Crete only, but in other provinces also. The French Government proposed "a medical consultation" of the Great Powers on the condition of the Sick Man, and advised the application of "heroic remedies," beginning with the annexation of Candia to Greece. Prince Gortchakoff was willing to support any proposal which secured real self-government to the Cretans. Lord Stanley "agreed in principle as to the expediency of joint action" among the Powers. But "necessity for such action" must be shown, and the necessity contemplated by Lord Stanley was the contingency of inhuman brutalities on the part of the Turks in putting down the Cretan insurrection. The just discontent of the Cretans was nothing in his eyes. Let the Turks put down the insurrection, and all would be well. "It did not seem to me possible," he said, "to refuse to the Porte the right which every State possessed of putting down insurrection by armed force, provided the use of force did not degenerate into mere brutality." It was nothing, then, that the insurrection in Crete was caused by the Porte's outrageous viola-

tion of its promises under the Treaty of Paris. It was nothing that it had grossly violated in Crete the privileges secured to the Cretans by a previous treaty which England had signed. The Cretans had no right to rise in self-defence. The only right which England must uphold was the indefeasible right of the Porte to put the Cretans down, provided the use of force did not degenerate into brutality."

But this degeneracy did take place; and what did Lord Stanley do then? It is almost incredible, but he inhibited the captains of English men-of-war to rescue from the knives and foul embraces of the Turkish troops the women and children who crowded to the beach with uplifted hands and cries for help. Consul Dickson, much to his honour, disobeyed the orders of the Foreign Office, and sent an English gunboat to cruise along the coast. By this means some 300 or 400 women and children were saved. Consul Dickson's conduct was condoned by Lord Stanley in language which amounted to a reprimand; and he was bidden to rescue no more women and children unless with the direct sanction of the Turkish Government. Well may the Duke of Argyll say that the following sentence in this despatch "is very unpleasant reading:"—

"In reply I have to acquaint you that even if Her Majesty's Government had seen reason to alter the decision which has been already communicated to you in regard to the removing of refugees, the necessity of further doing so would now appear to be much less required, inasmuch as they learn from Lord Lyons that the Greek Minister at Constantinople had been informed by the United States Minister that all refugees who may present themselves will be received on board the ships of the American Squadron, which has been ordered to Candia for that purpose."

I trust it will be long before we see again an English Statesman citing the humanity of an American Minister as an excuse for his own heartlessness. The end of the whole matter was that Lord Stanley's obstructiveness prevented any effectual remedy for the wrongs of the Cretans, and the result has been the insurrection just ended—probably only to break out again on the first opportunity.

It is fair to say that neither Lord Salisbury nor Lord Carnarvon was a member of the Conservative Government during the Cretan insurrection of 1867-8. They have no responsibility, therefore, for the new departure in English policy on the Eastern Question which that date marks. Up till then England had always admitted, in common with the other great Powers, that it had certain duties of humanity towards the Christians of Turkey. The Treaty of Paris raised these duties to the rank of a positive obligation by entrusting to the Powers generally those interests which Russia had before protected. The Duke of Argyll admits that this obligation was culpably neglected even by the Liberal party. Still no Liberal Government had disowned the obligation. Liberal Governments were constantly exercising the right of diplomatic intervention in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, and when a conspicuous opportunity offered they did not shrink from

employing material force to compel the Porte to bow to the will of Europe. The relation of the two parties to the Eastern Question may be stated thus. Both parties neglected their duties. The Liberal party acknowledged the duty, made fitful efforts to fulfil it, and availed itself of the first favourable opportunity—the Lebanon massacres—to deliver an entire province from the uncontrolled rule of the Porte. Two exceptionally favourable opportunities have presented themselves to the Tory party for befriending the Christians of Turkey—the Cretan insurrection, and the more recent insurrections in Bosnia and Bulgaria. On both occasions they sacrificed the Christians instead of defending them. And this they did as part of a deliberate policy. Public opinion obliged them to deviate from this policy on a few occasions. But the deviations always found their way back to the old path. We have seen how Lord Derby defeated the efforts of the other Powers to ameliorate the condition of the Cretans in 1867-8. He pursued the same fatal policy during the recent troubles in Turkey. At the beginning of those troubles he frankly announced the policy which Her Majesty's Government intended to pursue. His words are:—

“Her Majesty's Government have, since the outbreak in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, deprecated the diplomatic intervention of the other Powers in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Her Majesty's Government would not, however, assume the responsibility of advising the Porte. . . . It was impossible to expect them to do more than state, if their opinion was asked, that they [*i.e.* the Turks] had better follow the policy which they thought most consistent with their own interests.”

Here we have a distinct renunciation of any obligation or responsibility towards the Christians of Turkey. Her Majesty's Government would not assume the responsibility of even “advising the Porte” on the subject. If the Turks, indeed, consulted Lord Derby, he would advise them—not to fulfil their treaty engagements, not to govern more justly and mercifully, but—to “follow the policy which they thought most consistent with their own interests.” And in order to help them in this ignoble and cruel policy, Lord Derby had “deprecated” and continued to deprecate “the diplomatic intervention of the other Powers in the affairs of the Ottoman Empire.” The Turks took Lord Derby's advice, and their “interests” at this moment are the best commentary upon it.

The diplomatic history of the Eastern Question, from the outbreak of the insurrection in Bosnia to the signature of the Berlin Treaty, is so fresh in the memory of the public that I shall content myself here with placing in as clear a light as I can its critical turning-points.

The Foreign Secretary and Prime Minister are the members of the Cabinet who are specially bound to be acquainted with the despatches on Foreign Affairs. When the insurrection broke out in Bosnia and the Herzegovina, these two eminent personages had cumulative evidence from all parts of the Turkish Empire to the following facts:

that all the promises of the Turkish Government under the Treaty of Paris were still unfulfilled; that the condition of the Christians throughout the empire was such as to justify insurrection, if insurrection can ever be justified at all; that any reforms in Turkey which tended to admit the Christians to the rights of citizenship were hopeless unless the Porte was coerced into giving material guarantees. Lord Derby, at the same time, declared in Parliament that there was nothing in the Treaty of Paris to prevent the intervention of the Great Powers in the affairs of Turkey.

Let us now see how Lord Derby, the organ of the Government's policy, acted. We have already noted the policy to which he declared his adhesion. He would advise the Turks to pursue their own interests exclusively, while he would endeavour to give them a fair field for that pursuit by deprecating not only material, but even diplomatic, intervention on behalf of the suffering Christians. What an innovation this policy was on that hitherto pursued by English statesmen will be apparent from the following extract of a despatch of Lord Russell to Sir H. Bulwer in reference to the Syrian massacres. The Porte had been sounding the British ambassador as to the view England would take of an attack on Turkey by Russia. Lord Russell replied that "a wanton" and "unprovoked invasion by any European sovereign would be at once resisted by the other Powers." It rested with Turkey, however, to avert invasion by offering no legitimate provocation. If such provocation were given, then what would follow would be this:—

"The public opinion of Europe would not approve of a protection accorded to the Porte in order to prevent the signal punishment of a Government which should allow without interference the mass of a Christian community to be murdered, and its remnant to sue without effect the tribunals which ought to administer justice, and the authorities which are bound to maintain internal peace."

If Lord Derby had used such language and acted upon it, the Turks would have obeyed the will of Europe, as they did in the affairs of the Lebanon; and then there would have been no war either of Russia against Turkey or of England against Afghanistan.

In the early stages of the insurrection Lord Derby, at the instigation of the Porte, urged the Austrian and Servian Governments to help the Turks in putting the insurrection down. Later on he pressed on the Austrian Government the duty of withdrawing from the refugees, who had crossed into Austrian territory to the number of some 200,000, the wretched pittance which was barely sufficient to save them from starvation. The object was to drive the refugees back across the Turkish frontier—back, that is, to outrage and almost certain death. Meanwhile Consul Holmes, who had, four years previously, described the whole class of official Turks, particularly in Bosnia, as "venal, ignorant, fanatical, and untruthful," and the whole Mussulman population so hostile to Christianity that even the lives

of foreigners would be in such jeopardy that they would have to flee the country if they had not the protection of the "Capitulations,"—this very Consul was now reporting, as the Duke of Argyll puts it, "on the authority of Turkish officials, how kindly and gently they were dealing with the insurgents, and how those people were so unreasonable as to be distrustful of Turkish promises, and therefore to demand that their grievances should be redressed before, and not after they had laid down their arms."

At last Austria took the initiative in proposing united intervention on the part of the Great Powers. The intervention was to be of the mildest kind, and was to consist of a Consular Mission to the insurgents. Lord Derby most reluctantly consented, and sent Consul Holmes, on the special recommendation of the Porte. The British Consul, however, was distinctly "forbidden" to act in concert with the other Consuls. He was to act "separately," and simply confine himself to advising the insurgents to lay down their arms and trust to the promises of the Sultan. The insurgent deputation naturally declined, and no sooner had the Consuls left them than two battalions of Turkish troops treacherously fell upon them as they were thus off their guard, and massacred several of them. This act of treachery drew no remonstrance from Lord Derby.

Austria's next move was the Andrassy Note. To this also Lord Derby gave a very reluctant assent, and again nullified his assent by forbidding Sir H. Eliot to act in concert with the other Ambassadors. Sir Henry, moreover, was bidden to give only a "general" support to the Note, upon which Lord Derby poured at the same time such a stream of destructive criticism that the Porte felt quite safe in treating it with contempt. "Raschid Pasha," wrote Sir H. Eliot, "has expressed the most lively satisfaction at the tenor of the instructions that your Lordship is forwarding to me, of which I communicated to him the telegraphic summary."

This was followed, after an interval, by the Berlin Memorandum. That document was drawn up by the Chancellors of the three Emperors at Berlin, and was then communicated to the other Powers for their consideration, criticism, modification, or even as a provocative to some alternative proposal. Nothing can be further from the truth than the assertion that the Berlin Memorandum was offensively presented to any Government as a document which was simply to be accepted or rejected. The proposals of the Memorandum, too, were most reasonable and moderate, and Lord Derby, not long afterwards, made proposals of his own which went far beyond anything dreamt of in the Berlin Memorandum. Yet he rejected the Berlin Memorandum, and obstinately refused to reconsider his decision, though all the Powers—France, Austria, and Italy in particular—implored him to do so, and warned him that the almost inevitable result of England's abstention would be war between Turkey and Servia, probably ending in a war of

much more portentous dimensions. Lord Derby remained deaf to all warnings and appeals, and declined to suggest any alternative policy. The First Lord of the Admiralty has lately stated that the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum was approved by all parties and sections in the nation. Lord Granville has since shown that the statement fell short of accuracy. But if it had been quite accurate it would have been irrelevant. The rejection of the Berlin Memorandum was approved of before the facts were known. The Blue Book which disclosed the facts was not published till the close of the parliamentary session. When the facts became known it was seen how great a blunder the rejection of the Berlin Memorandum was.

There is no space to notice even briefly the efforts made by the Continental Cabinets to persuade the English Government to join the European concert for the purpose of pacifying South-Eastern Europe. Lord Derby could not be prevailed upon to pledge himself to anything. In the interval, however, he informed Sir H. Eliot that the agitation in England against Turkey would place the Government "in the humiliating position" of not being able to fight for Turkey in the event of Russia attacking her.

In the month of October (1876) an important proposal was made by Russia,—namely, that Russian troops should occupy Bulgaria, Austrian troops Bosnia, and the united fleets of the Powers Constantinople. But Prince Gortchakoff added that Russia would withdraw the proposal of a land occupation if England objected to it; in which case England would take the lead, as her contingent in the united fleet would be larger than all the rest put together. The Prince declared, further, that the Czar was convinced that the mere threat of such occupation would bring the Porte to reason and induce it to yield to the demands of the Powers. All the other Governments, and notably Austria, supported the Russian proposal of a naval occupation. But Lord Derby again opposed the unanimous policy of the European Powers; and thus another opportunity of settling the question peacefully was thrown away.

The next point is the Conference of Constantinople. Lord Salisbury was sent as Special Plenipotentiary to represent the British Government, and his appointment was greeted with acclamation by the whole nation, irrespective of party. The leading facts of the Conference are these: Lord Salisbury was instructed to insist on the Porte engaging "in a protocol to be signed at Constantinople with the representatives of the mediating Powers," to grant to the insurgent provinces a system of autonomy with "guarantees against the exercise of arbitrary authority." Those guarantees were to be secured by the appointment of officials whose tenure of office should be independent of the caprice of the Sultan or the intrigues of the Porte; because "the whole history of the Ottoman Empire since it was admitted into the European concert, under the engagements of the

Treaty of Paris, has proved that the Porte is unable to guarantee the execution of reforms in the provinces by Turkish officials, who accept them with reluctance and neglect them with impunity." In the event of the Porte refusing to accept the English proposals, Lord Salisbury was instructed to denounce it, and to fix upon it publicly, in the name of her Majesty's Government, "the sole responsibility of the consequences" of the war which it was assumed, as a matter of course, that Russia would then declare against it. In the meantime the ambassadors of the other Powers sounded Lord Derby as to his willingness to join them in coercing the Porte into acceptance of the terms of the Conference. Lord Derby declared against the policy of coercion. Had he rested there, his dissent from the policy of the other Powers would have been a serious matter. Yet still, if he had kept his dissent a secret from the Porte, there was just a chance that the Turks would yield. This last chance Lord Derby destroyed by informing the Turkish ambassador, while Lord Salisbury was on his way to Constantinople, that England would neither adopt a coercive policy herself nor sanction it in others. Musurus Pasha telegraphed the important information to the Porte, and the Grand Vizier telegraphed back his "deep gratitude." From that moment the failure of the Conference was a foregone conclusion. The other Powers, and Russia conspicuously, loyally supported the English proposals down to the "irreducible minimum." The Porte rejected them all; and then Lord Salisbury fulfilled his instructions by throwing "on the Sultan and his advisers the sole responsibility of the consequences which might ensue" from a war with Russia. Lord Salisbury had previously informed Lord Derby that "the Grand Vizier believed he could count upon the assistance of Lord Derby and Lord Beaconsfield" to save the Turkish Government from the danger of which Lord Salisbury had been commissioned to warn it.

Here then was the very case provided for by the Treaties of 1856 and 1871. Turkey had given a legitimate *casus belli* to the signatories of the Treaty of Paris. But before proceeding to extremities they had recourse to "mediation." It suits the opponents of Russia in England to represent the matter as a quarrel between Russia and Turkey, the other Powers being "mediators." It was in fact, a quarrel between Turkey and the six Great Powers. Of these all but England were in favour of coercion; but only one of them (Russia) was pledged to coerce Turkey single-handed, if all other methods failed. It never was a question of coercion or no coercion. Ever since the declaration of the Czar at Moscow, two months before the Conference met, it was universally admitted that if the Porte rejected the proposals of Europe one of two alternatives must certainly follow: coercion by the six Powers, which would certainly have compelled the submission of the Porte without war; or coercion by Russia alone, which Lord Salisbury plainly told the Turkish Plenipotentiaries "would threaten the very

existence of Turkey." "The fear of a breach with Russia," said Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords, on his return, "was the motive force of the Conference." Lord Derby had for months been using that "motive force" to overcome Turkish obstinacy. It is therefore clear as daylight that Lord Salisbury's declaration at the close of the Conference, in which, as the spokesman of his colleagues, he threw "the sole responsibility" of the impending war "on the Sultan and his advisers," set Russia free to deal single-handed with the Turkish Government. The "mediation" contemplated by the Treaty of Paris, the "amicable arrangement" contemplated by the Treaty of 1871, had been furnished by the Conference of Constantinople, and Turkey had been declared "solely" in the wrong.

Nevertheless the Russian Government made one more attempt to avoid war. It proposed a Protocol which even Midhat Pasha declared "had in it nothing in any sense compromising the integrity and independence of the (Turkish) Empire." But Lord Derby, true to the last to his policy of isolation, appended to the Protocol a declaration which rendered it nugatory, and encouraged the Turks to reject it in tones of arrogant contumely. All peaceful efforts being now exhausted, Russia declared war; and then Lord Derby turned round, accused Russia of violating the Treaty of Paris (from which the Conference had set her free), and threw upon the Czar the very "responsibility" which his own Plenipotentiary, by his own instruction, had previously thrown "on the Sultan and his advisers"! For this remarkable diplomatic somersault the Turkish Parliament voted an address of thanks to the people of England. A policy more fatal to the Turks cannot well be imagined. Coercion by all the Great Powers combined would have been so irresistible that the Porte could have yielded with dignity. Midhat Pasha has publicly declared that his Government would not have fought even Russia alone if they had not reckoned on English aid. It was this expectation, so cruelly encouraged in this country, that lured the unfortunate Turks to their doom.

Before the Russian armies crossed the Danube, the Czar revealed to the English Government the terms on which he would accept peace, provided his troops were not forced to cross the Balkans. The English Government expressed its "satisfaction" at the moderation of the Emperor. When Turkey lay prostrate at the Czar's feet, he hardly went beyond these terms. Yet the Government put all London in a panic, and snatched a war vote of six millions by representing the Russian terms (of which the country then knew nothing) as perilous to the British Empire; terms, be it remembered, at which the Government had six months previously expressed satisfaction. They are, moreover, substantially the terms of the "peace with honour" which Lord Beaconsfield brought from Berlin. He told the House of Lords on the 13th of last month that "the last traces of the Treaty of San Stefano had been abolished" by the Supplemental Convention between Russia and Turkey

On the contrary, that Convention expressly confirms the Treaty of San Stefano on all points not modified by the Treaty of Berlin. And the Treaty of Berlin itself is in nearly all its best provisions simply the Treaty of San Stefano under a new name. "With three exceptions," says the Duke of Argyll, "everything which is good and hopeful in the Treaty of Berlin comes straight from the Treaty of San Stefano." I am not sure that I can regard more than the last of the Duke's three exceptions as really "good and hopeful." They are the Austrian occupation of Bosnia, the exclusion of the Bulgarians from the *Ægean*, and the substitution of a European for a Russian protectorate over the Christian population still left under the direct rule of the Sultan. The other important change made in the Treaty of San Stefano is the division of the Bulgarian nationality, and the restoration of Turkish troops to the passes of the Balkans. That is a provision which has no element of permanence, and which will be simply mischievous while it lasts. The only Power which can gain by it is Russia. The Bulgarians will never rest satisfied till they have erased that clause from the Treaty of Berlin; and while it remains they will look to Russia as the one Power likely to help them to get rid of it. If Lord Beaconsfield's dearest wish had been to keep Russian influence alive on both sides of the Balkans, he could not have achieved his purpose more effectually than by rending the Bulgarian nationality in twain, and planting Turkish garrisons in the rent to keep it raw. In short, I cannot doubt that the event will show that on nearly every point on which the Treaty of Berlin differs from the Treaty of San Stefano it differs for the worse. My opinion may be considered prejudiced, though I know not why it should be. But it is shared by impartial foreigners like M. Laveleye,* whose sympathies are certainly not Russian. The fact is, Russian opinion, like our own, is divided on this question. The vast mass of the Russian people cared chiefly for the liberation of as many Christians as possible. A powerful, though small, party cared primarily for Russian interests. The Treaty of San Stefano is due to the former. The Treaty of Berlin is secretly preferred by the latter.

For all that I have now stated, and for much more, the reader will find ample proof in the Duke of Argyll's book. On the part of it which deals with the Afghan Question I am not able to touch at all at present for want of space.

MALCOLM MACCOLL.

* "The fault of the diplomatists who assembled at Berlin was, not that they did too much for the Slavs, but that they did too little; and in this respect the Treaty of San Stefano was far preferable. The more strength and independence the southern Slavs possess, the less will they be disposed to allow themselves to be absorbed by Russia. If, on the other hand, the situation is not made tolerable to them, they will be driven to apply to Russia for assistance. This latter state of things is exactly what has been produced. Lord Beaconsfield, by preserving to Turkey certain fragments of territory insufficient to give her vital energy, has simply prepared for Russia new pretexts of intervention. Either the integrity of the Ottoman Empire ought to have been maintained, or else a southern Slav state should have been created of strength and extent sufficient to restore some day the Empire of Douchan."—Emile de Laveleye, in *Fortnightly Review* of November, 1878.

THE NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN FRANCE.

THERE is perhaps no question which is so profoundly moving the minds of men at this moment in some parts of Europe, and above all in France, as "the religious question." It might be interesting to reckon up the number of pamphlets and articles which have recently appeared, bearing the title, "La question religieuse." Any one in the habit of conversing with Frenchmen at this period can hardly fail to be struck with the way in which, whatever be the subject of conversation, it generally inclines ere-long in the direction of that all-important topic.

There is probably more of dogmatic materialism and of indifference to religious questions amongst educated Englishmen at the present time than there is among the same class in France, the country to which the considerations in the present paper are to be applied.

We have been accustomed to look upon France as the stronghold of that scepticism and levity in regard to religion which are the natural reaction against superstition, and the unwarrantable assumptions of ecclesiastical authority; yet in this very country there is now an earnest spirit of inquiry, and amongst some of its most thoughtful men there appears a kind of agony of desire to shake off on the one hand the old incubus of priestly rule, and to escape, on the other, from the deadening influence of atheism. The extent to which this movement in France is already developed is as yet but little known in England; yet assuredly no subject could be of deeper interest to all who are watching with sympathy, not unmixed with anxiety, the present wondrous resuscitation and firm upward progress of that scourged and humbled, but courageous and indomitable French people. All eyes, it may be said, are turned just now upon France; for indeed there is no earthly sight more worthy to attract the

reverent gaze of men than that of a people, after almost a century of despotism, alternated with the constantly renewed anguish of unfruitful revolution, patiently struggling into freedom, and pressing onward to a higher moral and social existence. "Despotism may govern without faith," says De Tocqueville, "but liberty cannot." Religious faith is more needed, politically speaking, in democratic republics than under any other forms of government. How is it possible that society should escape destruction if the moral tie be not strengthened in proportion as the political tie is relaxed? and what can be done with a people which is its own master, if it obey not God and conscience? This truth begins to dawn upon the minds of certain French patriots, among whom is observable a kind of trembling anticipation of the danger which their country's future will incur, if her newly-attained liberties are not based upon moral convictions having their root in religious faith. Some of the literary men of France who but a few years ago styled themselves *Libre-penseurs*, in the full sense of being without any positive faith whatever, are now sincerely inquiring concerning God and the future state, and groping for an anchor by which to hold the vessel of their beloved and long-sought Freedom in calm and safe waters.

Beyond this sincere inquiry after a religion which shall give stability to their political institutions, there appears to exist, further, a yearning for religious truth for its own sake. "Man does not live by bread alone," says a contributor to the contemporary literature of France; "he lives also by ideas, by justice, by charity, by liberty, by faith; and these are among the words which go forth out of the mouth of God." Victor Hugo, who in his best moments gives utterance to the higher impulses of the mass of the people, writes—

"Let us not forget, and let us teach it to all, that there would be no dignity in life, that it would not be worth while to live, if annihilation were to be our lot. What is it which alleviates and which sanctifies toil, which renders men strong, wise, patient, just, at once humble and aspiring, but the perpetual vision of a better world, whose light shines through the darkness of the present life? For myself, I believe profoundly in that better world; and after many struggles, much study, and numberless trials, this is the supreme conviction of my reason as it is the supreme consolation of my soul." . . . "There is a misfortune of our times," he continues, "I could almost say there is but *one* misfortune of our times; it is the tendency to stake all on the present life. By giving to man, as a sole end and object, the material life of this world, you aggravate its every misery by the negation which awaits him at the end; you add to the burdens of the unfortunate the insupportable weight of future nothingness; and that which was only suffering, that is to say the law ordained of God, becomes despair, the law imposed by hell. Hence our social convulsions. Assuredly I am one of those who desire, I will not say with sincerity, for the word is too feeble, but who desire with inexpressible ardour, and by all means possible, to ameliorate the lot of all who suffer; but the first of all ameliorations is to give them hope. How greatly lessened are our finite sufferings when there shines into the midst of them an infinite hope! The duty of us all, whoever we may be, legislators and bishops priests, authors, and journalists, is to spread abroad, to dispense and to lavish in every form,

the social energy necessary to combat poverty and suffering, and at the same time to bid every face to be lifted up to heaven, to direct every soul and mind to a future life where justice shall be executed. We must declare with a loud voice that none shall have suffered uselessly, and that justice shall be rendered to all. Death itself shall be restitution. As the law of the material universe is equilibrium, so the law of the moral universe is equity. God will be found at the end of all."

The present religious movement assumes, as has been said, a position more or less of antagonism on the one hand to Jesuitism, and on the other to unbelief. M. de Pressensé has described in a recent number of this REVIEW* the present aggressive character of the Ultramontane party, as a party hostile, of course, alike to the Republic, and to liberty of conscience in matters of religion. It is no decrepit foe which has to be met on this side, but a vastly organized and subtle power which, in proportion as it has lost its hold on the conscience of the more instructed of the people, endeavours to strengthen itself and its temporal means of aggression by an alliance with the political party of reaction in all countries. There are in France many loyal and sincere Catholics who look with suspicion on this encroaching power. Roused to the recollection of the position held by the Gallican Church in times past, these liberal Catholics now aim at a return to the independent position which that Church formerly held in relation to the see of Rome. There is, we are told, in Gallicanism a political principle still respected by many French Catholics,—a principle to which the French Revolution gave a still broader expression,—that is, the right to guard against ecclesiastical encroachments in secular matters. For some years past, in the constantly increasing conflict between the Ultramontanes and the Gallican liberals, there have been repeated attempts on the part of the latter, by having recourse to the common law of the realm, to check the illegal encroachments of the Clerical party acting upon orders direct from Rome. To obtain any sure victory, and to free religion in France from vassalage to the Pope, nothing less, it is believed, will suffice than the complete enfranchisement of all forms of worship, and the final separation of the Church from the State. This last is a step dreaded by the Ultramontane party, for, as M. de Pressensé says, "it knows that on the one hand the Church of the minority would find in a free propaganda the means of effectually counterbalancing its power; and on the other, it is conscious that under the delusive cloak of outward unity, there are influences at work in its own body which might issue in resistance and reform." It is of some of these influences that I am about to speak.

The energies of the small Protestant communities in France have been for many years mainly applied to the work of self-defence, and of maintaining their own existence against the opposing elements in the midst of which they are placed. From this society Jesuitism had

* CONTEMPORARY REVIEW for September, 1878.

little to fear; but when apostles of free worship and liberty of conscience begin to rise up from the ranks of Catholicism itself, it must be recognized that the outward garb of unity is to some extent at least deceptive.

The fierce persecutions inflicted upon the Huguenots in the seventeenth century had the effect of creating a distinct and separate people in France, who for a long period lived very much as the Jews did in the middle ages,—outlaws, without political rights and without a nationality, but closely allied in a confraternity of their own, embracing their scattered members in exile in all lands. Thus violently and for a long time thrown upon their own resources, and often forced to foreign enterprise, the Huguenots became an energetic and independent people, and attained to an intelligence considerably greater than that of their persecutors, in the affairs of this life, as well as of those of the life to come.

About the date of 1830, after the close of the inept government of the Jesuits under Louis XVIII. and Charles X., a great impulse was imparted to industry, to education, and to various public works, of which the Protestant descendants of the Huguenots were the life and soul. Protestant influence increased during the ascendancy of Guizot. Most of the principal industries of France, the silk mills of Lyons, the calico factories of Mulhouse, the manufacturers of Creusot, the great founderies almost everywhere, were and are in the hands of the Protestant families of Arlès-Dufour, Schneider, Dollfuss, Koechlin, Japy, Morien, Peugeot, &c. Under the second Empire, many of the most prominent financiers and bankers were on the one hand the Jews, the Rothschilds, Pereiras, &c., and on the other the Protestants, Rougemont, Hottinger, Dassier, Bartholony, the Prefect Haussman, &c. At the present time many important offices in the Government, in public works, education and foreign affairs, are under the direction of Protestants, as, for example, of Say, Freycinet, and Waddington. The chief of the administration of the Exhibition of last year was the Protestant senator Krantz, an Alsatian. Examples might be multiplied in this direction, and the fact is striking when considered in connection with the enormous numerical preponderance of the Catholic population in France.

It might appear from the above that the principles of Protestantism, in the persons of its orthodox and somewhat aristocratic leaders, are making advances in France, and that certain hopes for the future good of the country might be built upon the fact. But here we are compelled to pause, and ask what amount of real religious vitality capable of transfusion into the veins of the young Republic, dwells in the community represented by the names just cited. The Israelites are not the only persons who may be accused of subordinating higher aims to the amassing of wealth. *Enrichissez-vous!* is said to have been a favourite injunction of Guizot to his brother Protestants. His policy

has not been neglected by those who survive him; witness the three thousand millions (francs) of M. Freycinet for public works, which recall to mind the national *ateliers* of unhappy memory. As a fact, wealthy Protestantism in France does not inspire complete confidence in regard either to true republicanism or to the spread of a vital religious faith. Its ascendancy might possibly lead the nation gently back to Orleanism, and from the point of view of religion and public morality it offers little better guarantee than a *monarchie bourgeoise*, with its national clergy, and its respectable prefects and chiefs of *Bureaux des Mœurs*, its Delesserts and Mettetais. The cold worship and scantily filled churches of some of their well-known preachers do not indicate a large amount of the living fire of propagandism in their midst. The charge made against the party may not be wholly undeserved, that "content with the comparative toleration granted to it by the State, French Protestantism is satisfied to live, without aspiring to conquer. Glad to enjoy peace, and, unhappily, sometimes distracted by intestine disputes, it is not unfrequently the first to discourage those who, for conscience' sake, speak of things distasteful to the Government, or who would dare to encounter the risk of fresh persecutions."

Whence, then, are the apostles of any religious reformation in France to come? Mention may be made of some who have openly entered the lists against the twofold enemy, Jesuitism and Scepticism, though it would be premature to pronounce an opinion on the probability of any of these becoming true apostles of a revived spiritual faith, and probably the means by which they work their propaganda will not meet with universal approval. The movement initiated by them invites, however, our watchful and sympathetic regard.

M. Renouvier and M. Pilon are names which appear in the forefront of those who are promoting the present movement for religious and moral reform. They are editors of *La Critique Philosophique*,* a political, scientific, and literary review of high merit, in which the religious movement in France is dealt with in a serious and philosophic spirit. M. Leon Pilatte, editor of *L'Eglise Libre*, ranks as a fellow-worker with the above.

The name of Eugène Reveillaud has attained some notoriety in France since the publication of his book, "La Question Religieuse," in 1878.† This book sets forth the conviction of its author that France has only one sure means of securing the stability of her free institutions, namely, by shaking off completely and finally the yoke of Clericalism. Reveillaud, born and educated a Roman Catholic, declares himself while writing this work to be a freethinker; in the name of freethought, he attacks Obscurantism and Ultramontanism directly and simply. This book obtained a rapid sale, and was read with complaisance by thousands; Republicans and Orleanists alike applauded a campaign in which no moral effort was demanded from themselves,

* Published in Paris, 54, rue de Seine.

† *La Question Religieuse et la Solution Protestante*. Grassard, Paris.

and which simply tended to lessen the influence of Legitimists and Bonapartists, the allies of the Roman clergy. Reveillaud was at that time the right man to select as director of a popular journal such as the *Anti-clerical*. His book is worthy of perusal. He evinces no spirit of antagonism to Christianity; on the contrary, he urges from the point of view of a politician that religion is necessary for a nation, and that France's liberties can only be securely built, as the liberties of England after our own great revolution were, on a basis of religious and moral convictions rooted in the hearts of the people, and infused into popular education. Catholicism, he asserts, cannot longer suffice for this; for Catholicism is henceforth, as it has for long been, identified with Jesuitism and the centralized rule of Rome, encroaching and strangling ever more and more the independent existence of the Gallican Church, and setting at defiance freedom of conscience. It cannot, he says, be the religion of the citizens of a free country. On the other hand he sees, still judging as a philosopher and freethinker, that there is a subtle connection between materialism and despotism; he looks around him, longing for a sublime idea, a pure faith, for the wearied and sceptical French mind to lay hold upon. He can find no idea so sublime as the central idea of Christianity; and in examining this, he is impelled to record the attraction he feels towards it, and the ardent admiration with which it begins to inspire him. At a later period he said, "led by patriotic reasons to study this question, I became intellectually convinced." This intellectual conviction leads him, in making a comparison of the religion and policy of Jesuitism with Christianity, to say—

"Jesus planted his standard so high above our horizon that all humanity may gather beneath it; and if the shadow of his cross, falling upon the whole world, has caused virtues alone to spring up, has developed only a law of love and fraternity, who would not feel himself honoured to be called a Christian? But I am told the facts are quite the opposite; what crimes, they say, have been committed, what massacres ordained, in the name of Christ and in the interests of his religion! I reply that we must not confound Christ with the Church. The crimes of St. Bartholomew and the Dragonnades were not facts of Christianity, but the consequence of a sacerdotal system which has prevailed and has been the misfortune of centuries in the organization of the Roman Church." . . . "If Socrates," he asks, "had had false disciples who filled the earth with crimes and wars, would you for that reason condemn Socrates? We do not aim at destroying Christianity. Let it be well understood that we can never effectually destroy except by replacing, and we must combat Clericalism by Christianity. . . . Let us then tear from the hands of our enemies the standard of Christ which they have appropriated and dishonoured, and let us rally round it ourselves, claiming for ourselves their watchword: *Ille Signo Vincet!*"*

A prominent aim in the programme of the new reformers is the restoration of family life in France:—

"No assertion," says Reveillaud, "is more hackneyed than that 'religion is necessary for women and children;' the same spirit which gives utterance to

* *La Question Religieuse*, p. 64.

it prompts the saying which we daily hear in certain circles, and which is worthy to figure among the aphorisms of Joseph Prudhomme, that 'religion is necessary for the common people.' Whence these scornful distinctions? Either religion is good for none, or it is useful for all. Whether considered as a restraint against evil or a motive power for good, assuredly the aristocracy has not less need of such restraint and such a motive power than the common people. The father of a family allows that, as a guarantee of morality, religion is necessary for his wife and child; has not the wife precisely the same reasons for desiring religion for her husband? and has not the child a right to ask of his father why he does not set him an example in the things which he prescribes for his child?"

"Build up again the family," says Michelet, "the true and natural family. The fireside is the foundation of all. All life is built upon it. Where that is shaken all is shaken; when family life is feeble and disunited, the State has no solid base on which to repose; in vain it seeks for another; like a sick man it turns and turns again upon its couch, and finds no other position in which it can rest."*

The desire for the restoration of family life appears in France to be keeping pace with the spirit of religious inquiry, and forms one of the clearest notes in the cry arising from the heart of the nation, "What must we do to be saved?"

In the autumn of last year, the Protestant Evangelical journals of France were full of the case of a remarkable conversion which had taken place, sudden as that of St. Paul on his way to Damascus. The subject of this conversion was none other than Eugène Reveillaud. Ascending one day a Protestant pulpit, in a crowded church in the south of France, Reveillaud gave an account of what had occurred to him the previous night; he spoke of a vision, a sudden light, a baptism of grace which was vouchsafed to him. He had before him a sympathetic and awe-struck audience, and the news of this public declaration flew rapidly through the whole Evangelical community, not only of France, but of our own country. It need scarcely be said that the event was judged from very different points of view by different persons, some applauding the fervour and simplicity of heart which had induced the young convert to declare himself, even with greater precipitation than St. Paul, an apostle of the pure gospel; others doubtfully reserving their judgment, while others openly condemned the want of delicacy or of prudence, as it seemed to them, in the publicity courted and given to this circumstance. The Evangelical party in France are however for the most part convinced that this is a genuine and astonishing conversion; and there is indeed nothing to disprove that it is so; for Reveillaud has at least sacrificed to his new convictions the honour of being the leader of a party of which he might probably have been *facile princeps*. He has definitively retired from politics, is engaged in missionary tours, and is studying theology, it is said, with a view to the regular exercise of the Evangelical ministry. As a preacher he has great power. It is stated on the authority of the Rev. George Fisch of Paris that at one single meeting

* Michelet: *La Réforme*, p. 104.

lately addressed by Reveillaud at Bourg, "one hundred and fifty Roman Catholics were brought over to the Protestant Church."

Dissatisfaction with the rule and teaching of the clerical party (it can hardly be said of pure Catholicism) is widely spread, and daily increasing in France. This dissatisfaction, coupled with a repudiation of materialism and an acknowledgment of the need of religious faith, is to be found expressed in varying forms and degrees in the following works which are gaining popularity; "*La Question Religieuse Contemporaine*," by M. A. Jacob; "*La Liberté Religieuse*," by Emilio Castelar; "*L'Avenir des Peuples Catholiques*," by Laveleye; "*La Cour de Rome et de France*," by Vallon; "*Le Mouvement Contemporain des Eglises*," by the Abbé Michaud; "*La Papauté anti-chrétienne*," by the same; "*Le Cabinet de Jésus*," by René Maral; "*Partie Perdue*," by d'Alviella; and lastly, the Review before named, the *Critique Philosophique*, and the popular tracts of Paul Bouchard—"La Servitude Volontaire," "Simples Lettres d'un Bourignon," and "Dieu et Patrie."

A brief sketch of the last-named author may be of interest. Paul Bouchard is the proprietor of great vineyards in the neighbourhood of Beaune in Burgundy, whence Beaune wine takes its name. He has lived the greater part of his life in his native town of Beaune, where he has children and grandchildren, and was for a long time surrounded by a bright family circle. He is now advanced in years, but continues to be a man of bright and cheerful temperament, hopeful in spirit and genial in manner. He was mayor of his native city for some years, during which he was an active and successful reformer of the institutions and morality of his town. He is a musician, and the children of Beaune are accustomed to march and dance to music composed by him, in the merry vintage season, after the sun has gone down. Trials fell upon him, however, in the death of his wife and the dispersion of his family. His mind had been for many years exercised by the anomaly of the "priest in the house." He observed the evils of the influence thus introduced into domestic life, the estrangements consequent upon it between the men and the women of the same household which otherwise would have been united,—that estrangement being often the greatest in matters of faith the most vital. After many years of internal conflict M. Bouchard sent to the bishop of the diocese in which he lived the following declaration:—

"MONSEIGNEUR,—I have the honour to address to you the following declaration, you alone having the right, as bishop of this diocese, to receive it.

"Every day we see the ministers of the Catholic priest carrying to their last resting-place the mortal remains of men who have been all their lives estranged from Catholicism, and have even fought against it.

"The Church urges, in these cases, in order to justify its intervention, that these men having been born in its fold, and having been retained in it by the sacrament of marriage and the baptism of their children, have continued to be Catholic in spite of their protestations to the contrary.

"How, then, can such men, bound by such religious acts as the above-mentioned, free themselves from their engagements, except by another act, having the character of a deliberate resolution openly avowed?"

"This act is a public abjuration. It is to this act that I have recourse in order to escape from the false and troubled situation in which for many years I have been placed.

"In taking this step I fulfil a duty which I owe alike to conscience and to loyalty.

"I declare, then, Monseigneur, that I now abjure Catholicism and embrace Protestantism, the Reformed faith alone being able to deliver us from the dangers which threaten us on all sides."

There here appears a simple and quiet conviction of the judgment. It is no declaration of a heavenly vision, or of a sudden enlightenment or baptism from on high. It is characteristic of the reserve regarding himself and his mental experience which marks the utterances of Bouchard even when most ardently inviting his hearers to embrace simple evangelic truth.

In June of last year (1878) Paul Bouchard gave a conference at Geneva, where, after having recalled the successive shocks to which France had been subjected since the reigns of Francis I. and Henri IV., he proceeded to show that the revolution of 1830 had failed to procure substantial good for the country, owing to the absence of religious faith in its promoters and in the people. Coming down to the present time, he concludes by saying, "There is an absence of all religious life in the great tide of our national life, and there lies the source of all our troubles. O my dearly loved country, could I but see rekindled in thee the fire of a living faith, that element so indispensable to the life of nations, and which is threatened with complete annihilation through the monstrous alliance of scepticism and ultramontane Catholicism!"

Since then M. Bouchard has been going from town to town in France, holding popular conferences. His propaganda has a character partly political and partly religious. His appeals are addressed to the mass of the people; working men crowd to his meetings. He professes simply and clearly on every occasion Evangelical Christianity, while he avoids, strictly speaking, "the language of Canaan," thus failing to win the entire confidence of some of his Protestant contemporaries. His tracts are widely circulated; "Dieu et Patrie" is addressed to women, on whom he presses the advice (dangerous, as some would esteem it,) to think and judge for themselves. He impresses upon them the thought of their own dignity as human beings directly accountable to God; he invites them to reject all human intermediaries in approaching God, and to take as their guide the words of Christ, "Enter into thy closet, and pray to thy Father which is in secret." He declares that no true work of emancipation can ever be achieved in which women are not included, and appeals to the women of France to show themselves true patriots; as well as true wives and mothers. One who has observed his career writes of him:—

"Bouchard has, in my opinion, the immense merit of having proclaimed, in the midst of our great world of politicians, men of wealth, business men, and administrators, the supremacy of the moral law, the rights of conscience, and the value of the religious sentiment. His utterances as a religious man not avoiding politics, and a political man daring to preach Christianity, render his position so extraordinary that his voice has jarred like a false note in a concert; every one turns his head to the side whence it comes with a movement of surprise not unmixed with impatience. Abandoned by many of his former political friends, regarded with more or less of suspicion by the orthodox Protestants as having stopped half-way, his position is not an enviable one: nevertheless his courage does not fail him, nor has he lost the confidence of his most distinguished friends. There has never been the slightest flaw in his reputation as a private man, or as a man of business and a great merchant. He has been twenty years a widower; his youth was not less pure than is his green old age."

Bouchard has none of the characteristics of the subtle conspirator, nor of the fierce revolutionary, nor yet is he purely a missionary; he is witty, amiable, and social. Sober and moderate in his manner of living, he yet possesses an infectious joviality. His character does not, in fact, accord with the usual idea of a reformer; nevertheless there were not wanting some of these elements in Luther and Zwinglius. The lively energy of his character may be illustrated by the following incident. In September last, at the most crowded period of the Paris Exhibition, M. Bouchard happened to be seated on the top of an omnibus, passing through one of the principal streets. He caught sight of an influential Deputy driving past in his open carriage. Happening to want the help of this Deputy in connection with his work, without waiting for the omnibus to stop, the old man dropped down, quick as thought, from the top, threaded his way rapidly through the labyrinth of vehicles which thronged the densely-crowded street, and leaping into the carriage of the Deputy while the horses were in full trot, he seated himself by the side of the astonished gentleman, and, in reply to his question, "Whence come you, and for what?" said merrily, "It is providential, sir, like the appearance of Philip by the side of the Minister of Queen Candace." He then went on to expose his errand and wishes, and gained his point.

In November, 1870, during the Franco-German war, Gambetta wrote to Bouchard from Tours: "Your letter on the affairs of Dijon is very good; a functionary with convictions such as yours remains at his post through every difficulty, and I count upon your remaining at Beaune even if it is invaded. *We need men like you.*"

In 1873, Bouchard essayed to communicate to Gambetta a sense of the necessity of facing frankly the religious question for France, and wrote to him as follows:—

"MY DEAR GAMBETTA,—On all sides the Clerical party is strengthening its organization, and is armed to the teeth; while, by the side of this increasing force, the Republican party is content to look on, inactive and careless, as if there were not, for it, the smallest possible danger. Now, I ask whether it is not very unwise in us to stand thus, passive spectators of this preparation

for events which will concern us closely, and whether it would not be more prudent that we should understand each other, and be prepared. None can better than yourself indicate the measures which we should adopt. It is difficult to adopt any united action in the provinces without some indication; but such indication on this question is absolutely wanting on the part of our natural leaders. Speak then to your countrymen! rouse them from their timidities; stir them to vigilance; pour a little less of rosewater into their cup; this is no time for honeyed words. Liberty claims a severer service than this from those who are its appointed guardians."

There is something profoundly pathetic in the appeal which Bouchard has just made to his former friend, in the shape of a letter entitled "To Leon Gambetta from a Bourignon," dated February of this year. The old man has quitted his provincial home, his vineyards and his children, and is now living in a garret in Paris, practising the strictest economy, and endeavouring to collect, by ceaseless efforts, a sufficient capital with which to start a journal intended to be the organ of his movement.*

He writes as follows to Gambetta:—

"I address myself to you, my friend, because you are the personification and the most authorized representative of our French democracy, and have become to a great extent its guide. Having watched your career since 1870, first as a great patriot, then as a skilful politician, always an incomparable orator, I cannot but be grateful to you for the services you have rendered France. Every one crowds to hear you speak; those afar off read the report of your words, friends and enemies wrangle over your discourses; the homage rendered to you is magnificent, and you have a right to rejoice in it because it is deserved. But do you realize fully the immense responsibility in the charge of souls which results from it? You desire the happiness of these multitudes, of these poor and simple men, and yet you say to them, 'after this life annihilation; when the body dies all dies.' If you do not assert this in these precise words, yet this sentiment flows from all that you write, from all that you speak; you cause it to be but too often heard. The doctrine of those who reject all idea of God has recently been formulated in the organ of one of its most fervent upholders, Edmond About. 'The morality of the future,' he says, 'is one in which science will take the place of revelation, and it is we who are now creating it' (*Le XIXe Siècle*, Nov. 3, 1878). It is true that in the same journal M. F. Sarcey, co-editor of M. About, writes:—'The old dogma has perished; the ancient worship has fallen and turned to dust; there is nothing to replace them. On the one hand men suffer, on the other they seek.' The language of these fellow-workers is scarcely in agreement, but they continue to preach the same doctrine: 'Believe in nothing but in facts such as you can see and touch and as can be demonstrated by experimental science.' As for the soul, our future destiny, eternal justice,—proclaimed in every age by the greatest minds, the Socrates, Platos, Newtons, Pascals, and so many others,—these are but romances, fairy tales unworthy of our attention. Then there is He who submitted to be nailed upon the cross to save men from servitude. But of Him men speak no longer in these days! . . . 'After this life annihilation!' What despair for the masses whom, nevertheless, you love! How then do you propose to support or console those who, tried and suffering all their lives, have nothing to hope for, who expect nothing and believe nothing except that the grave will be the end? What explanation will you give them of that strange sight of which we are, alas! daily witnesses,

* This journal, to be named *Le Réformateur*, is advertised to appear on the 16th of April of this year, published at 8, rue d'Argout, Paris.

—the sight of an honest man ruined by a knave? the knave dies after a full and enjoying existence; the virtuous man remains and suffers to the end. In this we have a complete and monstrous inversion, not only of the moral law, but of the most elementary notions of equality and justice. Religious faith alone solves the problem; religious faith is the pivot of the human soul; it is riches to the poor; to destroy it is to disinherit the masses of their most precious possession.

"And when you shall have created a nation of materialists, what will you have produced? Desperate covetousness, insatiable appetites, unrestrained ambition, and incessant revolution arising from the conquest of the good things of this world, not by slow, persevering, honest work, but by political games of chance, immoral enterprises, deceits, robberies, and lastly, force. Do you not see that this is to open the door not to legitimate revolution, but to catadysms?"

"You are in the prime of life, my friend; I am in the decline. Old age has duties towards those whom it believes to be the most able to profit by its warnings. Having in past years shown me some confidence, will you not listen to me once more to-day? It is true that since those years I have pursued a path which I have reason to believe has not pleased you. Have you a better one? Have you any means at all by which you propose to yourself to combat the evils which daily increase around us? Liberty cannot exist with Ultramontanism, whose principles are domination and servitude; neither can liberty exist with Atheism, which denies God and the future life.

"Concerned only with ourselves in the narrow limits of our terrestrial wants, our passions and our appetites will become our only motive-power. We shall become their slaves, and there are but very few steps from this to becoming the slaves of any Cæsar who may arise. This, my friend, is what I wished to say to you, as I have said it to all the other men of the Government.

"PAUL BOUCHARD."

A marked peculiarity in Bouchard's campaign is the urgency with which he recommends his hearers of the humbler classes to join themselves, when convinced by his arguments, to the nearest Protestant church they can find. Why, it is asked, counsel such a step? Protestantism may become, nay sometimes is, as dogmatic and formal as Romanism, though not so domineering. Why not invite those who desire to be free from the yoke of Jesuitism to become Christians simply, and to drop all sectarian and party titles? Such a question may naturally be asked in England; but if we imagine ourselves in the position of the masses of the poorer people of Catholic France, we shall see common sense and reason in this advice of Bouchard—nay, even its necessity for the success of his movement. For marriages must continually be celebrated, infants must be baptized, the dead must be buried. The mass of the people, though they may be ready to accept civil marriage, are not prepared to give up the baptism and religious dedication of their children, nor to bury their friends without a prayer or an expression of Christian hope, or the benediction of a Christian minister. To absent themselves altogether from religious worship, and to abandon every Christian rite, would appear to them, and often be to them, practical atheism. The wife will not be easily persuaded to see her husband or son on his deathbed without inviting the presence and consolations of some minister of religion; and so long as, in every hour of need, and in all the great events of life,

recourse must be had to the priest, priestly influence will continue to dominate, and the people will continue to be bound by superstition. But if a minister of the Reformed faith can be found at hand, and if the people will go and hear the evangelist proclaim in his own church or schoolroom, or by the wayside, the truths of Christianity in a language understood by all, then, argues Bouchard, light will visit the conscience, it may be, and peace the heart, while the outward supports of religion and its rites adapted for special emergencies will be equally available and observed.

There is a dark, a very dark side to the hopeful picture thus briefly sketched. Usurpers, both political and spiritual, are lurking on every hand, sleepless, vigilant, and ready to seize the first occasion which may arise of re-establishing a despotic rule; some of the Republican leaders, the most loved and trusted by the people, are openly-declared Atheists, and have no nobler advice to give to the masses than—"Enjoy life; amuse yourselves; get rich." A deeply rooted scepticism prevails among the masses of the population, nourished and intensified not less by the travesties of Christianity daily witnessed by them, than by immoral habits which have become institutional in France, and have eaten like a canker into the heart of domestic life, poisoning the relations of the sexes, and blighting that respect for womanhood without which no race of man was ever blest. The exploitation of the daughters of the people is still carried on with a high hand under official and governmental superintendence. There are in France traditions and institutions so base, so profoundly immoral, and necessarily so tyrannically despotic, as to call forth the assertion lately made, that in respect to them "the Republic finds itself in face of a grave alternative; either liberty must kill these institutions, or these institutions will kill liberty."* For the overthrow of such "bastilles of corruption," as these abominations consecrated by long custom are now usually designated, no mere wave of an official wand, no legislation of the Chambers, will now suffice. Their walls have been too powerfully built up, generation after generation, under the patronage of the rich and vile, and with the consent of egoists of every class. Nothing less than the force of the awakened conscience of the people will suffice for their demolition, and this awakened conscience will respond alone to the breath of the Spirit of God, unlocking the sources of spiritual life, and quickening the deep sense of individual responsibility towards the moral law. "However we may try to explain it," says Reveillaud, "there comes in the history of nations, as in the lives of men, a solemn hour, when the hand of the Lord seems stretched out to deliver, when the Divine breath, like the wind which bloweth where it listeth, specially visits the hearts of men." Is that hour at hand for France? Who can say? We can but gaze with hope for the coming dawn. The darkness

* Appeal to the Mayors of France for the Abolition of the Official Sanction of the Social Evil.

has given place to twilight. Missionary effort is doing something. The Paris police have lately given their testimony to the greater sobriety, industry, and domestic morality of the working population in the Belleville quarter of Paris, consequent in some measure on the unwearying efforts, for several years past, of Mr. McAll and his strong band of fellow-workers. Protestant pastors are aroused to an honourable competition in this moralizing work, to which many large-hearted Catholic men and women bring a powerful contribution. Out of the heart of the Catholic Church itself have arisen some of the most eloquent religious reformers, and pleaders for a return to primitive purity in Christian doctrine, and in family life.

When the Spanish Cortes reopened in March, 1876, after the restoration of Alphonso XII., the majority of the Government resolved to annul the decrees of the previous Republican Government, which had granted freedom of conscience and of public worship to all sects. It was on this occasion that Emilio Castelar uttered the powerful and pathetic appeal which has been published in France under the title "*La Liberté Religieuse*." In deprecating the proposed revival of a kind of Inquisitorial commission, he said :—

"I do not accuse you, Señors, of wishing to re-establish the Inquisition; you do not claim again the stake nor the rack; but you demand that the dissident shall be a hypocrite, and that he shall simulate with his lips what he believes not in his heart. The will of man is not always involved in his belief or unbelief. One who has lost the faith of his earliest years, who sees no longer the sacred aureole around foreheads which once beamed, for him, with inspiration,—such an one may have the right to utter in his anguish the words which Christ spake upon the Cross: 'My God, why hast Thou forsaken me!' The criterion of religion is more than instinct, more than sentiment, more than intelligence, more even than the reason and judgment; it is that supernatural faculty of which St. Bonaventura speaks, in his life of St. Francis of Assisi, and which Schelling calls the *intellectual intuition* granted by God to his own elect. Señors, if such is your desire of propaganda, which I respect (for respect is due to every sincere belief), then persuade, convince, touch the hearts of the incredulous as Jesus did. Pray for them day by day, and erect in every thoroughfare a pulpit, from which to persuade, convince, and convert: but do not invoke the report of a royal commission, the authority of Government, or the laws of Parliament. Do not avail yourselves of the help of the gendarme. Religion wins, not by these, but by its apostles and martyrs."

Such are the means, such the efforts, by which the faith of Christ was at first promulgated, and which history teaches us have been the most powerful weapons in every great crisis of national revival and of religious and moral reformation. "To the awakening of the individual conscience," says James Martineau, "God has committed the true progress of mankind." If this be so, then may we hope for France, as we mark the arising, one after another, among her own children, of apostles, whose deeply roused conscience will not suffer them to cease, day and night, to warn, to teach, and to persuade, in matters of the deepest concern to her true life as a nation.

JOSEPHINE E. BUTLER.

GREEK AND LATIN: THEIR PLACE IN MODERN EDUCATION.

I.—ON A RADICAL REFORM IN THE METHOD OF TEACHING THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGES.

THE old feud between the Humanists and Realists has broken out in a new form. Greek, it appears, is to be extruded from the universities; at least that academical platform is to be shaken from under its feet, and that badge of privilege to be torn from its breast, which for so many years have given it a secure position in the palaestra where the youth of Great Britain have been trained to the highest functions of intellectual manhood. Not a few persons—even those who have no particular interest in or sympathy with Hellenic learning—will look on this changed position of the most aristocratic of traditional scholastic studies with unaffected sorrow; nevertheless they will say, the thing must be done; times are changed, and we must change with them; the most reputable respectabilities, when their day comes, must die, and the claims of the past, however venerable, must yield to the urgent demands of the present.

To understand this matter properly, we must see clearly that it is not Greek merely, as Greek, that is called before the bar of public opinion, but Greek as the highest form of classical culture; Greek as the gold of which Latin is the silver and the copper currency. The real question is, can, not Greek simply, but Greek and Latin as an intimately related and closely interlacing whole, stand in the same relation to the culture of the eighteenth century that they did to the culture of the sixteenth century? and the answer is plainly enough that they cannot. New circumstances have arisen, new tasks are to be performed, new tools are to be provided, new training is necessary. Whoever denies this is blind both before and behind; great changes cannot take place in society without corresponding changes taking place in the three great organs of social life, the State, the Church, and the School. In the sixteenth century Latin was the only

key to knowledge, while Greek, with the disadvantage of a narrower range of currency, held the proud position of the supreme court of appeal in all important matters of theology, philosophy, literature, and science. Latin in the days of Calvin and George Buchanan was as necessary to the exercise of any intellectual influence among educated men, as English is to a Skye crofter, if he would do business in any market outside his native village, or as French is to a Russian diplomatist, if he would make his voice heard with effect at Berlin or Constantinople. And this diminished influence of the classical languages, as against the rich growth and influence of modern culture, is asserting itself more and more every day, and will continue to assert itself. In the face of this fact, the inculcators of classical lore at school and college must in the nature of things abate their demands considerably; and, if they wish to make this abatement less serious, they must by all means in the first place change their tactics, and improve their drill. In other words, whatever loss in certain directions may fall to the higher English culture from the extrusion or subordination of one or both of the classical languages from school or college, may be reduced to its minimum by a dexterous change of front and an improved practical drill. That such a tactical reform in the method of teaching the classical languages is both necessary and practicable, and with a view to impending dangers imperiously urgent, it is the object of the following remarks shortly to set forth.

Everybody complains of the length of time occupied in the study or pretended study of the classical languages, and of the monopoly of cerebral exertion claimed by classical teachers; not a few persons also complain that with all this sway of grammatical discipline the languages are actually not learned, or learned so ineffectually as to be readily forgotten. These complaints are just; and the cause of the unprofitable consumption of time complained of is, to a considerable extent demonstrably, the prevalence of false and perverse methods of teaching. It is a well-known fact that a young man of common abilities, placed in the colloquial atmosphere of some German school or family, will acquire a greater familiarity with the German language in six months than is commonly acquired of Greek, according to our usual scholastic method, in as many years. How is this? Simply because the young man resident in the country, breathing the atmosphere, and submitted continuously to the action of the strange sounds which he wishes to appropriate, learns the foreign language according to the method of Nature; while your classical teacher in one of our great English schools sets that method flatly at defiance, and substitutes for it artificial methods of his own, which have no germ of healthy vitality in them, and from which no vigorous growth, luxuriant blossom, or rich fruitage can proceed. Let us analyze the method of Nature, and see wherein it consists. It consists in the constant repetition of certain sounds in direct connection with certain interesting

objects, and in the direct motion of the mind and the tongue on the materials thus supplied by the constant exercise of the ear and the eye. Observe here particularly, also, that the organs primarily employed by Nature in the acquisition of language are the ear and the tongue; and that the eye and the mind respond to or accompany the action of those organs, in connection with interesting objects full of life and colour, and not with uninteresting subjects it may be, or indifferent, certainly not always interesting subjects in grey books. Now contrast this with some salient points of our scholastic practice. Would it be believed?—we do not appeal to the ear in many cases at all; but we teach raw boys to commit to memory rules about how the ear ought to be used, and then allow them systematically to violate these rules whenever they open their mouths—the teachers themselves showing the example, by habitually disowning their own principles in the very act of their inculcation. Worse than this, a painful process is regularly gone through, according to old and orthodox practice, of writing verses, or concatenating strings of words that sound like verses, not by the witness of the ear—which is the special guide in all rhythmical composition—but in accordance with a rule inculcated with the harsh assiduity of continuous intellectual toil, but whose existence is altogether ignored except on the dead leaves of a sheet of paper. The perversity of this method is only equalled by the loss of time which its operation causes. To say *bōnus* and *bēne*, habitually, and then be compelled to write verses on the principle that we ought to say *bōnus* and *bēne*, while we still go on saying *bōnus* and *bēne*, is a method of proceeding to inculcate the elements of human utterance of which the most rude savage is too intelligent to comprehend the absurdity. And if Latin vocalization is treated in this unwholesome fashion by drill-masters of Latin verse, Greek accents have fared even worse. From an imaginary difficulty in pronouncing Greek words, with both accent and quantity observed, our classical teachers have taken the liberty of transferring the whole system of Latin accentuation, inherited through the Roman Church, to Greek words, which we know were and are accented on a totally different principle; and in this way, after ten years devoted to minute study of Greek books, an accomplished Oxonian or Cantabrigian Hellenist has rendered himself, or rather been systematically made, utterly incapable of speaking a single sentence of intelligible Greek to any Greek-speaking person whom in his Mediterranean travels, or nearer home in London or Liverpool, he may chance to encounter. And here again, to crown the absurdity with a proportionate loss of brain and time, the unfortunate young Hellenist is to torture his memory with abstract rules about a system of intonation doomed to remain for ever as dead in the real experience of the learner as a brown mummy in the British Museum! So much for the ear, to whose perverse witness of course the tongue must correspond in

such wise that in our scholastic practice it is seldom or never exercised except in connection with a dead book, apart altogether from the direct interest and the vivid impression of immediately surrounding objects. The direct action of the mind also on the object, through the direct instrumentality of the tongue, is altogether left out of view. Your classical scholar never thinks in the language which he pretends to understand; that which he ought to have commenced with as an inseparable element in the method of Nature, after ten years' study he will not even attempt. He can neither readily understand what is spoken to him in the language which he knows, nor can he utter his thoughts readily when he is called on to speak. He can neither think nor hear nor speak in the language which he professes to understand. All his linguistic knowledge lies stored up in the shape of grammatical rules apart, to be consulted slowly, when need may be, like a lawyer's books, not ready for action like the swift steel of an expert swordsman.

In opposition to this strange tissue of absurdities and perversities, in which our indoctrinators of the classical tongues have entangled themselves, we must recur at once to the natural method, commencing not with abstract rules and paradigms, but with living practice from which the rules are to be abstracted and the paradigms gradually built up. The essential elements of this reform are a speaking teacher, with a correct elocution, and a collection of interesting objects on which the thinking and speaking faculty of the learner shall be regularly and continuously exercised. And let no man say that this is learning language like a parrot and not like a man. A certain exercise of the parrot faculty there must necessarily be in all learners of languages according to all methods; but a parrot, at all events, being an unreasoning animal, is exempted from the absurdity of repeating sounds which are in direct contradiction to the rules about sounds which in theory it acknowledges. There is not the slightest necessity for the ignoring of the rule, because you commence with thinking and speaking the thing which the rule inculcates. And as for the paradigms, they will be learned limb by limb in the train of a vivid practice more easily and more expeditiously, and not less accurately, than separately or with an inferior amount of practice. When I commence my Latin lesson by saying to a boy, *Vides splendidum solem?* to which he replies, thinking and speaking from the first in Latin, *Video splendidum solem*, I teach him that *m* in Latin is the sign of the objective case, and that active verbs govern the objective, as scientifically and much more effectively than if I had made him first con up the system of complete rules and paradigms, and then, after six months, set him to spell out his rules and paradigms wholesale out of a dead book. A good system of teaching according to the method of Nature implies a graduated series of rules and paradigms, increasing regularly in difficulty and complexity, as practice becomes more expert. But in

all cases the practice should precede the rule. The use of language is an art in the first start, as in its highest culmination; a science like law and architecture, only in a secondary and subsidiary way, for the sake of giving a firmer grasp, and securing a more consistent application of the materials which a rich and various practice supplies.

Observe now how the method here indicated will work in practice. I demand for the fair operation of the natural method two hours a day of direct teaching at least, and as many additional hours, say two or three more, as the learner can spare; and with a pupil willing to learn—for this must be assumed as the typical case under all methods—I guarantee that he shall learn as much Greek in six months, as under the ordinary scholastic method he may often learn in six years. At all events I guarantee to turn the learner out with double the amount of available Greek in half the time. Well, the first of these two hours is to be spent in a deft linguistic fence in the conversational method, with direct reference to interesting surrounding objects, such as objects of natural history, art, and archæology, pictures, drawings, &c., and if the weather permit the hour might be spent in the fields, with a living description of trees, plants, birds, running rivers, wimpling brooks, farm-houses, old castles, and modern mansions, all *in situ* as the botanists say. After this exercise, say in the forenoon, an afternoon hour is to be devoted to reading and analysing such books as to the age and character of the generality of the pupils might be most acceptable; and along with this might be taken regularly a short sentence of Greek to be turned into English on the spot, written down and kept in a book for the sake of formal accuracy, and as an easy introduction to longer exercises in writing and composition. For accuracy of course is always to be aimed at in every department of good teaching; only it is contrary to nature to smother all fluency in a punctilious anxiety to be accurate; and, to use a homely illustration, we must have our nails first and then pare them.

Now note some consequences which will naturally flow from the carrying out of this method.

(1.) If the main thing to be attended to in the first place is the substitution of well-exercised living functions for the knowledge of dead rules and the conning of dead books, the learners must congregate under one teacher only in such numbers as admit of their being daily put through individual drill; and this cannot be, in my opinion, to any purpose if there are more than a score or five-and-twenty in a class. The success of the exercise depends altogether on the frequency with which certain sounds in interesting connection with certain objects are repeated, not merely in the presence of, but by the living organs of the learner; and therefore we may assuredly say that the crowding together of some hundred or two hundred young men of all degrees of age and preparation into one class-room for an hour or two a day, as a *palaestra* for learning the Greek language, is

one of the most prominent, if not the most radical of the reasons, why, as Sydney Smith said, Greek never yet marched in great force beyond the Tweed. This is a method of teaching Greek which can boast of only one virtue, viz., cheapness; a virtue for which the Scottish people for the last two centuries in all scholastic and academical matters have always shown a very nice taste and a very subtle appreciation.

(2.) Note especially how admirably the method of teaching Greek by conversational description of objects, while it immensely increases the vocabulary of the learner, and expedites the amount of necessary repetition, tends to break down that wall of partition which has been artificially piled up betwixt classical scholars and the devotees of the physical sciences. As a matter of fact, at least seven-tenths of the technical phraseology used in natural history, anatomy, and medicine are pure Greek; and how useful must it be for any student of the language of Aristotle, Theophrastus, Hippocrates, and Dioscorides, to whatever other object his philological studies may be tending, to be able in the course of his linguistic progress to get a firm hold of that universal language of science, without some inkling of which technical language will always be more or less misty, and the exercise of memory on the vocabulary of natural science more or less painful. I need scarcely add that Archæology also, the fair sister-science of Philology, will come in for her righteous share of attention in the schools, the moment that the descriptive method gives to objects their natural prominence in a scientific course of linguistic training.

(3.) I have made no distinction in these remarks between living and dead languages, a difference which some teachers imagine to be of vital importance in the method of teaching. But this is a mistake. The conversational method is the most natural, and therefore the best, in both cases; only some persons in learning modern languages colloquially have no further object in view than to bandy light prattle deftly at a railway station or a dinner table, as the need may be; whereas to the scholar who studies Greek in order to make himself familiar with Christian theology in its early stages, or with Hellenic philosophy in its best models, conversation in the Greek tongue is a means to an end; always, however, the best means, at once the most expeditious and the most effective, and infinitely more natural, rational, and easy, than forcing a series of painfully constrained syllables into the compass of six iambs, contrary to the witness in many cases of the composer's ear. What the conversational method achieves, with signal success beyond all other methods, is familiarity; and without this familiarity a certain strangeness and a feeling of exertion will always attach to the use of a foreign language, which will cause it to be learned with pain and forgotten with ease. Another difference between living and dead languages, so far as the teaching is concerned, lies in the fact that in the former the speaker is always found ready at our call, while in the latter he requires to be produced by training; that is, he

must teach himself, of course, before he attempts to teach others; but in this there can be no practical difficulty to the accomplished scholar, as walking upon the plain ground of common colloquy must always be a much easier achievement than dancing upon the tight-rope of artificial metres; and, as Greek, though a dead language in one sense, is a living language in another, any person or company of persons who wished to acquire fluency in modern Greek expression, merely for the purpose of holding converse with the living Greeks on commercial, political, and social matters generally, might hire the services of a living Greek for the purpose, and learn the language of Plato precisely as he learns that of Goethe or Molière. And there cannot be any doubt that it would be a wise thing in our merchants and our Government to have a regular training-school of modern Greek attached to the universities, the commercial guilds, or the Foreign Office; it is impossible to say how much commercial transactions and diplomatic difficulties might be smoothed, if John Bull would condescend to come down from his dignified throne of dumb classicality, and speak in a fraternal way to the numerous Greeks with whom he may come in contact in Alexandria, Cairo, Beyrout, Smyrna, Cyprus, and other corners of the Mediterranean, where the Union Jack flaunts with most recognized respect, and the national Shibboleth "All right" most frequently answers to his call.

(4.) With regard to Greek specially it should be noted further, that the colloquial style is, beyond all others, the national style: the style of Plato, of Lucian, and of Aristophanes. To commence with colloquy in this language is to render ear and tongue familiar from the very beginning with the style of the most perfect masters in the classical use of that most perfect of languages.

(5.) In applying the principles of educational method here laid down to our present school and university system, two important modifications would be required. In the first place, no young person during his school career should be expected in the regular routine of the school to learn more languages than one, besides his mother-tongue, and this one might either be Latin or Greek amongst the ancient, French or German amongst the modern; a restriction which seems necessary, on the one hand, to make room for other and equally important subjects at present too often neglected or unduly subordinated in our schools; and on the other, to give to the learner that sense of progress and power over a strange instrument which he never acquires while painfully footing his way through half-a-dozen unfamiliar paths, rough with stones below, and bristling with thorns on both sides. I have known schools of no mean repute, in which boys are taught a little Latin, a little Greek, a little French, and a little German, all at the same time (to make a respectable show perhaps to the public!) and which generally ends in a great deal of nothing. The ancient Romans contented themselves with two languages, Greek

and their mother-tongue, but they knew both thoroughly, and used them with efficiency; we modern Romans pretend to learn half-a-dozen, and know how to use none. In the second place, considering the double relationship of this country to a rich store of inherited ancient learning on the one hand, and a large environment of existing European and Asiatic influences on the other, it should be provided in our general university scheme, that no person shall receive a poll degree without showing a fair proficiency in two foreign languages, one ancient and one modern, with free option. Under such a scheme as this, and with a radically reformed system of linguistic indoctrination, I have not the slightest fear that Greek would continue to hold up its head above all other languages, ancient or modern, proudly, like Agamemnon among the chiefs. In fact it would be no appreciable loss to the highest culture of this country if two-thirds of those who now pass through a compulsory grammatical drill in two dead languages, entered the stage of actual life without the knowledge of a single Greek letter: while the remaining third, who did study Greek according to the natural method, would know it at once free from the narrow formalism that too often cleaves to the present system, and accompanied with a kindly intimacy, a human reality, and a vivid appreciation, to which the scholastically-trained Hellenist, according to our perverse practice, will naturally remain a stranger.

JOHN STUART BLACKIE.

[P.S.—It may be as well to observe, for the sake of objectors, that nothing contained in this paper is intended in the slightest degree to discourage any of those highest exercises in Latin and Greek composition, whether prose or verse, to which honours are justly given in our universities. On the contrary, these exercises will be facilitated in no small degree by the rich materials which a well-graduated practice of ear and tongue in connection with interesting objects will supply. The whole drift of these remarks is simply to say, that familiarity with any language as a living dexterity of ear and tongue, in the order of nature, always precedes the scientific anatomy of that language in grammar and comparative philology, and must always do so in any art of teaching which shall do the greatest amount of efficient work in the least possible time. It must also be borne in mind, what has been too generally forgotten, that all men who learn Greek and Latin are not destined to be philologers; and it is unwise to submit to a curiously minute philological training large classes of students who desire only the human culture, the æsthetical polish, and the healthy discipline which a familiar acquaintance with a foreign language is so well calculated to afford.

J. S. B.]

II.—ON THE WORTH OF A CLASSICAL EDUCATION.

WHAT is the worth of a classical education? Why should boys spend so many years on the study of the Greek and Latin languages? What results are obtained to compensate for so much time, labour, and expense consumed on such an occupation? Is it mere routine, or is it the recognition of solid and sufficient advantages

derived from it, which makes so many generations of Englishmen persist in bestowing this training on their sons?

These are questions of the highest moment, and they were very distinctly raised by the appointment of a Royal Commission to report on the education imparted by our public schools. Much has been said in the way of reply in the Report of the Commissioners and elsewhere, but the subject is far from being exhausted. It will easily bear a few more words; all the more so because a clear and succinct answer, such an answer as England in the nineteenth century is entitled to demand, has not, as far as I know, been given to this inquiry. The question is still heard on every side, "What is the use of making a boy waste so many years on Greek and Latin?" and it is anything but easy to refer a parent who puts it, if ignorantly, at any rate honestly, to such a statement as ought to satisfy him in the choice of his son's studies. It is no reply to say that there is no education so good as that of public schools, and that Greek and Latin are the chief staple of that education; for the question still recurs, "Why should the public schools insist on the study of the classics?" May not the sceptical parent complain with much force that if he cannot do better than send his boy to a public school, it is very hard that he should be compelled to purchase that advantage at the cost of a mischievous waste of time and energy? It is not enough to say, as is so commonly said, that the best and ablest men in England are trained at public schools, and thence to argue that the education must be excellent; there would be a sad illicit process in this reasoning. The course of education adopted at public schools must be defended on its own merits, if it is to be defended successfully; otherwise the great men that have issued from their walls might be turned into a justification of every conceivable abuse. On the very face of the inquiry, the classics, or Greek at least, are not needed for direct application to some positive want of society. No one is required to speak or to write in these languages; their virtues, whatever they may be, are expended on the general formation of the boy's mind and character, not on supplying him with knowledge demanded by any calling in life; and consequently the burden of proof lies plainly on the system which imposes on thousands of English boys—not selected boys, but the general mass of the sons of the upper classes—the study of dead languages, and with the certainty, moreover, as demonstrated by experience, that a very few only of these students will ever acquire any but the most meagre acquaintance with these tongues.

Is such a case capable of being defended? I think that it is. I hold that the nation judges rightly in adhering to classical education: I am convinced that for general excellence no other training can compete with the classical. In sustaining this thesis, I do not propose to compare here what is called useful education with classical, much

less to endeavour to prescribe the portion of each which ought to be combined in a perfect system. Want of space forbids me to examine here a problem involving so much detail. Let it be taken for granted that every boy must be taught to acquire a certain definite amount of knowledge positively required for carrying on the business of life in its several callings; and, if so it be, let it be assumed that there is a deficiency of this kind of instruction at the public schools. Let that defect be repaired by all means: let Eton and Winchester be forced, by whatever means, to put into every one of their scholars the requisite quantity of arithmetic, modern languages, geography, and physical science. The adjustment of this quantity does not concern us now; let us recognize its necessity and importance. Let all interference of Greek and Latin with this indispensable qualification for after-life be forbidden; but let us at the same time maintain that both things may go on successfully together. The problem before us here is of a different kind. The education of the boys of the upper classes is necessarily composed of two parts,—general training, and special, or, as it is called, useful, training,—the general development of the boy's faculties, of the whole of his nature, and the knowledge which is needed to enable him to perform certain specific functions in life. Of those two departments of education, the general far transcends in importance the special: and finally I maintain that for the carrying out of this education, the Greek and Latin languages are the most efficient instruments which can be applied.

Their chief merits are four in number.

I. In the first place, they are languages: they are not particular sciences, nor definite branches of knowledge, but literatures. In this respect high claims of superiority have been advanced for them on the ground that they cultivate the taste, and give great powers of expression, and teach a refined use of words, and thus impart that refinement and culture which characterize an educated gentleman. But I cannot help feeling that too much stress has been laid on this particular result of classical training. In the first place it is realized only by a very few, either at school or college: the vast bulk of English boys do not acquire these high accomplishments, at least before their entrance on the real business of life. On the other hand, the great development which civilization, and with it general intelligence, have made in these modern days, produces in increasing numbers vigorous men who have acquired these powers in great eminence without the help of Greek or Latin. The Senate, the bar, and many other professions, exhibit men whose gifts of expression, vigour of language, neatness as well as force in the use of words, and discrimination of all the finer shades of meaning, are fully on a par with those of men who have been prepared by classical and academical training. A Bright and a Cobden are good set-offs against a Marquis of Wellesley or even a Lord Derby, and with this advantage, more-

over, that the growth of modern England is sure to furnish an ever-expanding supply of men of the former class. There has been a vast amount of excellent writing in France put forth by men who knew nothing of Greek, and often very little Latin: and there has been equally an incredible quantity of bad writing in Germany, which has flowed, or rather been jerked out of the pens of men whose heads were stuffed with boundless stores of classical learning. The educational value of Greek and Latin is something immeasurably broader than this single accomplishment of refined taste and cultivated expression. The problem to be solved is to open out the undeveloped nature of a human being; to bring out his faculties, and impart skill in their use; to set the seeds of many powers growing; to teach as large and as varied a knowledge of human nature, both the boy's own and the world's about him, as possible; to give him, according to his circumstances, the largest practicable acquaintance with life, what it is composed of, morally, intellectually, and materially, and how to deal with it. For the performance of this great work, what can compare with a language, or rather with a literature? not with a language carried to soaring heights of philology, for then it becomes a pure science, as much as chemistry or astronomy, but with a language containing books of every degree of variety and difficulty. Think of the many elements of thought a boy comes in contact with when he reads *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* in succession, *Herodotus* and *Homer*, *Thucydides* and *Aristotle*: how many ideas he has perforce acquired; how many regions of human life—how many portions of his own mind—he has gained insight into; with how extended a familiarity with many things he starts with, when the duties of a profession call on him to concentrate these insights, these exercised and disciplined faculties, on a single sphere of action. See what is implied in having read *Homer* intelligently through, or *Thucydides*, or *Demosthenes*; what light will have been shed on the essence and laws of human existence, on political society, on the relations of man to man, on human nature itself. What perception of all kinds of truths and facts will dawn on the mind of the boy; what sympathies will be excited in him; what moral tastes and judgments established; what a sense of what he, as a human being, is, and can do: what an understanding of human life. Every glowing word will call up a corresponding emotion; every deed recorded, every motive unfolded, every policy explained, will be pregnant with instruction; and that instruction must be valued, not only by its use when applied to practice, or by the maxims or rules which it lays down for human action, but infinitely more by the general acquaintance with human nature which it has generated, by the readiness for action which it has produced in a world now become familiar, by the consciousness it has brought out of the possession of faculties, and the tact and skill it has created for their use. Knowledge is not ability, cram is not power, least of all in education. A

man may be able to count accurately every yard of distance to the stars, and yet be most imperfectly educated ; he may be able to reckon up all the kings that ever reigned, and yet be none the wiser or the more efficient for his learning. But the unfledged boy, who starts with a mind empty, blank, and unperceiving, is transformed by passing through Greek and Latin : a thousand ideas, a thousand perceptions are awakened in him, that is, a thousand fitnesses for life, for its labours and its duties.

But is he able to reason ? asks the mathematician. Can he correctly deduce conclusions from premises ? Can he follow out step by step a chain of sequences ? Can he push his principles to just results ? He can, and necessarily must, if he has honestly worked through his books, if he has been properly handled by a competent teacher, if his progress, step by step, has been challenged and justified. Let it be gladly acknowledged that every large exercise of thought has its true and intrinsic advantages : and the patient investigator of natural or mathematical science unquestionably uses and cultivates powers which are amongst the most valuable accorded to humanity. But, on the other hand, no one familiar with education can have failed to perceive what immense stores of arithmetic and algebra and the calculi may be piled up without calling forth scarcely a single conscious effort of ratiocination ; how completely the advance has been obtained by quickness of intelligence, sharpness of observation, and dexterity in the use of expedients. Excellent and valuable qualities, be it cheerfully granted ; but still not qualities implying powers of sustained reasoning. George Stephenson, in working his way to the safety-lamp, and many a gardener and sailor, have over and over again displayed capacities for reasoning which all but the highest mathematicians might envy. The opportunities, the demands for reasoning, in a real and sound study of the classics are absolutely endless, and in no field has a teacher such a range for forcing his disciples to think closely and accurately. No doubt a huge amount of continuous thought is needed by the mathematical or astronomical discoverer ; but this is a professional quality, and it is very questionable whether it exceeds in severity the demands made on the advocate or the moral philosopher. The question here raised is that of educational value ; and I confidently assert that for the purposes of making a youthful student think long and accurately, and of forcing upon him the perceptions of the efficiency and the results of right reasoning, no better tool can be applied than a speech in Thucydides, a discussion in Aristotle, or a chapter in the Epistles of St. Paul.

But is it so in practice ? it will be asked. Do boys realize all these fine things ? How many, as they emerge from Eton or from Oxford, would venture to be judged by such a test ? Is it not notorious rather that the great portion of either public school boys or undergraduates know little of the classics they have spent years upon, and can hardly

be said to possess any real knowledge of any kind? Can this be called education? Many answers can be given to this reproach. First of all, it is quite as easy to teach the classics badly as anything else, and there is an immense quantity of bad teaching of the classics in England. A glaring proof of this fact is found in the great difference which separates school from school, and the proportionate difference in the quality of the products. Then, though it is true that few of the many submitted to classical training become scholars, in the full sense of the word, it does not at all follow that they have gained nothing from their study of Greek and Latin; just the contrary is the truth. The test of educational success is not solely or even chiefly the amount of positively accurate and complete knowledge which has been acquired; but the extent to which the faculties of the boy have been developed, the quantity of impalpable but not the less real attainments he has achieved, and his general readiness for life, and for his action in it as a man. Most unquestionably English education might be and ought to be a great deal better than it is; but would the result have been more satisfactory if the boys of England had never touched Greek or Latin, and had been brought up either in the study of modern languages or of chemistry, astronomy, or mathematics? This is the true issue, the true question to be debated. Each of these two methods would probably have yielded a larger product of positive knowledge, or, at least, of what is called useful information, though even that is not absolutely certain. If the boys were entirely to fling aside their Greek and Latin books, and to be surrounded by French, German, and mathematical masters, most of them would become tolerably familiar with these modern tongues, and a certain amount of mathematical and natural science would be found in them also. But would the gain thus made have compensated for the loss incurred? It must not be said that the knowledge would have been of the useful kind, because at the outset I started with the admission that for the purposes of a satisfactory education a fitting portion of direct and useful knowledge ought to be combined with the study of Greek and Latin. It is on the excess beyond this, on the general training and broad development of the human being, that the dispute turns; and on this view of the matter I am profoundly convinced that England and Englishmen would be enormous losers. On modern languages, as compared with Greek and Latin, more will be said presently; and it is hoped that it will be shown that of the benefits to be derived from the study of language a far higher proportion can be realized from the classical than from modern languages. With respect to science it seems to be obvious at once that it would leave portions—and those the largest and most important portions—of the youth's nature absolutely undeveloped. I do not believe that there would be any gain in the expansion of intellect; whilst the boy would be turned out empty of countless perceptions,

destitute of a multitude of insights into things moral, social, and political, which constitute the most important parts of human life and of his own being. He would be, what was once not uncommon, but is now happily rare, a senior wrangler in the calculus, and an infant among men.

II. But let us now proceed with the second merit of the classical languages as an instrument of education: the greatness of the works they contain, and of the writers who made them. This is a consideration of superlative importance. I hold that the first cardinal principle of education is to bring the nature to be opened out and trained into contact with the highest possible standard of greatness. The rule of educating by means of safe mediocrity is to me purely detestable. No writer is too lofty, provided only that he is capable of being understood, to be placed in the hands of the young: no man too high to be fit for a schoolmaster. This was a truth recognized in the great universities of the middle ages, and it has received in our own days worthy homage from a Niebuhr and an Arnold. The greater the excellence—the loftier, more varied, and richer the influences brought to bear on the young—the riper and the more valuable the fruits. A great writer wields in education a force a thousand times more powerful than an inferior one: the difference is in kind, not in degree. A mind of the first order awakens in those who come under its sway far many more ideas than one of lower degree, expresses them with greater truth, flashes them into lower depths of the spirit of the recipient, kindles a more fervid enthusiasm, calls forth a more ardent imitation, and reveals things known only to its own genius. The society of the best and greatest men is the most powerful educator down to the end of life: it never ceases to train and to influence: and if it moulds elderly men, how much more youths when the mind is more susceptible of impressions and the character more ready for imitation? Every parent wishes the best companions for his son, and on that principle the greatness of the classical writers acquires unspeakable importance. In no language can an equal number of writers of the very first eminence be brought to bear on the formation of a youthful mind as in Greek. In poetry, history, philosophy, politics, page upon page of the most concentrated force, of the tersest expression, of the richest eloquence, of the nicest and most subtle discrimination, of the widest range and variety, strike successive blows on the imagination and the thinking faculty of the impressible student: they disclose to him what human nature is capable of, what is waiting to be called forth in the boy's own spirit, the heights which others have reached, the thoughts and feelings he may himself create—in a word, all the wondrous powers of the human intellect, all the noble emotions of the human soul. What more direct and more efficient remedy against one of the most common and most damaging weaknesses—onesidedness? Where can a boy be initiated into so many things, catch so many vistas,

acquire, if not a profound, yet a most valuable and most fruitful familiarity with so many provinces of manly thought as in the study of Homer, Æschylus, and Sophocles, Aristotle and Plato, Herodotus and Thucydides, Aristophanes and Demosthenes? These men have been the founders of civilization; they have hewn out the roads by which nations and individuals have travelled and travel still: the Greek type is the form of the thought of modern Europe: their writings on most vital points are fresh and living for us now. And no more decisive proof can be given of their genius, or, in other words, of their greatness. Homer and Thucydides are wonderful reading for us now; and upon that single truth the issue of this transcendent question might be staked.

Nor must we leave altogether unnoticed the beauty of form which distinguishes these undying writings. They were composed in days when there was no press; when manuscripts were costly, rare, and difficult of multiplication; when writers were far more listened to than read; and when consequently grace of language and attractiveness of the form itself were matters of extreme importance. The very structure of the language, which admitted of such a large transposition of the words of a sentence, prompted care and skill in the elaboration of the style. It would be untrue to assert that modern languages do not also exhibit exquisite graces of form; but they are rare compared with the mass of writing, and they are not appreciated by the many readers. Many is the book—nay, of such is the majority—which is greedily read in spite of the absence of the charm of composition; but, in ancient times, an ill-written book would have found it difficult to catch readers. But even supposing it not to have been so in fact,—as Horace would seem to hint,—still it remains true that it would be probably impossible to bring together in any modern language an equal number of books which combine beauty of art and composition with excellence of matter in the same degree as those which I have just named; and the existence of such educational instruments is a heavy weight in the scale in favour of classical education.

III. This consideration brings us to the third head of merit which may be claimed for classical education, and merit of the very first order it is. Greek and Latin are dead languages: they are not spoken tongues. The literatures they contain belong to the past; the nations to which they belong, the societies of which they speak, the social and political feelings they paint, have passed away; and these are very great matters indeed for the purposes of education. Living languages are learnt by the ear; they are imbibed without thought or effort; they need awaken little reflection or judgment; their possession does not necessarily imply any great development of mind or soul. Many a stupid, dull little boy can speak two or three languages if he has had as many nurses; and his intellectual faculties may have been but slightly

called into exercise by the process of acquisition. A proposition in Euclid can do more good, educationally, than many days spent in catching a foreign tongue orally. There is a want of difficulty, an absence of effort, a lack of compulsion on the mind to bring its resources into action, which renders living languages a tool of small value and efficiency in opening out the understanding. They fail to do the work required. They may enable a lad to live comfortably in France or Germany; they may powerfully aid him to get his bread in employments for which the power of speaking a foreign language may be a strong recommendation; they may give him what is termed useful knowledge. Lord Clarendon attached much importance to young men destined for diplomacy being taught to speak French easily and gracefully; but this is a professional accomplishment—the useful; it is not that general education which we are here discussing. As was said before, there ought to be an adequate amount in all training of these useful qualifications; but what is now contended for is that there ought to be, that there must be, the general culture also; and that this general culture, this broad development of a boy's whole nature, is incomparably better effected by the dead languages, by Greek and Latin, than by anything else.

The difficulty involved in learning a dead language is an excellent feature in this discipline. Such languages must be learnt by rule. They call on the mind to perceive the relations of grammar at the very outset. A Greek or Latin sentence is a nut with a strong shell concealing the kernel—a puzzle, demanding reflection, adaptation of means to end, and labour for its solution, and the educational value resides in the shell and in the puzzle. Such a sentence compels a boy to think, whether he is toiling at the first page of the *Delectus*, or on the airy heights of Plato, and that is the solution—the Q.E.D. of the problem. His faculties are always strongly exercised. The necessity to have many tools in his workshop, and to employ many trials and much skill in their application, grows with every step of advance gained. And what are these tools? what these resources of thought? what these applications of mental power and acquired knowledge which are ever set in motion in the study of a classical author? They range over every part of the student's intellectual being; each accumulated force, or fact, as it is acquired, becomes in time an instrument—a necessary and indispensable instrument—for achieving new conquests, for mastering greater authors and harder writings. The mind under training, whether it animates the little urchin in the second form, or holds the ambition which gazes on university honours, ay, or is even the depository of the lore of a Greek professor, is compelled at all moments to perform acts of perception and judgment, to observe distinctions, to discriminate and to select. It appeals to the *Lexicon*, but only to find an array of meanings, shades of signification, and to encounter the perplexities of a choice, which cannot be made without mental effort

—that is, without mental progress. In a modern language, the familiar sound of the accompanying words, the accustomed flow of the usual thought, the similarity of the expression to the forms of one's own native tongue, render the task of comprehension easy. But in a dead language, where all is strange, where association does not instantly and unconsciously bring up the sense of each single word, where the mode of thinking is unfamiliar, where the links that bind many words into one sentence have to be sought in unusual terminations and distances of several lines, and then only by carrying in the intellect the laws of grammar and of logic, to study and to master the thought and the expressions of a great writer is a truly educational process, leaving the mind, on its final success, stronger, more able to use itself, richer in new insights, new perceptions, fitter for yet more powerful exercise. Nor does the difficulty dwell in the strangeness of the words alone. Many things must be had recourse to, many resources of knowledge called into help, before the understanding can grasp the sense, not only of a Thucydides or a Tacitus, but also of a Cæsar or a Xenophon. The general character of the subject written about, the scope of a large paragraph, acquaintance with history, with geography, with endless details of many arts and sciences, the laws of politics, the principles of moral life, all must be brought to converge on the opposing obstacle before its resistance can be overcome.

And here it is also where the greatness of the classical writers produces its richest fruits. The mind of the student is compelled to dwell on every utterance, to examine minutely every expression, to master its intrinsic meaning, and then its relation to its companions in the sentence, to reflect whether the suggested translation will meet the requirements of the reasoning, of the general purport of the context, of the broad aim and complex thought of the writer. Compare the putting an English boy through Burke and through Thucydides: and see the difference. How much of Burke will inevitably be missed, how much fail to be noticed and to produce effect, simply through the facility of apprehension. The lad will run through Burke swiftly, and gather little: but his course through Thucydides will be long, laborious, full of pains and difficulties, but also, proportionately, full of profound impressions made on the mind, full of reward and acquired power. The world exclaims, Why waste so much time on a single book? The gain, be it answered, may be measured by the time expended. There is hardly a point which more urgently requires to be impressed on those who inquire into classical education, than the immense productiveness of the length of time during which the student is compelled to linger on the words of a great classic. Even were all other points equal, this consideration alone confers a most real superiority on the classics in the province of education.

It is idle, therefore, to assert that the study of the classics is a waste and a failure solely because most youths, nay, all youths, are unable

at last to do more than understand a few selected Greek and Latin authors—because not one possesses anything approaching that familiarity with those languages which would enable him to read at once any book written in them, as a man who has learnt the French or German tongue—or because the majority of boys learn so miserably little Greek and Latin, that for very shame it is impossible to call them scholars. The true test of the education, the result by which it must stand or fall, is the general condition of mind which these boys have obtained when their schooling is over. If positive knowledge were made the standard—if the question to be asked is, “What can a boy do at the end of the process?” then no one could be called educated by the side of the artisans and manufacturers, the navigators and the carpenters of England. These men possess direct and practical knowledge: they can build and sail ships, make watches and steam-engines: but would they on that account be termed educated? How many of the upper classes in any nation can perform specific functions of this kind? Skill and cultivated talent is not education, but something to be added to education, a superstructure to be raised on the foundation and by the help of the general education.

But on the other hand it is a most lamentable fact, which must be honestly acknowledged, that the schools and colleges of England fall painfully short of what the nation has a right to expect of them in the matter of classics. Classical education is the best education: but it may be inadequately given, be taught by incompetent teachers, by means of slovenly and inefficient processes, and with results, in the majority of cases, discredibly small. To praise classical education must not be understood as praising English schools, or their general standard of attainment, or the state in which “pass-men” are turned out at the universities. It may be perfectly true that our classical schools are after all the best schools, and yet it may be equally true that they can and ought to do a vast deal more than they accomplish. On this point I shall say more on the fourth and next head.

But we must not omit to notice one advantage more, derived from the deadness of the classical languages, which possesses the highest educational value. Not only are the languages dead, but also the societies to which they belong. The modern has inherited many individual elements of the ancient world: but the Greek and Latin nations, as such, have passed away. This fact enables both pupil and teacher in the educational process to study classical writings without wakening up the interest, the prejudices, or the passions of modern life: and it affords an incomparable facility for examining and apprehending first principles. Even the fairest and most impartial teacher would find it a hard matter to go through Burke in a schoolroom without some Liberal or Conservative bias, some association with modern politics, some hankering to inculcate principles which he thinks salutary for the future conduct and happiness of his disciple.

The latter will be also in a still more unfavourable position : most boys have enlisted themselves on one political side or other ; and their feelings would be too keen and too passionate to admit of a calm and neutral study of the primary truths of political or social life. How different is it when it is Thucydides or Tacitus that is dwelt upon ; how ready is the mind then to follow the great historian in his profound description of human action and human motives, as displayed on an arena entirely severed from modern life. He is thus open to perceive and ready to appreciate the fundamental principles of social organization. His mind is sufficiently free not only to learn the primary truths of civilized life, but also to imbibe the spirit of a statesman or a philosopher, to weigh conflicting considerations, to study tendencies and results, to test causes by their results, or to trace bad effects to their causes. Studies, thus calm and philosophical, ranging over such wide areas, and diving into such depths, are scarcely possible for the young with any writings linked with their own times ; and I attribute to this eminent advantage much of the superiority of view, perception of first principles, and general absence of bigotry and narrow-mindedness, which so commonly distinguish classically-educated men.

IV. The last merit to be claimed on behalf of classical education is the field which it opens to the action of the teacher, the close contact which it establishes between the mind of the boy and the mind of his master, the power with which it enables the whole nature of the teacher, his character and intellect, to influence and mould the nature of the pupil. This is the greatest work in education—the development of one human being by another. Books written by great men are great things : but the living man himself is still greater. It is to the imperfect apprehension of this truth that the defective results of English schools are mainly to be attributed. The public feeling of this country does not recognize the extreme value of the specific gift of teaching, even though it was so conspicuously illustrated by the life of Dr. Arnold. Both the public and schools are content if masters are men of high classical attainment, if they have obtained distinguished honours at the universities, if they can construe any bit of Greek or Latin, if they turn out a good supply of special boys, who carry off in abundance open scholarships and prizes. These are esteemed good schoolmasters, and their schools are lifted up on the wave of public admiration. And yet for all that, they may be in fact radically bad schoolmasters, and the successes achieved by their eminent pupils may furnish but a most scanty justification of the general results of their schools. They may be totally wanting in the true gift of teaching : and a classical education is but a lame affair for the mass of boys without a real teacher.

And in what does the gift of teaching consist ? Assuredly not in the possession of a large body of solid learning ; that is the smallest

and least important qualification for educating youth. It consists infinitely more in the power of sympathy, the ability to place one's self in the exact position of the learner, to see things as he sees them, to feel the difficulties exactly as he feels them, to understand the precise point at which the obstacle bars the way, to be able to present the solution precisely in the form which will open the understanding of the pupil, and enable him, in gathering the new piece of knowledge, to comprehend its nature and its value. Such a teacher will take the mind of the boy as his starting point—and will just keep ahead of his intellectual state, so as to furnish him with such matter only as he will be able to assimilate; his questions will just range above his level, but yet not out of his reach; above all he will feel the true essence, the one function of his task, to be to make the boy's mind act for itself, and the teacher's office to consist merely in assisting the pupil to think and to understand. This is a work of sympathy, of love, of a genuine delight in the pleasure of teaching, a delight which finds its gratification in perceiving that the pupil has taken in and truly apprehended the knowledge that was set before him. Then as the mind of the learner grows in strength, other powers of the true teacher will come into play. He will seek to impart something higher than accurate information rightly apprehended. He will awaken the perception of broader relations; he will suggest principles and generalizations; he will so handle his own stores as to let the pupil catch first glimpses, then successively clear outlines of the ultimate form in which his own knowledge has finally settled down: whilst the charmed disciple is brought to rejoice in his own strength, to feel that he, too, has the power of grasping high and broad truths, to look with awe at first at the heights which the teacher has succeeded in reaching, and at last to become conscious that he, too, may crown them also, and even rise above them. All this and much more lies in a classical education, in the wide ranges of Greek and Latin writers, in their poetry, their history, their moral and political philosophy. It lies scattered in rich profusion in the verses of a Homer and an Æschylus, the speeches of a Pericles, the political and moral studies of an Aristotle, the orations of a Cicero and a Demosthenes, and, be it added, in the sacred words of the Greek Scriptures. As I have already pointed out, the deadness of these ancient tongues confers a vast additional force on the process. The student is compelled to travel slowly; he is driven to probe the inner mind, the real thought, of his author; he is forced to seek a rendering which will fit in with the context, and with the general course of the argument, and he must thus of necessity master the bearing and significance of the feeling or the argument. What can be conceived more truly calculated to bring out every element of his own nature? How is it possible to devise a more efficient machinery for enabling the mind of a teacher in all its fulness to act on the expanding faculties of a disciple? And thus at

last we reach the culminating point of a classical education, that there is no man so great, if only he is endowed with the true faculty of teaching, who may not find it a field worthy of his noblest powers. Successful generals and prominent statesmen easily command the admiration of mankind. They dazzle by the apparent size and magnitude of the effects they produce. To have defeated a large army, to have guided the destinies of an imperial State, affect directly the lives and positions of millions: the men that wield such powers must be the loftiest of mankind. Yet is it so in truth? If we think only on what man is, if we reflect that the form and colour of both individual and social life must absolutely depend on the minds and characters of the men who compose it, is it true that statesmen and generals determine the course and happiness of humanity in a higher degree than those who form and construct, as it were, humanity itself? No one doubts that the public schools and the universities of England produce wide and lasting effects on her national character. That great writers move the thoughts and opinions of many generations is a simple truism. No one contests that noble and powerful natures amongst the living mightily affect all who come within the reach of their influence. Is it too much to say that a great teacher, or rather a mass of great teachers, may still more profoundly direct and shape minds at ages when docility and impressionableness are the seed-bed supplied by nature? Have an Abelard and an Arnold told little upon mankind?

These remarks are made under the feeling that Englishmen are not sufficiently alive to the immense and the decisive importance of the special qualities of a true teacher. It would be enormously better for a boy to be trained by a real teacher with small learning than by a man of great attainments and no power to influence others. No doubt, in the case of the young as well as of the old, a human being can do the most for himself; but the presence of a spirit capable of stimulating and guiding makes an incredible difference in the work which a boy or a man will do for himself. It is much to be regretted that the Commission on the Public Schools did not take up this great matter and enlighten the country on the cardinal importance of demanding good teachers. A hundred faults might be forgiven to Eton or any other public school,—to Oxford or to Cambridge,—if only the fundamental truth were recognized that the primary element of education is the teacher, and if as a consequence of that recognition a great teacher were demanded and appreciated by the public with the same earnestness and discernment as a great barrister or a great physician.

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CONTEMPORARY LITERARY CHRONICLES.

I.—CLASSICAL LITERATURE.

(Under the Direction of the Rev. Prebendary J. DAVIES, M.A.)

IF the days are past when successful editing of a Greek play was a passport to a bishopric, it cannot be denied that for infinitely slighter remuneration the younger students of the present generation find the masterpieces of Attic drama fully equipped to their hand. And whereas of old it was the life achievement of a Porson, Dawes, or Elmsley to enunciate canons of syntax or principles of prosody, which if cogently established excused a large amount of silence as to collateral information, wherewith, had annotators seen fit, they might vastly have smoothed and expedited the young student's course, and have rendered a chorus of Æschylus or an ode of Pindar so much the less like Hebrew or Chinese,—it must be admitted that, as the century wanes, there is a perceptible increase of helpful and available scholarship on the part of our living professors, unsparing of itself, averse to hoarding its research uncommunicated, in short, only anxious to find the fittest channel for conveyance of its light and knowledge, before essaying to confer the boon. Perhaps some part of this phenomenon is due to the fact—which *prima facie* might seem scarcely in the interest of profound scholarship—that not a few of our professors have been schoolmasters: a reason, it may be, for their disquisitions not assuming the ultra-abstruse form and scope which experience tells them will conciliate only—neglect; and a reason certainly for a manifest improvement of modern editions of Latin and Greek classics as regards the all-round equipment of text, notes, critical and collateral matter. While before the days of Conington the scholar *par excellence* would have looked on his *métier* as other and higher than that of the poetical translator, who consequently too often launched his literary bantling into an atmosphere of cold neglect, it is a hopeful feature of these days that professors, without claiming to be poets, recognize the use and helpfulness of a somewhat close poetic translation, and are wont to append such to their critical edition of a given portion of a classic author. Dr. Kennedy, the Cambridge Greek Professor, the trainer of more famous scholars at Shrewsbury than any scholar living, has already added a novelty of interest to the study of Virgil by publishing a tolerably handy edition with this novel supplement; and very recently, in the close of 1878, he has contributed to the literary fruit of the season by publishing his February and March lectures at Cambridge on *The Agamemnon of Æschylus* (Cambridge University Press), with a rhythmical version, of which the dialogue is in Alexandrines, and the choral lyrics, though not imitative of Greek rhythm, correspond in the lines of the antistrophe with those of the preceding strophe. Great pains and study have been bestowed in approximating a sound text, and there is constant proof that the Professor has not held his amending hand until the very colophon of his addenda.

In preparation of his lectures Dr. Kennedy has availed himself chiefly of the editions of Paley and Hermann; but it would be hard to name any recent or elder, English or foreign, commentator who has not been directly or indirectly consulted and weighed in the balance, in cases of doubtful text or interpretation, such as beset the *Agamemnon*. In the amplitude of his acknowledgments he does not forget a tribute to work, in different ways highly subsidiary to Æschylean study, namely, Miss Anna Swanwick's learned and able translation (reviewed some years back in the *CONTEMPORARY*), and the late Mr. Linwood's "*Lexicon to Æschylus*,"

a work in its kind eminently ancillary to a clear insight into one of the grandest poets of the world.

Notwithstanding the advantages of Professor Jebb's Primer of Greek Literature, and such analyses of dramatic plots as the *Æschylus* of the Ancient Classics series for English readers supply, such an introduction as Dr. Kennedy has prefixed to his *Agamemnon* is yet welcome in its comprehensive grasp, and its eye to diverse notable points, such as the interconnection in the *Oresteian Trilogy* of the crime (in the first play, *Agamemnon*), with the vengeance (the *Choephora*) and the *Eumenides* (the third play) or the *Avenger's Trial*: welcome, too, for its clear recognition of the *Æschylean fatalism*, modified or varied in form in this or that play. It is no small gain to have a clear conception, such as that here given, of the most frequent sense of the pregnant word *ἄτη* in the dramas of *Æschylus*, the woe and curse consequent on and propagating crime, or, in some cases, the deified avenger of crime. And a pleasant episode, as it were, of the introduction, consisting in a sketch of the points of comparison and contrast betwixt the Greek dramatist's *Agamemnon* and our own Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, is well worth the notice of the young student, as suggestive of stock for future taste-papers, as also is Dr. Kennedy's apology for the inexact topography of the naturally vaguely depicted scene of action. It is, however, when the reader is launched upon the drama that the helpfulness of so familiar a guide as Professor Kennedy is realized. Not a difficulty is slurred; not an obscurity condoned: in divers expressions, vaguely intelligible hitherto, some new point is introduced, to impart fresh pungency to the poet's expression, and bring conviction that the text is true, or at least *verisemblable*. So in the first chorus such a sentence as—

οὐθ' ὑποκαίων, οὐθ' ὑπολείβων
οὔτε δακρύων ἀνύρων ἱερῶν
ὄργας ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει (69—71)

exchanges darkness and doubt for light and smooth sailing if, in place of so many unplausible interpretations of *ἀνύρων ἱερῶν*, according as the Fates or Iphigenia's sacrifice or what not seemed indicated, the sense runs according to Kennedy's English—

"He shall not soothe aside by burnt oblation,
Or wine-libation, or tear-shedding lamentation,
Of fireless rites the strong-set indignation;"

where *fireless rites* is referred to the hasty, illegal, unsanctioned by customary burnt-offering, union of Paris and Helen, and the *wrath of the rites* stands for the wrath of the gods to whom they are due. The subject of the sentence cannot be other than Paris. Further on, at verses 92—96,—

ἄλλη δ' ἔλλοθεν οὐρανομήκης
λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει
φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἄγνου
μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις
πελάνω μυχόθεν βασιλείῳ—

a passage which represents a part of the phenomenon of blazing altars and burning torches in rejoicing over taking Troy—there has hitherto lacked a convincing force for the epithet *ἀδόλοισι*, which some explain "genuine," others "free from oratorical guile." Dr. Kennedy acutely discovers an allusion in the epithet to the *φάρμακα δόλια* of sorceresses, (as in Theocr. Idyll ii., Verg. Ecl. viii.) and translates—

"The torch on this side and on that uplifteth
Its skyward-reaching stature,
Drugged with the soft and guileless suasions
Of holy ointment,
The clot from out the royal storeroom."—P 62.

He conceives of some soft essence, the clot of oil (like butter in a tub, or lard in a pan), from which out of the royal *μυχός* or pantry the torches are fed.

In the Ode or third part of the "*parodos*" with which the chorus enters at verse 166, Dr. Kennedy has adduced cogent reasons for a change in the text, which will be found most convincing, though he has forborne to print his emendation, and only obelized the current text. It runs—

δαιμόνων δὲ πού χάρις † βία
σέλιμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.

And his sound instinct teaches him to mistrust *βία* or *βιάως* as aught but a gloss,

because, first, a finite verb is wanted; secondly, the long final of *Βαίως* mars the correspondence of the antistrophe in its unamended form; and, thirdly and chiefly, because the thought of force clashes with the graciousness of *χάρις* and the mild beauty of *σέλιμα σεμνον ἡμένων*. Dr. Kennedy believes *τὰς ἐσσι* to be the true substitute for *Βαίως*, and taking the sense in connection with the preceding context would read—

“Yet e'en in slumber o'er the heart,
Sad memory of evil trickles,
And to the unwilling comes discretion:
As a favour of the gods, I ween,
Is *this* who on the sacred bench are settled.”—P. 67.

It is at the end of the second choral ode and its epode, where the spokesman implies doubt as to the certainty of the news that Troy is taken, that they broach the sentiment that a woman is prone to accept too readily all good tidings:—

γυναικὸς αἶχμᾶ πρέπει
πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.
πιθανὸς ἔγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος ἐπινεμέται
ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον
γυναικοθήρυτον δαλνται κλέος.—443—447.

And here, while Dr. Kennedy acquiesces almost entirely with Mr. Paley's interpretation, it is noticeable how clearly he brings out the force of the idea of trespass, implied, as Dr. Donaldson showed in *ἐπινεμέται*, and therefore aptly applied to *ἔσσι* “a boundary,” or, as here used, character:—

“It suits a woman's eager mind
Instead of visible assurance
To welcome a delight.
The female nature over-credulous,
Is open to encroachment
Swift-coming: but swift-fated too,
A woman-bruited glory perisheth.”—P. 84.

Examples might be multiplied to show what comparatively safe travelling it is to thread the mazes of the intricate “Agamemnon” with Professor Kennedy's vigilant guidance. But the space would fail, and it must suffice to notice one or two more touches only, where his practice will be seen to bear on moot problems of scholars. Thus it has ever been debated whether it was possible or profitable to attempt reproduction of the play on words so dear to Attic dramatists, and so attractive, in spite of the tendency of critics to ban the attempt at imitation, to many translators. A memorable instance occurs in the opening of the third chorus or second stasimon, where her name (suggesting *ελεῖν* to capture) is made the keynote of a splendid flight of poesy. (See Chor. 639—651, pp. 94, 95, E. T.)

“Who was it that with truth so perfect—
Was it not one we do not see,
With thoughts forecasting destiny,
The tongue directing happily?—
Gave name to her, the war-bride, the debated,
The *captivating* Helen?
Since verily ship-captivating,
Men-captivating, city-captivating,
From forth her richly-sumptuous curtains
She with a breath of land-born zephyr sailed,
And many shield-accounted huntsmen
Were on the track of those
Who brought to land the disappearing oar
Upon the coast of Simois leaf-bestrewn,
For her, the cause of bloody strife.”

The passage claims citation in support of Dr. Kennedy's view that the punning artifice is admissible and possible. The italics, in which (verse 6) “the *captivating*” are clothed, are his method of supporting Miss Swanwick's artifice where she translates

“Helen the captor who elate
Should ships, and men, and cities captivate;”

and a good case is surely made out between the two for a fair counterpart of the Greek play on words. On the other hand, Dean Milman, whilst admitting the

precedent of Milton in their favour, pronounces these *jeux de mots* untranslatable and not to be adventured. The question hinges in some degree on the pretensions of a translation; and it is pretty clear that the more ambitious it is of literality and exactness, the more pledged it is to the attempt, if nothing more.

As the drama advances towards its catastrophe, the introduction of the weird prophetess Cassandra gives to the Agamemnon an element which Dr. Kennedy compares with that of the witches in Macbeth. It is this part of the play which contains some of the finest outbursts, and not a few broken utterances, where the dubiousness of the text finds in Dr. Kennedy the most plausible healer of lacunæ or defective lines or words.

One or two of his happy suggestions shall be noticed in conclusion of a notice of this worthy fruit of the Professor's study of the Æschylean drama. When the chorus is engaged in parleying with Cassandra, it likens her phrensiad utterances in verse 1125 to

τις ξουθᾶς ἀκορετὸς βοᾶς φεῦ ταλαίναϊς ἴτην
φρεσὶν ἴτην στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῇ κακοῖς
ἀηδῶν βίον—

where the ordinary sense of ξουθᾶς (as Dr. Kennedy says) is inapplicable in connection with βοᾶς. But Photius in his Lexicon assigns to it the meaning of λεπτός and ἀπαλός. Accepting this sense he would translate, "On thyself thou singest music unmusical, most like some nightingale, of delicate voice unsated," &c. Further on, at verse 1156, the usual reading is ἐγὼ δὲ θερμόνους ταχ' ἐν πέδιφ βαλῶ, which Paley adopts, defending the intransitive sense of βαλῶ. Dr. Kennedy seems to have been led to the independent conjecture of θερμὸν οὖς in two words, "an inspired ear," with an allowance for the wild language of a maddened prophetess, and takes her as saying, "I, cut down by the axe, shall lay even with the ground my glowing ear." It turns out in the appendicial "Conspectus Lectionum," that this reading approved itself first to the Dutch scholar Canter, and that Hermann, though not adopting it, mentions it favourably. A very plausible explanation of a striking but obscure passage in one of Cassandra's latest speeches gives force and point a hundredfold to the language of Æschylus, as interpreted by Kennedy. The prophetess says—

ὥς δ' ἐπωλολυξάτο
ἢ παντόλομος ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃς τροπῇ
δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστήμασ' σωτηρίᾳ.

"How loud a shout she raised, the all-daring one,
As 't were in the crisis of the battle's rout.
She seems to be rejoicing in the safe return."

And Kennedy is at pains to point out that Clytemnestra's shout is not here, as Paley would have it thought, over Troy, but by anticipation and presage over the coming murder; and the "rejoicing in return" in the delight of having to kill one whom she had hated from the depths of her ferocious heart. By numberless other like happy and weighty helps to a coherent and consistent text and interpretation, Dr. Kennedy has approved himself a guide to Æschylus of certainly peerless calibre.

Among lesser contributions to contemporary Æschylean literature at the present time, a place is deserved by a very useful edition of *The Seven Against Thebes*; with Brief Notes for Young Students: by F. A. Paley (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1878), which embodies in brief all the learning of his larger edition of the Dramatist, with whatever of later acquisition seems most to merit engrafting upon it. The play is interesting to a reader fresh from the Agamemnon, as showing how the prominence of the chorus is less active, more that of mere sympathizers, in *The Septem Contra Thebas* than the Agamemnon; and as developing a more directly pictorial interest in what Paley justly terms a fine and chivalrous play. As a play, "brimful of war" according to Aristophanes (Ran. 1021), it abounds in graphic scenes, notably that grand description, by the scout, of the seven opposing chieftains, and Eteocles's muster of the meekest champions to oppose to each, a scene which may have been suggested by Homer's passage in the third book of the *Iliad*, where Priam leads Helen to name for him the notabilities of the Achæan host. As might be supposed, such a play, of less inherent difficulty than the Agamemnon, is not unattractive to a translator; and to this circumstance is probably due the English version just put forth by the Rev. William Gurney, M.A., of the Grammar School, Doncaster (*The Septem Contra Thebas*, rendered

into English verse, by Rev. W. Gurney, M.A.: Cambridge, Deighton, Bell, & Co., 1878), a creditable production, based on careful reading, and only here and there disfigured by such aimless mannerisms as the adoption in every chorus of the Chaucerian word "tane" for ta'en or taken, in which the translator takes overweening delight. By the help of Mr. Paley's handy volume this version may be made the means of a rapid *résumé* of a play of Æschylus, which most scholars have read at school, and which has left upon the memory impressions mostly pleasant. Those who resort to it will find snatches of verse, e.g.,

πεδία δ' ἀργηστής ἀφρὸς
χραίνει σταλαγμοῖς ἱππικῶν ἐκ πνευμόνων,

rendered neatly in

"White foam bespots the plain with drops from the panting steeds;"

and despite the tendency of translators to import matter which is not of the essence of the original, such as may be detected in the following rendering of a striking but succinct couplet of Greek chorus—

διαδετοί τε δὴ γένυος ἱππίας
κυρνοῦνται φόνον χαλίνου—

in the English of which so much is without warranty as is set in italics,

"Bound through the jaw of steeds (*that restive paw*
The ground) the bits clink murder (*as they champ*),"

and the result of which is to drag in an aimless "without flaw" to help out the "paw" which has got entangled,—it must be candidly owned that the student may do worse than resort to Mr. Gurney's version alongside of Mr. Paley's text and short notes, with a view to a keener and livelier zest for the matter and manner of Æschylus. Such notes on syntax and construction, as that on *βουλεύεται*, in the sense of *καταγνώσεται αὐτῶν* (187) and *ζωπυροῦσι τάρβος τὸν ἀμφιτειχῇ λείν* (280) will avouch the one, and such a passage as this, which finds parallel in Horace and elsewhere, and represents Eteocles's regret at the part taken by holy Amphiaraus in a godless expedition, the other (cf. S. C. Theb. 593—610).

"Alas, for man's ill luck that ever joins
The just in fellowship with impious folk,
And yet in every venture nothing's worse
Than ill companionship; thence comes not good:
Seedlands of Atè yield rank crops of death!
Or doth a man devout launch on the deep
With headlong crew in deeds of villany,
With that god-hated crew he perishes!
Or with plain citizens, though he be just,
If they be false to men, and scorn the gods,
Caught in the selfsame snare, he justly falls,
Struck by the impartial scourge of injured heaven.
Now this good seer—I speak of Eccles' son—
Though wise as just, and valiant as devout,
A mighty prophet, joined an impious crew,
These men of daring speech, though conscience-warned!
These men, that march the pageant show of death!
And Zeus so willing, he, engulfed with them,
Must visit too that far-off home of shades."—Pp. 43, 44.

Turning from Greek to Latin literature of the present time, the Rev. A. J. Church's *Stories from Virgil* (*Stories from Virgil*, with illustrations from Pinelli's designs: London, Seeley & Co., 1879) are calculated to be of great help to true scholarship, even if rather subsidiary than direct, as they represent a novel and pleasant device for furnishing would-be scholars and non-classical readers, whose little Latin and less Greek is their misfortune not their fault, with the gist and burden, and something of the spirit of the Mantuan Swan himself. It is no slight guarantee for these stories that they are executed by a scholar, ripe and good, and thoroughly at home in his author, so that his chapters have a consecutiveness in order of time which makes a pleasant and characteristic variation from the poetic sequence of Virgil, now direct, and now episodic. Mr. Church's long familiarity with the great Augustan epic and its best commentators, ancient and modern, down to Professor Conington, to whose memory he dedicates his book, is an earnest that he will hold his readers steadfastly in Virgil's lines, in no case

entangling them in glosses or extraneous matter, which have no warranty in the poet himself, but exercising a faithfulness worthy, though his modesty deprecates the comparison, of a professed translator. Beginning with the Horse of Wood, the sack of Troy, and the rescue of Anchises in the first three chapters, Mr. Church devotes two more to the third book, after which the sixth and two next chapters bring into the narrative, from the first book, the shipwreck of the Trojans, and their reception by Dido at Carthage, while the ninth chapter is devoted to the love and death of Dido, from the fourth book. Perfectly at home in the structure of the great Roman epic, Mr. Church, having disposed in two more chapters of the "funeral games" of Anchises on the shore of Sicily from the fifth book, and allotted another to the "burning of the ships" and the voyage to Italy, bestows two more, not without reason, on the grand *νεκρομαντεία* of the sixth book, as Eustathius would have called it. The remainder of the stories, of the latter half of the *Æneis*, embrace, under the choice of a practised selector and tactician, the salient points in infinite variety of the rapid diorama of the events in Italy, each ambassage, council, battle, feat of arms, and fall of hero being culled from the graphic and masterly pages of the original, with the smallest possible abatement of spirit, flavour, or telling detail. The phraseology in which these stories are recast is archaic and Jacobean, and as such well fitting for matter eminently savouring of the ballad or chronicle style. And there accompanies Mr. Church in his difficult task a noticeable poet's-eye, which is very keen for poetic incident. In proof of the little sacrifice there occurs of spirit, fire, and minute poetic touch in one of these stories, set in contrast over against the version of an approved translator such as William Morris, not to involve the original poet in the comparison, it were worth a reader's while to take the tragic tale of Laocoon in the second book, and examine how little of force, point, incident, or detail Mr. Church's story in pp. 8, 9 lacks in comparison of the more lengthy, yet not more vivid description in Morris's version, pp. 37, 38. But a briefer extract from a later scene in the same book of the *Æneid* will serve the purpose, where Pyrrhus's mad onslaught cleaves a vista into Priam's palace, a sacrilege of which the story-teller gives a scarce less vivid picture than the above-named translator.

The passage is to be found in *Æn.* ii. 479—485, and is closely represented by the author of the *Earthly Paradise* (*Æn.* ii. p. 48)—

"Pyrrhus in fore-front of them all catches a mighty bill,
Beats in the hardened door, and tears perforce from hinge and sill
The brazen leaves: a beam hewn through, wide gaped the oak hard krit
Into a great-mouthed window there: and through the midst of it
May men behold the inner house: the long halls open lie:
Bared is the heart of Priam's home, the place of kings gone by;
And close against the very door all armed men they see."

Such is the poet's strain: now see the story-teller's briefer but unshorn version:—
"With a great battleaxe he hewed through the doors, breaking down also the door-posts, though they were plated with bronze, making as it were a great window through which a man might see the palace within, the hall of King Priam, and of the kings who had reigned aforetime in Troy" (*Stories*, p. 26).

The touches, "*ingentem lato dedit ore fenestram*," and "*atria longa patescunt*," find full presentment in story and verse alike.

The tradition that Virgil selected Books II., IV., and VI. of the *Æneis* to recite before Augustus, suggests the choice of specimens of Mr. Church's work, illustrative of these. A sample has been given as regards the second book. In examining the Love and Death of Dido, a story based on the fourth book, the descriptive pieces and similes, with much of the detail, will be found sufficiently though succinctly represented, and if anywhere Mr. Church falls short of success, it is assuredly in reproducing the *brilliant rhetoric* as well perhaps as the *pathos* which in his preface he notes as two chief gifts of Virgil. This may be felt to some extent where the twenty-five lines, which contain Dido's first outburst in deprecation of *Æneas'* intended flight, commence with the frenzied words "*Dissimulare etiam*," &c. (*iv.* 305—330). The last paragraph of it, which every scholar will know by heart, and which is conveyed in the four touching verses which close the speech, is reduced to a perhaps unavoidable tameness in the commonplace "If but I had a little *Æneas* to play in my halls, I should not feel so altogether desolate," p. 86. On the other hand the answers to the inquiring *Æneas* both of the Sibyl and of the shade of Anchises in the sixth book are the foundation of some adequately noble rhetorical prose, as when in the *Dwellings of the Dead* the former describes

the tenants and torments of Tartarus (141, 142), and, later, Anchises foreshadows the forms, features, and fames of the race of Æneas. In this part many allusions and details of history (as in prophecy) have to be cut short; but a point is made and won in the passage, 855—886 (*Aspice ut insignis to fungar inani munere*), relative to the heroic Marcellus and the "egregius juvenis" whom the fates forbade to equal his fame; and so too in the unadorned though forceful presentment of the splendid passage "Excudent alii—debellare superbos." Given by Mr. Church, the following lines well avouch the care and skill with which he has achieved his work:—

"Such, my son, shall be thy children's children. Others with softer touch shall carve the face of man in marble, or mould the bronze; some more skilfully shall plead, or map the skies, or tell the rising of the stars. 'Tis thine, man of Rome, to subdue the world. This is thy work, to set the rule of peace over the vanquished, to spare the humble, and to subdue the proud."—P. 147.

These stories from Virgil deserve an honoured place beside those of the same author from Homer.

Much to be recommended as an excellent edition for the higher forms of public schools is Mr. F. Storr's edition of the *First and Second Books of the Æneid*, with notes (London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons, 1878).

With a laudable aim at making his notes attractive as well as erudite, the editor has introduced into his commentary, over and above succinct notes on the interpretation, and notes more lengthy on the syntax, prosody, and philological features of Virgil, a liberal and choice supply of apt parallel passages from modern, no less, or perhaps even more, than from ancient poets. His introduction is remarkable no less for the width of the knowledge of his subject than the brief compass into which it is compressed; and nothing is more conceivable than that the feature of parallelism to which we have alluded, and which presses Milton, Gray, Keats, Tennyson, and other English poets into the illustration of Virgilian poetry, may at once render more popular the cultivation of English poetry at public schools, and that of the Latin epic clearer and more acceptable. It is not within our scope to give examples of this, or of the other good points in this pleasant and well-considered school book; but one note may serve as a specimen of many, and guarantee a like depth and originality. On a passage in *Æn.* II. just after that which was quoted above, where Pyrrhus had burst the doors of Priam's palace, the poet, in picturing the terror and wailing within, uses the expression (488) "*Ferit aurea sidera clamor*." After comparing the general expression with Tennyson's *Morte d'Arthur*, "A cry that shivered to the tingling stars," Mr. Storr explains the epithet *aurea*, which most editors and translators have interpreted either feebly or not at all, by supposing that "the cry was so bitter that it reached even the golden houses of the quiet gods." It may of course mean only, as Morris translates, "the stars of gold."

In addition to Mr. Church's "Stories from Virgil," must be chronicled another useful work, in which he has borne no less a share than his long-standing coadjutor, Mr. Brodribb, a school edition of the Sixth Book of the *Annals* of Tacitus (*The Sixth Book of the Annals of Tacitus*, with Notes: by Rev. A. J. Church, M.A., and Rev. W. T. Brodribb, M.A.: London, Macmillan & Co., 1878). No scholar can be unaware of the vast services bestowed by these gentlemen upon the elucidation of the works of Tacitus in past years, and none could be found so qualified to prepare a text-book for schools and colleges on any special book or tract of the historian. The interest of the Sixth Book of the *Annals* justified its selection, and this interest is made more apparent by the skilful and lively Introduction, which furnishes preliminary matter relative to the fall of Sejanus, the signal for the reign of terror which the Sixth Book details. The editors show cause, we think, for qualifying the Dean of Ely's wholesale contempt for that favourite, though admitting that he was a selfish intriguer, who deserved his end. Appendices on the "Financial Crisis at Rome in A.D. 33," and "On the Character of Tiberius," with a sufficient Index, follow some forty pages of excellent notes, a sample of which may be pointed out, in those on c. xxv., which describes the death of Agrippina. "Provisisse" is there shown to be a solitary use in the sense of "lived on," and "finis" to be an euphemism for "mors," with which is compared the phrase "mortalitatem explevisse" in c. iv. note 12. In the same chapter where it is said of Agrippina that "*virilibus curis fœminarum vitia exuerat*"

("by cultivating manly tastes and pursuits she had kept clear of all a woman's natural weaknesses") it is noted that "exuerat" bears precisely the same sense as in *Agricola* c. ix. "Tristitiam et avaritiam exuerat," he "was perfectly free from." In the episode of the Phoenix, introduced in c. xxviii., it is well noted that "de numero annorum" refers to the number of years between the bird's appearances, and not, as the translator Gordon imagined, to "its length of life."

Penultimate space only has been able to be reserved for the most important work of the list: or at any rate of the Latin books upon it, Professor Mayor's *Juvenal* (*Thirteen Satires of Juvenal*, with a Commentary by John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge: Second Edition, Enlarged: Volumes I. and II.: London and Cambridge, Macmillan & Co., 1878), a work the finishing of which scholars have awaited with the patience which is the due of a *bonâ fide* and honest worker, but which, even so, has seemed a little long in coming. It was in 1853 that Mr. Mayor first published a *Juvenal* with foot-notes, even then voluminous, which was soon out of print. In 1869 he issued an instalment of a new and great edition containing all the text and the explanatory notes so far as an early part of the third Satire. At that point other labours intervened, and until 1872 there was no authorized announcement as to the expected completion of the whole, which was then proposed to be issued in the following Easter (1873). Delays and difficulties, it seems by the advertisement to the second volume issued in the autumn of 1878, again frustrated this purpose; and it ought to need no ghost to tell scholars that, "even in Bentley's time, Cambridge could only make hay while the sun shone" (vol. ii. p. 7). "The notes on Sat. X. were written in the summer of 1871; those on a great part of Sat. VIII. in 1872; the remainder to the end of Sat. XIII. in 1877, the last three satires having been added in the last two months before publication." Only a thorough student can conceive the amount of acumen and research compressed into this commentary, the labour of any ordinary lifetime, though representing little more than a quarter of a century to the author who is young enough to dedicate his volumes to the Regius Professor of Greek as his initiator in classical studies at Shrewsbury. Around him and his commentary have been gathered all the MSS. lore of scholars of the past such as are treasured in the University Library and that of St. John's, at Cambridge, all the seasonable notes and communications of such Latinists, past and present, as the late Professor Conington, the late Latin Professor, but still vigorous scholar, H. A. J. Munro, the Revs. H. R. Bailey and J. B. Mayor, and Mr. Sandys, the Public Orator. Time would fail to tell of the toils he has levied on editions of Otto Jahn and Friedländer, or of the proposals he ventilates for a critical text founded on a collation of the Codex Pithoeanus of the ninth century with the early MSS. of this country, and for a new edition for schools, in three parts; one of which, by the way, is already announced as ready. To have digested thoroughly so vast a meal, would be a boast damaging to a reviewer's credit for veracity, and we cannot pretend to have done more than refresh our memory of the earlier satires, and read thoroughly one or two of the later. Such notes as we have made are taken from the eleventh Satire, which, it will be remembered, is a lively contrast between the bill of fare to which the poet invites his friend Persicus, and the gluttony and extravagance characteristic of the luxurious Romans of his day. Plain homely fare, and a hospitable board, at which the viands and attendance are alike home-grown, are set against the lavish excess which brings the family plate to the hammer, lives hard and fast to the last shilling, and ends by resort to the trainer's barrack, and to the hodge-podge of the spendthrift who has enlisted as a sword-player. Such is indeed the explanation of verses 6—8: "Fertur . . . scripturus [esse] leges et regia verba lanistæ," where "fertur" is coupled with "scripturus esse," and Mayor explains "regia" by pointing out that the fallen noble's *rex*—from whom he receives laws—is a "lanista." Will any one believe that a school edition of Juvenal exists in which at "Fertur" is given the brief and utterly misleading explanation, "He has not put down his litter"? The picture of the glutton's progress is traced through the stages of usurers and pawnbrokers, until after a last loan, "condire gulosum fictile," to load with dainties the "gourmand earthenware," because the plate was in pawn, the end comes in the gladiator's mess. There is no space for dwelling on the satirist's sermon on the text of γὰρ σκατόν (ver. 27), the sage counsel which, in verse 35, gives the caterer a rule for the fish-market, thus rendered by Hodgson—

"Wish not for mullet when thy purse can buy
Only a gudgeon or such humble fry;"

or the sound judgment with which Professor Mayor accepts the reading "*culina*" in verse 38 for "*crumenâ*," a palpable gloss suggested by Horace, *Epist.* I. iv. 11. But a word must be said in praise of Mr. Mayor's adoption of the reading

"Qui *vertere solum*, *Baias* et *ad ostrea* currunt,"

in preference to the various reading *ad ostia* which Maclean admired; and also of his mine of illustration on the words *Baiæ* (the Brighton of Rome) and its oysters. In verses 58, 59 the notes on the lines "*Pultes coram aliis dictem puero, sed in aure placentas*," on "*siliquæ*" and "*pultes*," will furnish pabulum for a discussion of lentils and vegetarianism, with such *temperate* enthusiasts as Mr. Ward; and similar encyclopædic notes will be found in verses 68, 69 on the *mountain asparagus*; in verses 125, 126 on the "*elephant's teeth*" (where an interesting communication from A. H. Garrod, Esq., of the Zoological Gardens, is printed), and in verse 142 on the identity of the *Afra avis* with the *Guinea fowl*. Nor is our editor less at home on artistic than on natural-history lore, as may be seen in his lucid explanation of the lines 106, 107,

"*Ac nudam effigiem clypeo venientis et hasta,*
Pendentisque Dei,"

where the technical sense of the italicized words is affirmed by Munro's note, and Addison is pitted against Lessing as to the question here of one or two groups of sculpture being understood. In one passage, to which our last remark on this satire is reserved, a reference might, we think, have been made to a bit of English folk-lore, well known in various southern and western counties, but seldom recognized by the collectors, such as Brand, Hazlitt, Dyer. In verses 82—84 Juvenal says:

"*Sicci terga suis rara pendentia crate,*
Moris erat quondam festis servare diebus,
Et natalicium cognatis ponere lardum."

"'Twas customary of old to keep for festive days chines of salted pig, hanging on *intersticed* rack, and to lay by the bacon for kinsfolk on a birthday." Here Professor Mayor has illustrated each particular, except the epithet of the rack, which seems to point to the few-and-far-between cross-bars of a kitchen-rack, as we see it now-a-days. But surely the lines are illustrative of a custom which is still extant, and of which the writer of these remarks has had corroborative evidence, in three or four western counties, viz., the reservation of a particular chine (*natalicium lardum*) for the christening-feast, a custom kept up even in poor families blest with the means to keep a pig. Thus much may suffice to have been said on Professor Mayor's Juvenal, to which we may recur again on the appearance of his school edition.

It were much to be desired that other country clergymen beside Mr. Kennard should be encouraged to make the reeds of other rivers than the Stour vocal to the sound of the Latin *Camænæ*, especially if like him they could so pleasingly blend sacred and secular, old and new, serious and sportive themes. But for such remembrances as are found in the "*Arundines Sturi*" (*Arundines Sturi*, *sive Eclogæ ex Mureto, Buchananò, aliisque recentioris ævi poetis*: Collegit atque edidit R. B. Kennard, M.A.: Oxonii, J. Parker et Soc., 1878), it might be forgotten that at the revival of learning among the Italo-Latinists and their pupils and scholars, there arose a second "golden age" of Latin verse, polished professors of which were Marc Antoine Muret (1525-85 A.D.) in France and Italy, George Buchanan, his contemporary at St. Andrews, Paris, and Edinburgh, Milton in our own land, and other scarce lesser stars, such as Arthur Johnston of Aberdeen, whose fame as a graceful writer of Latin verse won him as much repute with the scholars of Padua and Paris, as his medical talents gained for him with Archbishop Laud. Kindred spirits handed on the torch, which has never since wholly become extinguished among English scholars, low though it has burnt in days more devoted to utilitarianism and the worship of Plutus; and it reflects credit on the cultivated Oxonian who trills his own classic song and revives specimens of elder classical minstrelsy in a Dorsetshire parish, that he has edited, in a graceful volume, a collection, in three parts, of the psalms and hymns of Muretus, Buchanan, Johnston, Bishop Lowth, and others, of selected epigrams of Muretus, and miscellaneous Latin poems which blend the choice remains of the aforesaid Latinists with the happiest of their later classical emulators, such as Wellesley, Grenville.

Morpeth, Gray, and Booth. Even if frequent slips occurred to provoke the critic, the laudable resort to revived classical sacred verse would plead for gentle handling; but Mr. Kennard's own contributions prove as much at least as this, that he is quite qualified for his rôle of editor. Examining his first part, one recognizes Buchanan as superior to Muretus in the versification of sacred song, while the inverse ratio is apparent in the epigrams and other poems. In the very first hymn of Muretus the fourth verse,

"Nullaque nunc cœlo, rara vel, astra micant,"

runs rather clumsily, while the concluding couplet of Ps. xv.—

"Qui facit hæc is demum in cœli templa receptus,
Tecum una dempto fine beatus erit"—

reads far more smoothly in the pentameter than the hexameter. Contrast the grandeur and dignity with which, in pp. 14, 15, Buchanan clothes the splendid imagery of the forty-fifth Psalm ("The King's daughter is all glorious within," &c.):—

"Tibi rex en! ducitur uxor,
Dives opum, dives pictæ vestis et auri:
Virginibus comitata suis, de stirpe propinquâ:
Virginibus, quas pompa recens clamore secundo
Insequitur, planusque fremens lætæque choreæ
Cantibus augustam lætans deducet ad aulam."

His version of Ps. xc. in Sapphics is also excellent, as also is the elegiac rendering of "By the waters of Babylon." But Bishop Lowth's translation of the nineteenth Psalm into the metre of the third ode of Horace's first Book, and Arthur Johnston's forty-second Psalm done into elegiacs, forbid us to blush for the poetic fire and finish of the representatives of colder climes than those of Muretus. No doubt he is smart and to the manner born, when he essays the epigram, as may be seen in the four lines to J. C. Scaliger,

"Dicite mi, Musæ, cultissima numina nobis,
Quonam Scaligeri pascitis ora cibo?
Sic ego, sic Musæ: Quam et sententia fallit?
Nectare quo potius nos alat ipse roga!"

—or the couplet to Pontilianus

"Cur tua vix unquam sint salæ epigrammata queris?
Diluis hæc nimio, Pontiliane, mero."

Here is a third, addressed to the impecunious Paulus:—

"Das mihi lactucas: centum sed mutua poscis,
Desine: lactucas Paule, minoris emo."

One might infer from many of these epigrams, even were they anonymous, that their author was no mean hand among the bards who figured in the "Deliciæ Deliciarum." Of the "Poemata Varia" in Part iii., the merit as well as the matter is various. We have seen better translations of the quatrain, "Full many a gem of purest ray serene," &c., from Gray's Elegy, than Mr. Latham's Elegiacs, in page 118; but would not seek to mend those by Mr. Booth, for which the editor is indebted to Linwood's "Anthologia Oxoniensis," a transcript of the Epitaph in a Churchyard in the Isle of Wight (p. 122).

Some sample is perhaps due to our readers of the editor's own prowess in an art he admires and cultivates; and this may be vouchsafed in the following version of Goldsmith's "When lovely woman stoops to folly," where, however, the fifth verse is surely misapprehended by the translator.

"Ah! formosa levi nimium si cedat Amori
Fœmina, et inveniatur posse viros;
Carminibus quo possit seivum lenire dolorem?
Quove piare scelus sola relicta modo?
Omnibus illæsum si vult servare pudorem,
Perjuri et pectus tangere posse viri,
Atque animum vero demum torquere dolore,
Certa salus miseræ panditur una—mori."

II.—HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE EAST.

(Under the Direction of Professor E. H. PALMER, M.A.)

SUCH rapid changes have taken place lately on the North-west frontier, that much of an Old Punjaubee's work (*The Punjaub*, by an Old Punjaubee: C. Kegan Paul & Co., 1878) reads like ancient history already. The depredations of the Jowakis and Afredees, their blood-feuds and other picturesque barbarisms, will henceforth be repressed by the British Government, and some new border tribes along the "scientific frontier" will vex the souls of district officers. Ordinary English readers cannot be expected to burden their memories with the names of the innumerable clans of Afghans or Pathans and Biloocha, which are here described in some detail, though they seem to vary little except in size, being all robbers alike. An almost exact parallel to the present condition of Afghanistan may be found in the state of the kingdom of Scotland as described by Macaulay. There also were numerous clans, with all the virtues and vices of the savage, at war with one another and with all mankind. There was a king, whose authority was only respected as long as it was convenient to a chief to do so. Lastly, there was a "border," where the exploits of our Pathan neighbours find their exact type. We fear it will be long before the parallel will be complete. A series of most drastic measures, starting with the battle of Culloden, effectually pacified the Highlands in about half a century, but the equally savage Celt of Ireland is still scarcely reclaimed, and had there been a frontier with wild tribes beyond it, neither race would have been civilized at this day. However far west the new frontier line may be eventually drawn, there will certainly be more turbulent tribes beyond.

In the repression of these desultory attacks there is much danger and hardship, and but little honour or promotion to be gained, according to an Old Punjaubee. The expedition of most interest to the general reader is that of General Chamberlain, against the Muhsoods, in which "the General cast to the winds all considerations of keeping open our communications, and, confident in his own powers of command and the excellence of his troops, threw himself boldly into the middle of the enemy's country, leaving the communications to take care of themselves. It was a bold, perhaps a hazardous step, but the result justified the General's confidence in all particulars."

We cordially agree with the writer when he says (p. 96), "It would seem that there must have been some mistake in our mode of dealing with the tribes hitherto, or, with such good material to be met with, we should have made a nearer approach to a good understanding with them." The difficulty is, to make civilization and barbarism exist side by side. One must eventually swallow up the other: but we are in danger of making this what Sir John Kaye describes in his "Sepoy War," as a "forcing process of unwholesome rapidity." In consequence, India has become a land of incongruities. "By the side of the express train whirling through the waste at thirty or forty miles an hour, you shall see the ancient hackery (native cart), the vehicle of a period before the Cæsars, and the driver twisting his patient bullocks' tails to get two miles an hour out of them. Floating down the 'fabulosus Hydaspes,' you behold the same kind of craft that carried Alexander toiling after the swift Western steamer; and jogging under the electric wire pants the Indian postman, carrying the mails at the extreme rate of four miles an hour." The work contains a very short and clear account of the Sikh War, by which we obtained possession of the Punjaub, now perhaps the most contented and prosperous province of India. "But it has suffered," says our author, "like the rest of India, from over-legislation and over-government. The present rage for statistics and per-centages is likely to choke better work; and instead of a district officer being, as he used to be, a popular administrator in the best sense of the word, he is likely to degenerate into a beast of burden."

A very good map accompanies this little volume, but, very naturally, it is only intended to show the frontier line, and we look in vain for the Khost valley and other places of interest in 1879.

In Dr. Schweinfurth (*The Heart of Africa*: Sampson Low & Co.) Germany seems to possess the *beau idéal* of an explorer. An accomplished botanist, a

capital shot, an experienced and fever-proof traveller, a keen observer, and laborious compiler of statistics, he seems to unite almost every qualification for success. It is to be regretted that much of the results of his labours were lost in an accidental fire; but apart from measurements and tables of distances, the book charms one by its fresh and natural accounts of the idyl of Negro existence in Central Africa, by one who seems able to understand and sympathize with the natives more fully than any traveller since Livingstone.

It is a little surprising to take up a map upon which one cannot find a single civilized or familiar name, and which, nevertheless, extends from the third to the tenth parallel of latitude. There are rivers, and mountains, and districts, and tribes, of whom Europe has no more knowledge than of the inhabitants of another planet. Yet these people have some traces of a history and civilization of their own, and the interest which they excite is enhanced by the reflection that they are shortly doomed to extinction before the encroachments of the Egyptian Government, and the small-pox and syphilis which are so diligently introduced by its agents. "Erelong," says our author, "the Bongo as a people will be quite forgotten, superseded by a rising race. The domination over the people which is contemplated in Egypt cannot fail to effect this result, and it is a destiny which probably awaits all the rest of the African races. However much the Nubian may tyrannize, he still leaves the poor natives a portion of their happiness. But there is a more distant future: after the Nubian comes the Turk, and he takes all. Truly, it is not without reason that the proverb circulates in every district, 'Where the Turk has been no grass will grow.'"

The countries visited by Dr. Schweinfurth were, in the winter of 1869, "exploited" by firms at Khartoum, who had established at convenient spots palisaded forts for trading purposes. The ivory trade was, he imagined, only a cover for that in slaves, but it appears to be distinct. These two occupations have less to do with one another than is frequently supposed. The settlements owe their existence to the ivory traders; but, again, without these settlements the slave traders could not ever have reached Central Africa. It is piteous to read of the wholesale destruction of the elephant, the only animal available for opening up the interior. The natives periodically set fire to the thick jungle, and all the elephants within perish miserably, to supply Europe with billiard balls and piano-forte keys. "The elephant," says the writer, "takes as long as a man to reach maturity, and it can hardly be expected of the Arabs that they should undertake the tedious task of its training; and certainly it cannot be expected of the Turks, who would like the world to have been made so that they could pick up their guineas ready coined upon the mountains."

Dr. Schweinfurth completely upsets the idea that an outlet of Lake Nyanza (Albert) passes through the Niam Niam district and rejoins the Nile at the "morass of floating islands." All the rivers in his map form a distinct system, joining the Nile by the Gazelle and Bahr-el-Bohl, with exception of an important stream flowing due west in latitude 4°, which he names the Welle, and conjectures to be the same as Barth's river of Kubanda.

Passing up the Gazelle River from Khartoum in the train of Mohammed Abou Sammat, an ivory trader, Dr. Schweinfurth was able, on landing, to visit and describe minutely, in the course of nearly three years' wanderings, the almost completely subjugated Bongo, and the Dinka, who strangely enough keep vast herds of degenerate cattle, but never kill a single one. Next to these comes a very different tribe, the brave cannibal race called Niam Niam. Of their propensities to the devouring of human flesh they make no secret, owning that of the women whom they carry off the younger are destined "for their houses, the middle-aged for work, the oldest for their cauldrons."

Repeatedly the traveller observes cannibal scenes. "In one of my rambles, I found myself in one of the native farmsteads: before the door of the first hut an old woman was sitting surrounded by a group of boys and girls, all busily employed in cutting up gourds and preparing them for eating; at the door of the opposite hut a man was sitting composedly playing upon his mandolin. Midway between the two huts a mat was spread; upon this mat, exposed to the full glare of the noonday sun, feebly gasping, lay a newborn infant: I doubt whether it was more than a day old." Upon inquiry, the child turned out to be the offspring of a slave captured in a late raid, and now driven to another part of the country, who was compelled to leave her infant behind because it would impair her usefulness. The savages around were waiting till it should expire, and then intended it to compose a dainty dish!

Beyond the Niam Niam, most southerly of all tribes visited by our traveller, come the Monbuttoo. Cannibals as they also were, this people showed a skill in house-building, and a ceremonial politeness which, besides their skill and prowess in battle, stamped them as a superior race. They have beaten the Nubians in fair fight, and dealt with them on terms of equality. Here it was that the celebrated Pygmy race of Central Africa was proved to be more than a fable, by the actual sight of a company of these strange beings, one of whom Dr. Schweinfurth carried off with him. The little creature, however, systematically over-ate himself, and died in Khartoum.

Returning through the Mittoo, where he describes the wonderful mutilations to which the women subject their lips, he returned to the Seriba Ghattas, where he was so unfortunate as to lose the fruits of his expedition by fire. The dry straw of which the dwellings were constructed blazed up instantaneously, rendering it impossible to save anything from the flames.

As a contrast to the pleasant pastoral life of the people of the country, we may extract his account of a slave-dealing Seriba:—"The hawkers of living human flesh and blood, unwashed and ragged, squatted in the open spaces, keeping their eye on their plunder, eager as vultures in the desert round the carcase of a camel. Their harsh voices as they shouted out their blasphemous prayers; the drunken indolence and torpor of the loafing Turks; the idle, vicious crowds of men infested with loathsome scabs and syphilitic sores; the reeking, filthy exhalations that rose from every quarter—all combined to render the place supremely disgusting."

Dr. Schweinfurth is an accomplished draughtsman, and his sketches have the merit, very rare in books of travel, of being drawn on the spot by the author himself, not by some professional artist.

Mr. Hamilton Lang (*Cyprus*, by R. Hamilton Lang: Macmillan & Co., 1878) has had the unusual advantage of a prolonged residence in Cyprus, where both as acting vice-consul and amateur farmer he was brought into continual contact with the natives, and had the best means of judging of their character, as well as of the needs and capabilities of the island. He seems on the whole to have made use of his opportunities in an intelligent and impartial manner, and though evidently fond of Cyprus and its inhabitants, speculates on the possibilities of improvement and development with a calmness which shows him to be well worth listening to. He breaks into a little enthusiasm, indeed, over the Berlin Treaty, which will not find an echo in all quarters; and he evidently looks on the British occupation with the eyes of an old inhabitant and friend of the country, to whom it is a turn of events as pleasing as unexpected. His views therefore are not likely to be altogether acceptable to those who have definitely adopted the "Sierra Leone" or "miserable imposture" view of Cyprus. He is in no sense, however, a violent partisan. On one hand he is no admirer of the Turkish mode of government. He gives brief, but most significant accounts of the manner in which the luckless taxpayers of Cyprus have been "bled" for bubble agricultural banks, for intended roads that are regularly begun by every new governor, and as regularly left unfinished, and for the imaginary destruction of locusts—which last, however, was actually effected by a most exceptional Pasha (of course soon superseded). He shows how the distant administration of justice acted as an encouragement to crime, how unfairly the taxation by *dimes* or tithes often works, and how the cultivation of tobacco in Cyprus has been almost literally destroyed by exorbitant taxation. But also he is no believer in the "unspeakable Turk" theory. If we may trust to his representations, the moral and social atmosphere of Cyprus is far less highly charged with that mutual hatred and intolerance which usually reigns between the Turks and their Christian subjects in most parts of the Mussulman Empire. It is somewhat refreshing, after looking long at Bulgaria, Greece, or Crete, to turn one's eyes for once to a part of the East which seems to be troubled with no national aspirations, and very little animosity or friction between different races and religions. The Christians of Cyprus, though not exempt from troubles and oppressions, can hardly be said to have grievances. Whether it be due to the somewhat lazy and enervating climate or not, these people, though called Greeks, are manifestly unlike the other members of the Greek nation: a most patient, primitive, easy-going race, they have indeed the characteristics of Orientals rather than of Europeans. Their child-like simplicity, mixed with a little individual lawlessness—one had almost said naughtiness—is curiously illustrated by the following account of Mr. Hamilton Lang's dealings with the peasantry:—

"Sheep-stealing was a favourite pastime with many of the shepherds of Pyla; . . . but as all the sheep-stealers became more or less dependent upon my farm for work the evil decreased. . . . The year of famine came, and . . . the poorer families subsisted upon a weekly allowance of flour and olives, served out from the farm. Amongst the number was Michail, an inveterate sheep-stealer. . . . One night a goat was stolen from my 'pens.' Two days after I was told that Michail's family had been seen eating meat the day after my goat was stolen. . . . During the night the first gladsome rain fell, and all the villagers went to clear the torrent course. Michail was amongst the number, but evidently ill at ease. After the work was done, and while all were assembled, I asked them what should be done to a man, who, while his family was being nourished in their distress from the farm, dared to steal a goat from my flock. The indignation was unanimous, and the notables asked who it was, that they might deal with him. I pointed to Michail, but added, in their own simple language, 'that as God had compassion on us, and sent us such good rain, I pardoned him, hoping he would never act so again.' With a spontaneous outburst some dozen Turks and Christians went forward and spat upon poor Michail, who confessed his fault, and swore that if ever he did such an act again I was to kill him. During two years longer that I lived amongst them I never heard the slightest accusation brought against Michail or his family."

Mr. Hamilton Lang carried on farming for ten years at Pyla, near Larnaca, and took no small pains to improve his estate and the modes of cultivation. Though on the whole successful, the mind of a Western agriculturist must have been sorely exercised by the obstinate conservatism of his Eastern labourers and farm bailiffs, a conservatism which seems to have infected even the appetites of their cattle. In vain did he spend much money and ingenuity in contriving and exporting steam-engines to thresh and dress corn and cut fodder: the orthodox bullocks, rejecting the new-fangled heresy, steadily refused to eat the straw neatly cut up by the foreign machine. They and their ancestors had always been accustomed to have their straw cut and torn by the primitive board studded with flints,—invented no doubt, as Mr. Lang says, by Noah if not Adam,—and they were not to be persuaded to quit the old ways. "I could not reason with them," says Mr. Lang mildly, "on the absurdity of the proceeding;" and he probably knew that their drivers would be at least equally impervious to argument. We cannot, indeed, altogether dismiss a lurking though perhaps unjust suspicion that the distaste of the cattle to the products of the new machine may have been more directly connected than appears on the outside with the dislike of the labourers to the machine itself. In passing, we may note with regret the decline of the madder cultivation (which produces the beautiful "Turkey-red" dye) mentioned by Mr. H. Lang. This trade is sinking in consequence of the popularity of the chemical European dyes, some of which our author seems to think are now made as "fast" as the old Oriental colours. We can only say we never met with any such; and however the Eastern farmer may be bettered by the instructions of the West, we believe that in the case of dyers and embroiderers the process had better be reversed.

Mr. Hamilton Lang's farming, carried on under circumstances apparently not exceptional, and certainly not exceptionally favourable, proved thoroughly profitable. He admits, however, with the candour which usually characterizes his writing, that to the English cultivator, "our Australian colonies certainly present superior advantages in climate and soil."

On one of these heads Cyprus has enjoyed an evil reputation of late. Mr. Hamilton Lang's experiences, however, like those of other impartial witnesses, show that the climate of the island by no means deserves the epithets "pestilential," "deadly," and the like, which have been flung about so freely of late. As is the case in all tropical and semi-tropical countries, the inhabitants (and of course new-comers especially) are subject to attacks of intermittent fever—in this case, however, by no means of a malignant or fatal character. Troops crowded twelve at a time in bell tents, where the temperature rose to 109°, were naturally somewhat sharply and numerous affected by the disorder. "Buildings constructed of sun-dried bricks, and covered externally and internally with gypsum, . . . constructed rapidly and at a moderate cost," says Mr. Lang, "are cool in summer." He seems to have no doubt, nor have other persons who know the country, that Europeans, if tolerably careful, may enjoy as good health there as in any other warm climate.

We have not time to do more than glance at the interesting abstract of Cyprian history which fills a large part of the volume before us (the earlier half of which is perhaps a little unduly extended at the expense of the mediæval part), and at the

notices of the valuable archæological "finds" of General Cesnola and many others. One of the most remarkable of these latter is a statue and inscription given by the Assyrian King Sargon to the Cypriote princes in the eighth century B.C., which is now at Berlin, the British Museum having declined, thirty years ago, to give the moderate sum of £50 for it.

Let us hope that, in case of any future treasures of the kind being discovered, our Government will make better use of their new position in Cyprus.

In *New Greece*, by Lewis Sergeant (Cassell, Petter, and Galpin), we have a work setting forth with much elaborateness and great enthusiasm the position, prospects, and what the author conceives to be the claims of the modern Greek, or, as he prefers to call them, the Hellenic people. The views here put forth will hardly, to judge by the temper of the controversy on the Eastern troubles which has raged here for the last two years, receive very dispassionate consideration from any party in this country. The Greeks, it is true, have the—perhaps doubtful—advantage of possessing some hold on the political sympathy of both the great parties into which Englishmen are mainly divided on this question. To those who are full of apprehensions on the score of Russian aggression, they may with much plausibility represent that their increasing strength would offer the best barrier and security against Muscovite advances on the Straits and the Levant; whilst, on the other hand, that party of whom Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Freeman are the best known exponents, detesting the Turks, have always naturally patronized and put forward the Greeks as the hereditary political and religious enemies of the Mussulmans. A nation thus placed, between two parties, has manifestly a chance of becoming either the common protégé or the common victim of both. Mr. Sergeant seems inclined to think that the latter has been the part played by Greece; not only in the late complications, but ever since her first appearance on the political stage of Europe. He is never weary of dilating on the wrongs of his clients—sometimes with reason, often we think with more vehemence than judgment. We should suppose him to be a young author: he is certainly an ardent "Philhellene;" and though not incapable of candour and justice in his cooler moods, he is somewhat too much disposed to set down all conclusions inspired by zeal less burning than his own as the result of an "utter want of generous enthusiasm." As we have already said, there is not much chance of his obtaining an impartial hearing from either side; but the few readers who will give him one would probably be inclined to look with more favour on his case if it were stated with greater moderation.

He begins with a sharp attack on the Powers assembled at the Berlin Congress, and on the English Government in particular, for their conduct both at and before the Congress; accusing them, in effect, of keeping the Greeks quiet during the Russo-Turkish war by holding out promises which have never been fulfilled. We do not think, taking the case as Mr. Sergeant himself puts it, that this accusation will hold water for a moment. The two despatches of the English Government (July 2nd, 1877, and February 6th, 1878) which he quotes, if read according to the plain meaning of the words, do not at all imply that the English Government pledged themselves to secure an accession of territory for Greece. In fact, seen through a less heated and disturbing medium than Mr. Sergeant's imagination, they imply rather the contrary. The first of these (twice quoted in the book before us) reads as follows:—"Her Majesty's Government, . . . so far as may lie in their power, will, when the time comes for the consideration of the settlement of the questions arising out of the war, be ready to *use their best influence* to secure for the Greek population in the Turkish provinces *any administrative reforms or advantages which may be conferred upon the Christian population of any other race.*" (The italics are Mr. Sergeant's.) The second, which immediately preceded the recall of the Greek army which had invaded Turkish territory in the first week of February, 1878, and was consequently seen by M. Delyannis, the Greek Foreign Minister, before he put forth the circular also given by the author, renews "the assurances contained in the despatch . . . dated the 2nd July last, in which Her Majesty's Government gives the assurance that *it will do all it can*, when the time comes to consider the settlement of the questions resulting from the war, *to secure for the Greek population of the Ottoman provinces any administrative reforms or advantages which may be conceded to the Christian population of other races.*"

Mr. Sergeant thinks that "the promise thus made and ratified to Greece is not

remarkable for its definite character." To us, we confess, it appears definite enough; and we fail to see that any inferences which the Greeks in their then highly excited state of imagination chose to draw from it render the part played by England other than honest and straightforward. M. Delyannis himself, in the circular note above alluded to (published on the 7th February, immediately after the reception of the English note) ventures to say nothing of territorial aggrandisement. We may, too, without doing him or his colleagues any injustice, suppose it probable that on being forced to take the highly unpopular measure of recalling the Greek troops, they would naturally put that colour on the communications with England and other Powers which would be most likely to raise the hopes and expectations of their countrymen, and allay their impatience; but for this England is nowise answerable. In making these remarks we merely contend that Mr. Sergeant's facts do not bear out his insinuations against the "honour" and "good faith" (to use his own words) of the present Government in their dealings with Greece. We are not concerned to show that the course they took was a wise one, or that they might not have shown better statesmanship if they had endeavoured, at least by peaceful means, to extend the Greek frontier further than was finally arranged at Berlin.

There is doubtless, on the face of it, much to be said for the plan of making the Greek nation heir to those parts of the gradually dissolving Turkish empire which lie adjacent to the Mediterranean; though we do not think that the author of "New Greece" fully appreciates the difficulty of the task which lies before any Power which endeavours to settle the future of these unhappy districts. He also probably overrates the ability of the Greek Government and people to deal with them, and possibly too their willingness to do so in a manner which would recommend itself to the humanity and conscience of the Western Powers. Yet, making allowance for the rose-coloured light in which he sees everything "Hellenic," he is very possibly right (together with many others who have taken the same view) in regarding the modern Greeks as at once the most advanced, and the most likely to advance further, of the several nationalities which are pushing to the front in the Levant. He gives interesting statistics of the material progress of the kingdom, which, though slow and liable to interruption, is on the whole solid and encouraging. The Greeks show a considerable aptitude for commerce; their population is increasing; security of life and property has improved of late years; and the great progress of national education, though it may for a time have rather contributed to aggravate that "plethora of lawyers, writers, clerks, . . . and coffee-house politicians" as compared with farmers, engineers, or builders, which is lamented by Mr. Hugh Watson, and admitted by Mr. Sergeant, still must tend in the long run to advance the civilization of the whole people. The weakest point is the deficit still yearly shown in the public accounts—a circumstance which, accompanied though it is with a generally increasing prosperity which in uninterrupted peace ought soon to land the kingdom on the firm ground of solvency, may well make the best friends of Greece doubt the wisdom of the expensive military preparations of the last two years. They are admitted to "have made a very serious impression on the commercial records of the country." Mr. Sergeant proceeds to say that the general trade of Greece in the year 1877 "seems to have been barely three-quarters of the amount for 1873;" a startling and significant fact; though the Russo-Turkish war is of course partly answerable for the depression. He complains bitterly of the conduct of the European Powers to Greece, from financial as well as other points of view. Without entering into a long and dreary history of mutual recriminations we shall not attempt to deny that several of the conditions imposed on the newly-formed kingdom of Greece in 1832 were of an unfortunate kind. Nothing can better show the terribly exhausted state of the country, during and after the long war of independence, than a few words of Mr. Finlay, who says: "I have myself ridden through the streets of Tripolitza, Corinth, Megara, Athens, Thebes, and Livadia, when hardly a single house had escaped being levelled with the ground. No living soul was to be seen in the streets, . . . and no cattle could be found in the surrounding country. I have visited villages in which bread had not been made for a fortnight; . . . two-thirds of the population perished." The imposition of an indemnity on a country in such a condition (small indeed as it appears when compared with more modern indemnities) had the effect of helping to saddle the small and struggling kingdom with a debt at starting, without, on the other hand, conferring any appreciable benefit on Turkey. Again the Bavarian prince and his countrymen, who were entrusted with the difficult task of constituting and governing the new

realm, seem to have been singularly ill-fitted for that business. To take only one instance of mismanagement among many, they saw fit to complete the overturn (already begun by the Government of Cape d'Istria) of the native system of local self-government which had been respected by the Turks; which seems to be especially well-suited to the country, and which it was found necessary to restore, after an interval of thirty years, in 1866.

The panacea which Mr. Sergeant constantly preaches as a remedy for all the troubles and defects of Greece is increase of territory, and he spares nothing and nobody who at any time, either directly or indirectly, contributed to traverse his favourite project. Let the Greek dominions be doubled or trebled, and every evil would, in his belief, vanish—even the excess of hungry jobbing politicians—"every bee would find its cell." Those who remember that large territories have not saved Spain and Turkey from insolvency and misgovernment, and that Belgium, Denmark, and other small communities contrive to be solvent and prosperous, will perhaps not entirely share the enthusiastic faith which inspires our author, who also treats with the loftiest scorn any suggestion that Mussulmans or Slavs of any description (though they may constitute the majority of the inhabitants in the districts which he would make over) should have anything to say in the matter.

This scheme of extending the Greek territory is connected in Mr. Sergeant's mind with a curious and exaggerated idea of the rights of the Hellenic race over the countries surrounding the Mediterranean. We must confess ourselves a little puzzled at the maps by which he endeavours to throw light on this new theory. The existence in ancient times of a certain number of Greek names of cities—a part of that superficial varnish of Hellenic language and manners which was spread over great part of the East by the Macedonian conquests, and perpetuated by the Macedonian Ptolemies and Seleukids—names which perhaps imply little more real Hellenism than *Monplaisir* or *Sans-souci* in Prussia implied that Germany in the time of Frederick the Great was French—would apparently, in Mr. Sergeant's opinion, justify the inference of some kind of Greek claim to Syria and Egypt. But his maps rather unaccountably omit Sicily and Southern Italy, which, together with Marseilles and even parts of the coast of Spain and the Crimea (also omitted), were colonized by the ancient Greeks in a very different sense from that in which Syria or Egypt ever were—at a time when the existence of Greek names implied the importation of real Hellenic life and nationality, and when the Phokæans and others carried out with them what was far more valuable than mere language and literature and outer skin of Greek civilization. Mr. Sergeant can hardly be prepared gravely to contend that any of these countries should be made over to modern Greece, but he of course hopes to see the Greek supremacy established in Roumelia and Constantinople, and regards as woefully insufficient the steps taken at Berlin towards that end. Still we scarcely see what he and many of his Greek friends hope to gain, or how they are to advance their cause, by continually advocating the theory of the pure Hellenic descent of the present inhabitants of Greece. However interesting this question may be in an antiquarian and historical point of view—being one of those questions, dear to ethnologists, which may apparently be disputed to the end of time without coming to any satisfactory termination—it appears to us of very small practical political importance.

III.—ESSAYS, NOVELS, POETRY, &c.

(Under the Direction of MATTHEW BROWNE.)

WE are not quite sure that a history of American Literature was, from the critical or scholarly point of view, needed, or that from that point of view such a work can be made generally attractive or satisfactory. Perhaps we English are poor judges of the question, but for the earlier stages of such a history we should at first sight say that a *catalogue raisonné* of books with a few extracts would be sufficient; while as to the later stages, there would be endless and fatal dangers; in fact, that for them also a *catalogue raisonné*, with

a few illustrative extracts, would be the most feasible thing. The author of the voluminous work, of which two volumes are before us, has, we dare say, had some qualms even over what he has thus far written, and looks forward with many more to that portion of his task which will bring him nearer to-day. However, here are two crowded big octavos, entitled *A History of American Literature, 1676—1765*, by Moses Coit Tyler, Professor of English Literature in the University of Michigan (Sampson Low & Co.), and we must not receive churlishly what must have cost the author so much wearisome labour. The dedication of the book is as follows:—"To Samuel Coit, of Hartford, and George Coit, of Norwich, my kinsmen and benefactors, I dedicate this work in token of unceasing gratitude;" and there are to be two more volumes, to make four in all; an awful prospect, though of course the material will become increasingly abundant and interesting, as the author proceeds with his task.

We miss old Joel Barlow, the poet of "Hasty Padding" and the surveying-poem:—

"Just sixteen miles surveyors do account,
Between the eastern and the western mount;"

and we fear that Mr. Tyler is the man to pass over too readily literary trifles that would brighten dull pages. He has less of the humour which finds out or feels what will provoke a smile than of the tendency to manufacture or force the comedy, and his task is by no means light. Americans have never been accused of scrupulosity in turning grave things up on any comic side they may happen to have, and there was assuredly a superabundance of the absurd in the literature of the Witch controversy and the Quaker controversy. But as we do not profess to be able to understand the general policy of Mr. Tyler's book at present, we will not pursue that subject, beyond remarking that if the Smith-Pocahontas story be untrue or largely embellished, it was surely a fair topic of humour. Generally we should describe the book as unnecessarily grave. Mr. Tyler finds that "probably the best passage" in the "Poetical Meditations" of Roger Wolcott is "the following":—

"He that can trace a ship making her way,
Amidst the threatening surges of the sea;
Or track a towering eagle in the air;
Or on a rock find the impressions there
Made by a serpent's footsteps; who surveys
The subtle intrigues that a young man lays
In his shy courtship of a harmless maid,
Whereby his wanton amours are conveyed
Into her breast; 'tis he alone that can
Find out the curs'd policies of man."

We quote this because the manner in which Mr. Tyler introduces it—and leaves it—is an illustration of his dryness, and want of illustrative and suggestive memory. Roger Wolcott's "best passage" is a bare paraphrase of a "passage" which ought surely to have been referred to. It is attributed to one Agur, and occurs in a very well known book:—

"There be three things which are too wonderful for me,
Yea, four which I know not;
The way of an eagle in the air; the way of a serpent upon a rock;
The way of a ship in the midst of the sea; and the way of a man with a maid."

One thing will strike many an English reader with great force, as he reads the extracts from these early "American" writers,—many of whom were, of course, simply expatriated Englishmen,—namely, the courageous raciness, terseness, vividness, and strength of their writing. There is an admirable undiluted vigour about it—coming out with peculiar effect in the writing of the women—which we begin to lose as we descend the stream towards these later times of abundant printed literature, but which we cannot help looking back upon with envious eyes. One page of this strong meat was worth a score or two of our modern milk-and-water. But we cannot—to use a phrase for which we happen to be indebted to an American—we cannot "rescind the conditions" under which the milk-and-water has become the normal thing.

The work of Mr. Tyler seems, however, so conscientiously done, and his labour must have been so wearisome, that it is only too easy for an outsider to be less than

just to him. A point that readily occurs to an extraneous critic, who is not burdened as the author has been, might very well be missed by the hard-worked author in the midst of his work, with the effect of the whole, as a whole, to think of at every moment. Mr. Tyler has, we fancy, been judicious, taking one thing with another, in his choice of extracts,—that is to say, allowing him to begin with his own over-serious view of the claims of his subject. He is no more than right in maintaining that the most essential portions of critical literature are usually the extracts; that to make them wisely and well is to furnish just the help which the curious reader requires; and that to do this certainly does not lessen the labour of the critic. He will never succeed in convincing the ordinary run of editors and publishers of this, but it is just as well to assert the plain truth now and then. Editors and publishers do not necessarily know what the general reader wants, though, inferring and concluding too roughly, they may flatter themselves they have the knowledge. They stand, as a rule, just within the threshold of literature, and the very dangerous "little knowledge" they possess inclines them to "clever" writing about poets and others; whereas what the reader who has gone a little further in thirsts for is that precise knowledge which is supplied by illustrative extracts properly placed. It may take more critical faculty to place two poems in contrast by simply copying them, than to write an essay about either. For instance, there is more insight shown in the bare arrangement of the material in Mr. Palgrave's "Golden Treasury," than in a thousand columns of good reviewing. There is not much room for insight of this order (we fear) in Mr. Tyler's work, and he probably wishes he had never attempted the task; but he is in for it now, and one can only hope that he will feel rewarded in some way when he gets to the end.

The presence of Mr. Tyler's History, along with a popular Edition of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes's poems, a volume of stories by Mr. Julian Hawthorne, and one or two other circumstances, suggest an interesting question. All we shall venture upon saying here about it will be from the standpoint of an outsider—we know nothing of the secrets of the publishing trade. For instance, we have no information about the actual sale of the cheapest edition of Mr. Carlyle or the edition of Mr. Tennyson's poems lately issued in shilling volumes. But almost any one may have noticed that within the last few years there has been among the poorer class of readers, who are what is called respectable, a kind of Carlyle and Tennyson "rash"—to use an unpleasant figure of Hazlitt's. That is to say, that clerks, warehousemen, governesses, youths at discussion societies, popular lecturers, London correspondents, &c., &c., have suddenly manifested a heated Carlyle-Tennyson incontinence of quotation which has betrayed that their knowledge is recent. The remark applies more forcibly to Mr. Tennyson than to Mr. Carlyle. Now, it has sometimes seemed to us that Mr. Julian Hawthorne has in him more of the elements of crude immediate success with the British public than his father had—though we would not be understood as affirming this, *sans phrase*. Yet to what extent has he succeeded? We do not know: but it is open to us all to know that his name has not often appeared—for which, of course, there may be various reasons, and it may even be the case that he does not care for "success." But perhaps most of us have at some time wondered what would probably have been the fortunes of the "Scarlet Letter," and the "House with the Seven Gables;" of Longfellow's "Evangeline," and other poems; of Holmes's "Autocrat" and "Professor,"—and of some other American books, if they had at first been forced to run the gauntlet in the usual way in England. This is no question of copyright, much less of "the public good" (a matter which is entirely beyond human knowledge), but of the extent to which certain writings would have been known, or rather well appreciated—for that is the point. Take the "Scarlet Letter,"—it is scattered broadcast all over Great Britain at a shilling; and finds (as we conjecture) an enormously large, as well as a "fit" audience. Of course the *fittest* audience must be comparatively the "few," though they might be numerous enough to pay well and practically rule the market; but the question is whether the greatest number of even the fittest readers is not most likely to be secured by throwing a good book at the heads of the general public for a mere song. The exact history of Mr. Horne's "farthing" experiment we do not know—we have only a juvenile recollection of seeing the book dangling at bookshop doors, and wondering whatever it meant. But take Mr. Fitzgerald's translations, or rather paraphrases, from Omar Khayyam. Was that book effectively found out and read till it was offered for 1*d.* or 2*d.* in Mr. Quaritch's *omnium gatherum* box? We are not sure,

but we believe not. Apart, however, from particular instances, which may well happen to be misleading, and as to which in any case there may be endless disputes over the inferences, there is probably good reason to suspect that the truth of the case might be put somewhat in this form:—Though the general public “in their thousands” will never like or understand the best work, there is reason to believe that the most receptive and *appreciatively curious* readers are a very widely scattered as well as numerous class, whom it is easiest to reach by publishing a book at a very low price. Something might be extracted both for and against this view from the history of the Dickens writings and the George Eliot writings; but we very strongly incline to think that the view is on the whole a true one.

How far the view in question is supported by the history of Mr. Julian Hawthorne's novels, over here and in America, is not within our knowledge; but we much suspect it would be found to apply. There is in his case a complication, however. Is it always an advantage to bear “a name which rhymes to fame” (to quote Policeman X)? With the general public, no. Charles Kean profited by it, and the younger Hood did so in part, and might have done still more; but the advantage is equivocal.

There is certainly a “note” of something like chagrin, or of pained diffidence, in the preface to the volume before us, entitled *The Laughing Mill, and other Stories*, by Julian Hawthorne (Macmillan & Co.). It is a volume of permanent value, and, among recent books, quite alone for subtle blending of individual and general human interest, poetic and psychological suggestion, and rare humour. We by no means pretend that all the stories are of equal value, but they are not unworthy of the illustrious surname of the author, and they do not deny the promise contained in some of those beautiful child-speeches of the son which are recorded in the Diaries of the father.

In his preface Mr. Julian Hawthorne refers, with some self-disparagement, to a real or supposed want of “human interest” in such stories. True, he writes, and wisely, “*what is called human interest*,” and in the only other case in which he adopts the phrase he subjects it to an implied criticism by placing it between inverted commas. We can find no want of human interest in his writing. “*Eros and Psyche*” is a little thin; and “*The Laughing Mill*” is much better than the other two stories; but what “human interest” means (in criticism), if it is lacking here, we do not know. In ordinary club talk we presume a story of human interest means one in which the line of movement is not only started from human feelings, but is produced among the familiar things of London streets and ordinary country scenery; and, above all, one which deals indulgently with the lower human motives—love of approbation, petty gregariousness, hopes of “success,” and so forth. If the appeal to the “public” be properly made we do not in the least believe that human interest of this order must be the preponderating element in successful stories. But, unfortunately, publishing goes in grooves; and it is only very cheap books which are morally certain to reach everybody. Meanwhile, it is only too true in these busy days that even intelligent readers, and good judges who ought to know better, are found to prefer, for mere ease of mind, narratives which run chiefly amidst the familiarities of daily life—they cost no effort. Hence a story of inferior value, in which the eye at once catches such words as “Hyde Park”—“took a hansom”—“across London Bridge”—“a poor girl selling matches”—“the trees around St. Paul’s”—“the postman going down the street”—will off-hand be selected as having “human interest;” while one in which the real human interest is stronger will be hastily laid aside. Mr. Hawthorne has a word of contempt for “human interest” of what he calls the “Sunday School” order, in which the “sky” from which the mystery, if any, is invoked is a “goody-goody” firmament—and one may, without at all impugning the facility of his pen, conclude that this sentence of his preface cost him some trouble, and was more than once altered. But, in point of fact, this hint of his points with scornful finger at a school of fiction in which the words human interest are most woefully abused. In that academy the human interest is not got by honest healthy means out of the common veins of human feeling—for the school won’t have such things as strong love between man and woman, nor does it see anything worth recording in the mere daily play of common feelings; of course, in addition, it does not see the points of mystic “interest” in life (as Mr. Hawthorne points out), so it gets what it calls its “human interest” on the cheap,—namely, by wringing it out of suffering; and its mystery or solemnity out of Scriptural interpolations more or less homologated

with the rest. But he must be a poor writer that cannot make a pretty exciting story out of this material, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the result is false work, as any one who will analyse it will soon discover by applying this simple test: take away the Scriptural interpretations and interpolations, and the moral, and the far-fetched part of the suffering—and the back-bone of the work is broken, and it stands revealed a poor, thin, shivering “tract.” But however rapidly you may have got the *feeling* that the story is only a tract in disguise, it often requires determined analysis to prove it and justify the feeling. We cordially commend Mr. Hawthorne’s stories to readers of all classes, hoping they will not pay the slightest attention to any one who tells them beforehand they are wanting in “human interest.” Meanwhile, what Mr. Julian Hawthorne wants (as it appears to us) is more boldness—or more subservience.

From time to time we come across a volume of verse by Mr. William Leighton. Here is *Change, the Whisper of the Sphinx*, by William Leighton, author of “The Sons of Godwin,” and “At the Court of King Edwin” (J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia and London). It is a curious book, written chiefly in blank verse, though each separate section is introduced by some rhymed heroics. It reminds us of a volume published some years ago by Messrs. H. S. King & Co., entitled “Cosmos,” but is hardly so good. “Cosmos” was exceedingly rough and crude, but it contained a few nuggets of true and pure poetic expression. Like *Change*, it was the sort of workmanship that fairly baffles criticism. But Mr. William Leighton cannot be called a mere writer of commonplaces,—though he too often becomes flat, ordinary, and prosaic. There is something which takes him out of the ruck. *Change* is a kind of *conspectus* of cosmic and historic evolution: ending with force, matter, consciousness, and a reasoned hope of immortality for man. The title is not good; the mere writing is too often left-handed, and the thoughts cannot be called new; but yet there is a certain compactness in the whole, and now and then a poetic “intention,” barely escaping the bull’s-eye, which reminds us of parts of Sir John Davies and Daniel. If we cannot single out “Change” as a fine poem, we can certainly affirm that we have seen columns of reviewing “discrimination” about books of verse which, while much better as to fashionable literary form, have not come half so near to the better kind of success.

Questions of technical quality in translation are apt to prove a little tedious, even to the most interested students, while to the general reader they are all but intolerable. The Laureate very well knew what he was about when he invited “indolent reviewers” (i.e., worn-out *pauvres diables* writing under gas at two A.M. amid clatter of reporters, proof-boys, &c., &c.), to criticize his hendecasyllables. It is not otherwise with questions of translation from German into English, though the chief difficulty in what may be called “imitation” of the original lies in the simple fact that the German language abounds in possibilities of double-ending which lie within the poetic vocabulary, while the English does not. The most interesting question for the general English reader who wishes to “arrive at” Heine or Goethe, without learning German, is hardly the technical one; but it is more so with Heine than with Goethe, because in the work of the author of *Reisebilder* and the *Buch der Lieder* the use of “double-ending” metres is so vitally connected with that nameless, indescribable element of mockery or *diablerie*—call it what you will—which counts for so much in his writing. Of course it is not always present; but it is intensely characteristic, and to reproduce it with neither excess nor deficiency is a most arduous and delicate task, and, as every translator feels, a thankless one, because the result looks so much like a *caput mortuum*. This, however, is trite, and of course we cannot discuss Heine or his translators here, except in the most discursive way.

One “moral” is that it is a good thing to see as many translations of an illustrious stranger as possible, because, like different grammars of the same language, or different accounts of philosophical systems, they shed light upon each other. Any intelligent lover of poetry who knows Heine’s life, his awful illness, his Gallic culture, the action and reaction of his mind in matters of religion, and who has a quick sense of the Teutoncity of the Teuton fancy (which may, under much indulgence, pass with “the Corregiosity of Correggio”), might get a valuable impression of Heine, and a great fund of permanent pleasure by simply comparing the two books before us, and of course, if he can turn to the originals now and then, so much the better. One of these volumes, dedicated to Prince Leopold, and containing 250 pages, is *Poems and Ballads by Heinrich*

Heine, Done into English Verse by Theodore Martin, C.B. (W. Blackwood & Sons); and the other is a very thin octavo, entitled *Selections from the Poetical Works of Heinrich Heine*, Translated into English (Macmillan & Co.). Mr. Theodore Martin is well known as a translator of fine powers and ripe experience; the translator in the second case is not known to us. But the differences between the two books may be presented in five words. Mr. Martin makes a fairly wide and inclusive selection, and sets himself the onerous task of reproducing the effect of the original metres, not flinching from the use of the Scottish dialect when it seems to suit his purpose. The second translator (who introduces his work by a very modest preface) has made a very limited selection indeed, and though he is often very exact as to the sense, he wilfully lets slip the question of bare imitation, while he endeavours to reproduce the German poet in forms which shall easily affect the reader of to-day. For anything which appears in Mr. Theodore Martin's versions, Mr. Tennyson and the whole of the poets of what the present writer some years ago ventured to describe as the enamelled school might never have written. Our second translator, on the other hand, keeps close to recent models in English. In doing this he inevitably fails to reproduce fairly the *diablerie* of his original, and in the general result something is lost, too, in *naïveté* and frank negligence. But, happily, we can set the whole case before the sensitive reader in two or three extracts.

First, we will take Mr. Theodore Martin's version of the *Wie kannst du ruhig schlafen?*

"Sleep, and in peace? How canst thou,
And know I am still alive?
Back comes the old wrath, and straightway
My yoke in sunder I rive.

"Dost know the old-world legend,
How once a youth that was dead
At midnight drew his sweetheart
Down, down to his churchyard bed?

"Oh trust me, thou gracious wonder,
Thou beauty, too fair to see!
I live, yes live, and am stronger
Than legions of dead men be!"

And now the version of the other translator:—

"How canst thou sleep so still, while yet
I am alive—dost thou forget?
When the old anger wakes again,
I shall arise and break my chain.

"Hast thou not heard the legend told,
How a dead youth, one night of old,
Rose, and his sweetheart bore away,
Down to the cold grave where he lay?

"O child, so passing fair to see,
O child, do thou take heed to me—
I lie within no churchyard bed,
And I am stronger than the dead."

In this version, it will be observed, we have an entire sacrifice of the double-endings, and even of the alternation of the rhymes. The general effect is much smoother; many will prefer it; and yet it may be contended that it is not Heine. The poem is one of passionate yearning, with an undercurrent of malice, which the love subdues into playfulness. The playful malice is lost in this second translation,—lost along with the *lilt* of the original,—and only the sad energetic yearning remains, with a touch of wildness in it.

And now we must quote a poem (*Mein Süßes Lieb, wenn du im Grab*) in which the quasi-diabolic element is visible,—in order to show how very successfully Mr. Martin can render a most difficult poem:—

"When thou shalt lie, my darling, low
In the dark grave, where they hide thee,
Then down to thee I will surely go,
And nestle in beside thee.

" Wildly I'll kiss and clasp thee there,
Pale, cold, and silent lying ;
Shout, shudder, weep, in dumb despair
Beside my dead love dying.

" The midnight calls, up rise the dead,
And dance in airy swarms there ;
We twain quit not our earthly bed ;
I lie wrapt in your arms there.

" Up rise the dead ; the Judgment-Day
To bliss or anguish calls them ;
We twain lie on as before we lay,
And heed not what befalls them."

Our smaller volume does not offer us a version with which to compare this; but we may fitly and suggestively close these extracts by quoting (all but a few lines) a translation, by the anonymous writer, of a poem of unmixed tenderness. Our omissions are only made to save space :—

" Oh, little lamb ! I was assigned
To be thy shepherd true and kind ;
And 'mid this barren world and rude
To shelter thee as best I could.
I gave thee of my bread thy fill,
I brought thee water from the rill,
And through the raging winter storm
Safe in my bosom kept thee warm.

My arm grows weak, and faint my heart ;
Pale Death creeps near. The shepherd's part
Is now played out, the game is o'er ;
O God, then in Thy hands once more
I lay the crook, and do Thou keep
My little lamb, when I to sleep
Am laid. Oh, guard her day by day
From every harm ; and shield, I pray
Her fleece from thorns that may bring pain,
And from the miry swamps that stain.
Beneath her feet, in field and wood
Let greenest pasture spring for food,
And let her calmly sleep and rest
As once she slept upon my breast."

This, we regret to say, is omitted in Mr. Theodore Martin's selection ; but as the reader will be glad to part with Heine for a time under the immediate impression of so sweet and tender a poem, we will just now add nothing.

Messrs. George Bell & Sons being about to re-issue Miss Swanwick's well-known translation of the first part of Goethe's *Faust* that accomplished and indomitable lady, whose name is perhaps more familiarly associated with Æschylus than with Goethe, has translated the second part of the great work of the latter, besides revising her version of the first part. In a very modest preface she records her acknowledgments to Mr. Theodore Martin's yet unpublished version of the Second Part, and also to Mr. C. Kegan Paul for his kindness in looking over the manuscript. Both in the introductory words and the Annotations Miss Swanwick raises some very large questions, and all we can on the spot hope to do with any good effect is to call attention to this neat and convenient volume of the Bohn's Library Series. It is, so far as we know, by far the cheapest and also the most accessible book in which the "Faust" can be had, complete, in English. As we have already hinted, nobody ought to risk his impression of a foreign poet on any one version, however good. But Miss Swanwick seems to think that one consequence of the increasing attraction to scientific pursuits in our own day will be that a wider field than ever will be open for translators, who aim to reproduce foreign poems in forms approximating as closely as possible to the original. This suggests a very tempting discussion, but it must stand over.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have done well to reprint *Tales from Shakespeare*, by

Charles and Mary Lamb—now edited, with an Introduction, by the Rev. Charles Ainger, M.A. These "Tales" are (it is no exaggeration to say) among the most remarkable efforts of the human mind. The difficulty of distilling Shakspeare's plays, keeping out whatever could be offensive, and making the total result interesting to the young, was enormous. But the brother and sister got through it in their simple-hearted way; and, though everybody finds these versions (which are practically translations) easy reading, it does not appear that they were hard writing. However, we are not behind the scenes; and we know, from certain things which, being written, remain, that Charles Lamb's "Adventures of Ulysses" was not a too easy piece of work. That also should be reprinted for the young. It would have made the present volume too bulky, perhaps, while it is in itself not much in quantity. But a few illustrations would make it a fairly thick volume.

For a long time past we have been looking for some such book as *Fairy Tales, their Origin and Meaning; with some Account of Dwellers in Fairyland*, by John Thackray Bunce (Macmillan & Co.), not because it appeared to our minds to be wanted, but because it was sure to come. Mr. Bunce is an ingenious and careful writer, who puts a great deal in small compass; and, of course, his book is not intended for the very young. There is not, so far as we can see, a word to say against it, if we only omit the following:—

"When we compare the myths and legends of one country with another," [with those of another?] "and of one period with another," [with those of another?] "we find out how they have come to be so much alike, and yet in some things so different. We see that there must have been one origin for all these stories, that they must have been invented by one people, that this people must have been afterwards divided, and that each part or division of it must have brought into its new home the legends once common to them all, and must have shaped and altered these according to the kind of places in which they came to live."

This account of the matter is no doubt generally accepted; but dissentients have a right to say *Not proven*. Of course, however, that is not a topic for casual discussion.

A few months ago we had to say that we found "By Love and Law," a Story by "Lizzie Aldridge," the most agreeable of the new novels, and in some respects one of the best. We have now to make a similar report with regard to *The World She Awoke in: a Narrative*, by Lizzie Aldridge, author of "By Love and Law: The Story of an Honourable Woman" (3 vols.: Smith, Elder & Co.). This "narrative" is too much like a puppet-show; you can see the wires; and there are other faults; but on the whole it is by far the most pleasant book of its order that we have seen since "By Love and Law." It is, like its predecessor, a "Woman's Work" novel; but whereas Lois Maltby was an artist, Margaret Hope, the heroine of the present "narrative," is a beautiful, high-souled girl, who devotes herself to the work of a trained nurse and trainer of nurses. All that relates to her labours, to hospitals, to the very poor, and a variety of cognate matters, is admirably real—and generally, indeed, a pleasant vividness of detail characterizes the book; which passes with admirable ease of movement (in that respect) from a Royal Society Lecture, with a Prince of the blood in the chair, to the drawing-rooms and boudoirs of over-instructed æsthetical persons, and from these to humble back slums. Leaving out the more earnest chapters and passages, we might roughly describe the general effect as something like what might be produced by a series—a *reasoned* series—of sketches by Mr. Du Maurier, with here and there touches of John Leech, Mr. Keene, Mr. F. Barnard, and Mr. Sandercock in his more restrained moods. This will give some notion of the extreme pleasantness of the book—a pleasantness which leaves a prolonged titillation in the memory. We have already remarked that there is something of a puppet-show effect here and there—it is so in what relates to the Des Anges girls and Mr. Rowe and Dick Raven. It is a true bill. We might go on to say that Mr. Stratton is too much like Professor Clifford—but there we should strike upon very intricate matters of taste. A more important remark is this—that our avowed impression that two hands are at work in these novels is now strengthened, be it right or wrong, and that in spite of the earnestness of the more serious portions of the writing, the sensitive reader is occasionally hit hard by a sudden doubt whether

the construction of the book has not been something on this wise: one of the writers to put the case of pessimism, with a leaning to it; the other to put the case of religious earnestness, in dealing with wrong and pain. Now in this exact way of stating the point, we may well be in error; but, if so, there is a grave artistic error to "spot." We do not decide, then; but we cannot pass over without a word of anger the child of three or four who tacitly rebukes Olivia Des Anges by displaying his knowledge of the uses of fats and starches in nutrition. If the young lady is going to devote herself to showing little boys and girls models and diagrams of their poor little "viscera" with, we may presume, a life-like section in wax of a bit of nutmeggy liver to warn them off from strong drink—we hope she will go back to her boudoir. The laws of health are very simple, and may be just as well taught to children "in the first garden of their simpleness" (to adults also for that matter) as in the rear of the operating-room. However, the author is very impartial, and makes room for Claribel; for a young lady from the Kyrle Society who does dados for cocoa-shops in Whitechapel; for London slums; for recognizable pictures of "residential" spots in Kent; for "cremation" nights at the Royal Institution, students' days at the British Museum, the sick room in a stupid, overworked, middle-class household (the story of Vessie's cold, and the nursing thereof is beyond praise); for a visit to a large Board school (at Lewisham, or some such place); and—in fine, we have spoken of what displeases us, but after all it is not one time in ten thousand that a reviewer writes a notice of a novel with a broad smile, almost a laugh, upon his face, and we find ourselves agreeably conscious of having twice done this in the case of "Lizzie Aldridge," be she one or two.

The speculative reader will in vain try to guess beforehand what is the meaning of the title in *Written on their Foreheads*, by Robert H. Elliot, author of "Experiences of a Planter" (2 vols.: Sampson Low & Co.), and to tell the truth this is a somewhat startling medley. It is readable, and in some respects even good; but to quote the author's own words, "the reader will find some allusions to Indian affairs, affairs which deeply concern the holders of Indian securities, and one of much importance to every English taxpayer." The reader certainly will, and we hope he will like it, but we do not quite enjoy a story in which there is so much extraneous matter besides love, theology, adventure, and the usual material of a novel. However, the author calmly and frankly says in his preface, "In an appendix I give a list of books, reports, and pamphlets" relating to Indian affairs, and we are bound to admit that Mr. Elliot writes well, is intelligent and cultivated, is large and liberal in some of his views, and contrives to write a fairly interesting and often suggestive book, under conditions which would utterly stultify most novelists.





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